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THE FELLOWS AND ASSOCIATES  
OF THE  
PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES  
DEDICATE  
THIS VOLUME  
TO THE MEMORY OF  
MARGARET FRANCES NIMS, I.B.V.M.

## CONTENTS

Margaret Frances Nims, I.B.V.M. (1916–1995)    *Edward A. Synan*    vii

### TEXT

A Treatise on Confession from the Secular/Mendicant Dispute:  
The *Casus abstracti a iure* of Herman of Saxony, O.F.M.  
*Eric H. Reiter*    1

### ARTICLES

Bede and the Isidorian Legacy	<i>William D. McCready</i>	41
Freedom of Choice in Buridan's Moral Psychology	<i>Jack Zupko</i>	75
Marian Devotion in a Carmelite Sermon Collection of the Late Middle Ages	<i>Valerie Edden</i>	101
Local Reality and Papal Policy: Papal Provision and the Church of Arezzo, 1248–1327	<i>Blake Beattie</i>	131
English Vowed Women at the End of the Middle Ages	<i>Mary C. Erler</i>	155
What the Nuns Read: Literary Evidence from the English Bridgettine House, Syon Abbey	<i>Ann M. Hutchison</i>	205
The Errant Morsel in <i>Solomon and Saturn II</i> : Liturgy, Lore, and Lexicon	<i>Paul Schaffner</i>	223
Envisioning the <i>cenobium</i> in the Old English <i>Guthlac A</i>	<i>Christopher A. Jones</i>	259
Pandulf of Capua's <i>De calculacione</i> : An Illustrated Abacus Treatise and Some Evidence for the Hindu-Arabic Numerals in Eleventh-Century South Italy	<i>Craig A. Gibson and Francis Newton</i>	293



## MEDIAEVALIA

- Some Remarks on the Muckle Translation of Abelard's Adversities  
*Edward A. Synan and Édouard Jeauneau* 337
- A Book of the Schismatic Pope Benedict XIII (†1423)? Clues to the  
Ownership of a Collection of *coram papa* Sermons  
*Blake Beattie* 345



## MARGARET FRANCES NIMS, I.B.V.M. (1916–1995)

*Edward A. Synan*

SISTER Margaret Frances Nims, I.B.V.M., Senior Fellow of the Pontifical Institute, Professor *emerita* of both Saint Michael's College and the University of Toronto, died quietly in the infirmary at Loretto Abbey, Toronto, on the 13th of June, 1995. A former student of hers, Robert Madden, C.S.B., offered the funeral Mass and delivered the homily in the Chapel of Loretto Abbey on the 16th of June.

In an autobiographical sketch (*Contemporary Authors Autobiography Series*, Volume 17), the elder brother of Sister Frances, John Frederick Nims, remarked that their ancestors' adventures "could make a spectacular movie"; it is easy to agree. Of Huguenot origin, members of the Nims family settled first in England and then at Deerfield in the Massachusetts Bay Colony during the seventeenth century, their travels occasioned by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. French Canadian soldiers, with the support of native allies, raided Deerfield and kidnapped an Ebenezer Nims. During his captivity he married another captive, a Sarah Hoyt, and from this couple the Nims we know have descended.

Although at this point in his account John Nims conceded that "there is nothing so cinematic in the story of my other Nims ancestors," those others were far from commonplace. Various Nims men served as soldiers in the American Revolution; a grandfather of Sister Frances married into a family that included an Andrew T. McReynolds, a Federal General in the War Between the States. General McReynolds married an Elizabeth Brewster, a direct descendant of Elder William Brewster who had come to North America in 1620 on "Mayflower."

Sister Frances' father, Frank McReynolds Nims, described by his son as "an Episcopalian," but "no churchgoer," was more than an exceptional letter-carrier. He painted, held a patent for "Anti-Skid Plus Tire Chains," served in the United States Navy during the War with Spain, and was capable of poetry. As for painting, one picture ("pointillist" in technique) is the sole evidence that survives. So too, a single poem is the only evidence of what his son has termed "graceful rhythm, gracefully handled." That bit of creative writing was dedicated by its author, before he married

her, to a school teacher named Anna Marie McDonald, the first Catholic in the Nims family. She was the mother of the three Nims children, of whom Margaret, our Sister Frances, was the last to be born.

The eldest of the three, John Frederick Nims, is a distinguished poet and literary scholar; he holds a doctorate from the University of Chicago and has a long record of study and teaching at Notre Dame. To a point, his career parallels that of Sister Frances and, indeed, in 1945–1946, along with her, he taught at Saint Michael's College in the University of Toronto. There he knew E. J. Pratt, Morley Callaghan, Margaret Avison, and a man he remembers as "Norrie" Fry. The second child, Ellen Mary Nims, is an artist, an honors graduate of the Art Institute of Chicago, who did further work at the University of Edinburgh, and studied as well with the celebrated religious artist, Meštrović. A larger-than-life wood carving of hers, which represents the Lucan episode of Mary's visit with Elizabeth, is to be found in Loretto College, Toronto. Margaret, youngest of the three, was born on the 25th of July, 1916.

Margaret Nims received her primary education, first at Saint Mary's in Muskegon and then at two Chicago parochial schools, but her first four years of secondary school studies were completed at Loretto Academy, "Englewood," Chicago. She then came to Toronto in September of 1934 to fulfill the Ontario requirement of a fifth year in secondary school for university matriculation. This she did at Loretto Abbey. Margaret Nims thus reinforced her contact with the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary which she had begun in Chicago. That Order, founded in England in the sixteenth century by Mary Ward, and with strong influence from the then young Society of Jesus, would be the setting for the life of the Sister Frances Nims we have known. Her first profession took place on 19 August 1937 and her final profession on 19 August 1943.

From 1935 until 1939, this candidate for the religious life was a student in Saint Michael's College of the University of Toronto, fulfilling the requirements for an honours B.A. degree in Philosophy, English, and History; she achieved first class honours standing. In 1940 she added the M.A. in English, like her B.A., from the University of Toronto. As "Mother Saint Francis" this promising scholar all but completed her work for the doctorate in the University of Chicago, but her uncertain health ended that project.

She returned to Toronto where her teaching career in Saint Michael's College would extend until 1984. From 1967 until retirement she added teaching and dissertation direction in the Graduate Departments of English and of Mediaeval Studies. From 1940, she held an appointment as

lecturer in the Departments of English of Saint Michael's College and the University of Toronto. Assistant professor by 1945, she was promoted in 1955 to associate professor, and, in the academic year 1966–1967, Sister Frances advanced to the rank of full professor. No one who remembers the atmosphere of a university campus in the sixties and early seventies will undervalue her committee service in those years: a staff-student Committee on the re-organization of the English Department, one on "Saint Michael's University Government" (inevitably known as "SMUG"), and a search Committee for the President of Saint Michael's. At a moment when staff and students tended to mutual distrust, all hands trusted Sister Frances.

During her thirty-five years of teaching Sister Frances taught not only Latin but "almost every course" in the old "Honours English Language and Literature" programme. On the undergraduate plane her teaching was especially notable for courses in Old English, on English Drama to 1642, and on Chaucer. Her specialization on the graduate level was in Mediaeval Literary Theory. This expertise merited a University of Toronto Research Grant, 1967–1968, and successive Canada Council Research Grants for the summer of 1970 and the year 1974–1975. The Council of the Pontifical Institute offered her status as Senior Fellow, and she accepted gracefully in a letter of 2 December 1974. On 29 November 1986 Sister Frances received the degree Doctor of Sacred Letters, *honoris causa*, from the University of Saint Michael's College.

Despite their interest, these archival data give woefully limited insight into the impact Sister Frances had upon her innumerable students. She was the heroine of many a revelatory anecdote. If one might do duty for many, there was a day when, as she walked down the aisle after class in her pre-Vatican II religious garb, a student whose notes had fallen to the floor loudly marked the mishap with a term understandably absent from *The Book of Common Prayer*. He rose from retrieving his papers to find himself face-to-face with the vision of piety and propriety who was still styled "Mother Saint Francis." Serene in her command of rhetoric, she is quoted as having said, "Oh, isn't it remarkable that, in moments of stress, we have recourse to those strong monosyllables. . . ."

Students of the highest quality strain language to praise her. There was "beauty, graciousness, and wisdom apparent in all she said and did"; "we read through our texts as though under Lady Philosophy's guidance"; "exquisite tact and patient elaborations"; "her voice almost unnerving in its clarity, measure, and sweetness." Truly good students often know the difficulties of scholarship better than they know their own capacities. One

has juxtaposed the “very high standard of writing and research, one for which I was not prepared” (but demanded by Sister Frances) with unexpected results: “From her course, I realized that once we understand ways medieval authors describe language and argumentation, we receive a triple gift: critical method, composition system, and pedagogy. . . .” Despite a fragile constitution, Sister Frances was generous with time and direction; her courses were crowded.

At the end of her teaching career she was obliged by circumstances to leave unpublished her transcription of one of the five manuscripts from which she had hoped to prepare an edition of the *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi* ascribed, not without hesitation by some experts, to Geoffrey of Vinsauf. Sister Frances gave an exceptionally competent former graduate student of hers permission to prepare an introduction to this text, and provided that student with a detailed analysis of this intricate *Documentum*.

In 1967 the Department of Publications of the Pontifical Institute published her magistral English translation, Introduction, and Notes, of the *Poetria nova* by Geoffrey of Vinsauf. In this translation of a normative medieval discussion of rhetoric lie some of the data she developed into a remarkable article, published in the *University of Toronto Quarterly* 43.3 (Spring 1974): 215–30; “*Translatio*: ‘Difficult Statement’ in Medieval Poetic Theory.” This article witnesses to her expertise on classical rhetorical sources: Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, the pseudo-Ciceronian *Ad Herennium*, Horace, Quintilian, Augustine, and Boethius, to say nothing of Sacred Scripture as both a spur and a source for rhetorical investigation. She there set out the use of those sources by a long file of medieval writers: Bede, John of Salisbury, Gervaise of Melkley, John of Hauteville, Hugo Primas, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Bernard Sylvester, Hugh of Saint Victor, Matthew of Vendôme, Alan of Lille, Alexander of Villa Dei, Vincent of Beauvais, and Geoffrey Chaucer. Sister Frances was invited to supply the entry “Ars Poetica” for the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1982), 553b–555a.

Her academic writing is, as her teaching was, economical, erudite, and brilliant. Sister Frances will live on, especially in her students and in their work, but also in the memories of all of us who admired and loved her. During the decades of her life among us she was a worthy daughter of a distinguished family; in another dimension, she was a worthy daughter also of Mary Ward, architect of the Institute in which Sister Frances took her vows for life, and kept them. May Sister Frances rest in eternal peace!

A TREATISE ON CONFESSION  
FROM THE SECULAR/MENDICANT DISPUTE:  
THE *CASUS ABSTRACTI A IURE*  
OF HERMAN OF SAXONY, O.F.M.\*

*Eric H. Reiter*

THE polemics generated by the long conflict between the mendicant orders and the secular clergy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are well known, from the battles at Paris in the thirteenth century to the controversies incited by Richard FitzRalph and Conrad of Megenburg a century later.<sup>1</sup> Less familiar is the constructive, educative literature that circulated within the mendicant orders themselves to help friars negotiate the jurisdictional minefield of pastoral care. The rapid changes in the legal status of the friars, particularly in the early fourteenth century with the successive shifts in papal policy surrounding Boniface VIII's *Super cathedram*, made it necessary for the orders to keep their friars current on the latest developments.

The treatise edited here for the first time is an example of one way the friars were kept informed. The *Casus abstracti a iure* is a summary of the canon law of confession, written by the Franciscan Herman of Saxony at the request of his superior and later endorsed for circulation through the order by the Chapter General. Neither Herman nor his treatise has re-

\* I would like to thank Joseph Goering, Shannon McSheffrey, and the two anonymous referees for their comments and suggestions, and the libraries owning the manuscripts for allowing their use in this edition.

<sup>1</sup> Good summaries of the conflict include John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968), 201–3 and 339–45; Katherine Walsh, *The "De Vita Evangelica" of Geoffrey Hardeby, O.E.S.A. (c.1320–c.1385): A Study in the Mendicant Controversies of the Fourteenth Century* (Rome, 1972), esp. 84–111; and D. L. Douie, "The Conflict between the Seculars and the Mendicants at the University of Paris in the Thirteenth Century," A Paper Read to the Aquinas Society of London on 22nd June, 1949 (London, 1954). On particular aspects of the fourteenth-century controversies, see Celse Uyttenbroeck, "Le droit pénitentiel des religieux de Boniface VIII à Sixte IV," *Études Franciscaines* 47 (1935): 171–89 and 306–32; Hugolin Lippens, "Le droit nouveau des mendiants en conflit avec le droit coutumier du clergé séculier, du concile de Vienne à celui de Trente," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 47 (1954): 241–92; and Yves M.-J. Congar, "Aspects ecclésiologiques de la querelle entre mendiants et séculiers dans la seconde moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et le début du XIV<sup>e</sup>," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 36 (1961): 35–151.

ceived the attention of historians beyond a few brief mentions in reference works, and the text's significance as a new source for the history of the fourteenth-century mendicant controversies has gone entirely unnoticed.<sup>2</sup>

The *Casus* appeared in 1337 when the confrontation seemed settled, after the Council of Vienne had reissued *Super cathedram* in the decree *Dudum a Bonifacio* and after John XXII's *Vas electionis* had condemned as erroneous several anti-mendicant articles of the Paris master John of Pouilly.<sup>3</sup> Open hostilities would not develop again until soon after 1350, when the Irish primate Richard FitzRalph of Armagh began his attacks.<sup>4</sup> This period of legislative stability (if not of freedom from secular/mendicant tensions) provided an opportune pause for Herman to review and summarize the new pastoral law.

Because Herman's treatise appeared during this lull, its tone is different from that of other works on mendicant pastoral rights written with polemical intent, such as the Dominican John Quidort of Paris's *De confessionibus audiendis* of 1304 or the Franciscan Roger Conway's *Defensio religionis mendicantium* from 1357.<sup>5</sup> Herman concerns himself less with trying to justify mendicant jurisdiction than with illuminating how and to what extent friars could exercise their rights within the limits set up by the Church. Whereas polemical texts reveal how the mendicants sought to

<sup>2</sup> Herman is listed in Jo. Hyacinthus Sbaralea, *Supplementum et castigatio ad scriptores trium ordinum S. Francisci a Waddingo, aliisve descriptos*, pt. 1 (Rome, 1908), 361, and Joannes a S. Antonio, *Bibliotheca universa Franciscana*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1732–33; rpt. Farnborough, 1966), 2:66, both of which mention only the Assisi manuscripts of the *Casus*. The incipit appears in G. E. Mohan, "Initia operum Franciscalium (XIII–XV s.)," *Franciscan Studies* 38 (1978): 433\*.

<sup>3</sup> See Joseph Koch, "Der Prozess gegen den Magister Johannes de Polliaco und seine Vorgeschichte (1312–1321)," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 5 (1933): 391–422; Lippens, "Le droit nouveau," 245–55; and Uyttenbroeck, "Le droit pénitentiel," 186–88. Uyttenbroeck notes that the pastoral system set up by *Super cathedram* remained effective (though frequently criticized) for more than a century (189).

<sup>4</sup> On these later disputes, see especially Katherine Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford, 1981).

<sup>5</sup> These are edited respectively in Ludwig Hödl, *Johannes Quidort von Paris O.P. (†1306): De confessionibus audiendis (Quaestio disputata Parisius de potestate papae)*, Mitteilungen des Grabmann-Instituts der Universität München 6 (Munich, 1962), and in Melchior Goldast, *Monarchia S. Romani imperii . . .*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt, 1614; rpt. Graz, 1960), 1410–1344 (*sic*, pagination progresses from 1428 to 1333). Editions of other defenses of mendicant confessional rights include Ludwig Hödl, *De iurisdictione: Ein unveröffentlicher Traktat des Herveus Natalis O.P. (†1323) über die Kirchengewalt*, Mitteilungen des Grabmann-Instituts der Universität München 2 (Munich, 1959), and G. Meersseman, "La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O.P. (1357)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 5 (1935): 124–73. Many similar treatises remain unedited, such as the *Super Clementinam*—a response to FitzRalph from 1378 by "Magister Maximus," as yet unidentified Freiburg Dominican—in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14698, fols. 150ra–162vb (I am currently preparing an edition).



protect or expand their pastoral rights, the *Casus* offers a glimpse at how the Franciscans educated their friars to practice the *cura animarum* within the new pastoral regime.<sup>6</sup>

Herman's discussion of the friars' confessional rights goes beyond disputed points, such as the interpretation of *Dudum*, to present outlines of less contentious issues such as the *casus reservati* and the proper resolution of difficult cases of absolution. This distinguishes his treatise from others written in direct response to attacks, but even his treatment of disputed questions is more expository than polemical. As he notes in his prologue, he intends the *Casus* to be a handbook (*compendium*) of recent canon law: the Church has set up boundaries within which the friars must operate, and to clarify these limits, he has compiled the *Casus* so that "simple confessors should know how to orient themselves in the administration of the sacrament of penance."

Nicholas Glassberger reports in his early sixteenth-century chronicle of the Franciscan Observant movement that Herman wrote the text in 1337 "at the command of brother Werner, minister of Saxony, and at the request of the friars."<sup>7</sup> A colophon appearing in most of the manuscripts adds that the *Casus* was "examined" (some manuscripts read "examined and approved") at the Franciscan Chapter General of Cahors in 1337.<sup>8</sup> This approbation (and perhaps official circulation through the order) helped ensure the text's success: nine copies survive, all of Franciscan origin and provenance, produced in Italy, Germany, and England. This was significant success compared to other treatises generated by the controversies, most of which survive in only one or two manuscripts, and the two manuscripts from the mid-fifteenth century and the mention in Glassberger's chronicle attest to the *Casus*'s continuing influence in the order.

All of the manuscripts agree in attributing the treatise to a Franciscan named Herman of Saxony, who can be identified as Herman Topelstein or

<sup>6</sup> On pastoral education within the Dominican order in an earlier period, see Leonard E. Boyle, "Notes on the Education of the *Fratres communes* in the Dominican Order in the Thirteenth Century," in *Xenia medii aevi historiam illustrantia oblata Thomae Kaeppli O.P.*, ed. R. Creytens and P. Künzle, 2 vols. (Rome, 1978), 1:249–67; rpt. in *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200–1400* (London, 1981), pt. VI.

<sup>7</sup> *Chronica fratris Nicolai Glassberger Ordinis Minorum observantium*, in *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. 2 (Quaracchi, 1887), 168. Werner of Rebnitz, lector of Erfurt, was minister of Saxony from 1320 to 1323 and from 1328 to 1348 (*ibid.*, 128 and 145).

<sup>8</sup> No mention of the text appears in Michael Bihl's edition of the Chapter's constitutions, "Constitutiones generales editae in capitulis generalibus Caturci an. 1337 et Lugduni an. 1351 celebratis," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 30 (1937): 69–169. On the Chapter, see Clément Schmitt, *Un pape réformateur et un défenseur de l'unité de l'Église: Benoît XII et l'Ordre des Frères Mineurs (1334–1342)* (Quaracchi, 1959), esp. 61–71.

Topilstein.<sup>9</sup> The Topilsteins were a prominent knightly family in Mühlhausen in Thuringia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries;<sup>10</sup> the Franciscan house in Mühlhausen belonged to the order's province of Saxony, which might explain Herman's designation "de Saxonia."<sup>11</sup>

Two contemporary mentions of Herman outside the *Casus* survive. In August of 1336 "Her(mannus) Topelstein" carried a letter to Avignon for the chaplain of the Archbishop of Mainz.<sup>12</sup> Herman might have personally brought his treatise to the chapter at Cahors (which began in June of the next year) during this trip. The name also appears in the colophon to a copy of the *Stella clericorum* in Prague from the mid-fourteenth century, perhaps copied in Herman's own hand.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Glassberger identifies our author as "Hermannus de Pelsteyn" (*Chronica*, 168), probably a corruption of "Tepelsteyn," as no "Pelsteyn" can be located in Saxony or surrounding regions. Furthermore, the 1439 inventory of books belonging to the Franciscans of Munich includes a reference to "Topelstain de confessione," probably the *Casus*, though not Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 8968; *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 4, pt. 2, ed. Günther Glauche et al. (Munich, 1979), 695.

<sup>10</sup> See *Urkundenbuch der ehemals freien Reichsstadt Mühlhausen in Thüringen*, ed. Karl Herquet, *Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und angrenzender Gebiet*, vol. 3 (Halle, 1874), passim; and Richard Scheithauer, "Die Toten des *liber mortuorum* von Mühlhausen," *Mühlhäuser Geschichtsblätter* 24 (1923–24): 44, 46, 59, and 65. Ludger Meier, *Die Barfüsserschule zu Erfurt*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters* 38/2 (Münster/Westfalen, 1958), 94–95 n. 20, identifies "Toppelsteyn, H., fr." (died 30 August 1310/20) in the latter source with Herman Topelstein, but this is erroneous: the date is too early and "H." more likely refers to "Henricus."

<sup>11</sup> I have found no evidence placing Herman in any particular house in Saxony. A "frater Hermannus" was lector in Erfurt in 1356, though the putative identification of this figure with "Hermannus de Brucken," lector in Nordhausen and author of an *Opus sexaginta praedicabilium* (inc. "Crebrius rogatus a fratribus . . .") in Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk 2034, fols. 2r–129r, must await further evidence. See Ludger Meier, "Christianus de Hiddestorf O.F.M. Scholae Erfordiensis columna," *Antonianum* 14 (1939): 62; idem, "De appellatione contra fr. Burchardum de Mansfeld, Ministrum Saxoniae," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 42 (1949): 348 and n. 2; and idem, *Barfüsserschule*, 12 n. 54. The identification of Hermannus de Brucken with our author, which appears to have originated in Sbaralea's supplement to Wadding (*Sbaralea, Supplementum*, pt. 1, 360–61), likewise lacks evidence.

<sup>12</sup> *Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Mainz von 1289–1396*, vol. 1, pt. 2, ed. Heinrich Otto (Darmstadt, 1935; rpt. Aalen, 1976), 152, no. 3546. The letter is printed in full in Edmund E. Stengel, *Nova Alamanniae: Urkunden, Briefe und andere Quellen besonders zur deutschen Geschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1921), 225–28 (Herman appears at p. 227).

<sup>13</sup> Prague, Státní knihovna I. G. 2., fol. 67v: "Explicit Stella clericorum, quam fecit dominus magister Hermannus Tepelsteyn, doctor et professor in sacra theologia, Minorum Fratrum frater etc."; the same scribe also copied fols. 126r–137r. The origin of this manuscript is unknown. The word "fecit" here likely denotes copying rather than authorship; certainly Herman is not the author of the *Stella clericorum* (in fact a much earlier treatise) as is suggested in Morton W. Bloomfield et al., *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D.* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), no. 4435. See my "The *Stella clericorum* and Its Readers: A Study of the Reception of Popular Theology in the Later Middle Ages" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Toronto, 1994), 50.

The details of Herman's career remain obscure beyond the clues given by his treatise and the Prague colophon. He does not appear in the records of any fourteenth-century university either as student or master, and no other works can certainly be ascribed to him.<sup>14</sup> Some advanced training is apparent in Herman's use of contemporary canon law and theology, though he need not have attended a university to get it: in Saxony both the Magdeburg and especially the Erfurt Franciscan *studia* were important centers of theological and legal studies.<sup>15</sup> Herman probably refers to theological training at the end of article five when he makes a point "*cum correptione magistrorum meorum in theologia*." This remark and the Prague colophon, in which he is described as "*doctor et professor in sacra theoloya*" (perhaps indicating that Herman had a university post, as teachers in Franciscan schools were usually called lectors), suggest that Herman's primary expertise was in theology rather than canon law.

The *Casus* itself supports this view. Herman begins with a fundamentally theological rather than legal argument, that mendicant confessional authority rests on papal primacy, and he returns implicitly to this same idea at the end of the treatise.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, although the *Casus*—as the title suggests—is primarily concerned with issues of canon law rather than theology, Herman frequently builds his legal arguments from the writings of others, especially Johannes Andreae, Hostiensis, and Johannes Monachus. Finally, the traces of scholastic organization in the treatise, similar to that employed in the earlier defenses of mendicant rights by the Dominican theologians John of Paris and Hervaeus Natalis, also suggest that Herman was by training a theologian rather than a lawyer. As the text makes clear, however, Herman had more than a casual knowledge of contemporary canon law; his proficiency underscores the fluidity of the boundaries between academic disciplines in the fourteenth century, particularly in pastoral matters.

<sup>14</sup> Astronomical tables attributed to a Herman of Saxony appear in several fourteenth-century manuscripts; whether or not these texts are connected to Herman Topelstein requires further study. See *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque publique de la ville de Bruges*, ed. A. De Poorter (Gembloux and Paris, 1934), 618–20 (Bruges, Bibliothèque Publique 524, fols. 35rb–36va, inc. "*Ascendens in hora conjunctionis vel oppositionis . . .*"); and *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, quarto series, vol. 5 (Paris, 1879), 122–23 (Metz, Bibliothèque de la Ville 286 [destroyed], inc. "*Anno Christi 1361 completo, ad meridiem 10 diei . . .*"); and 287, fols. 48ra–50vb, cited in Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin*, rev. ed. [Cambridge, Mass., 1963], col. 102).

<sup>15</sup> See Meier, *Barfüsserschule*, esp. 60–126; and Ferdinand Doelle, "Das Partikularstudium der Sächsischen Provinz im Mittelalter," *Franziskanische Studien* 14 (1927): 244–51.

<sup>16</sup> On this argument, see Hödl, *Johannes Quidort*, esp. 16–18.

\*  
\* \*

According to his prologue, Herman collected the *Casus* to educate "simple confessors" about the cases reserved to superiors. He begins by citing Psalm 103:9, "Thou hast set a bound which they shall not pass over," and elaborates this through a discussion of the nature and justification of limits and boundaries. The prologue asserts papal primacy, significant given mendicant resistance to *Super cathedram* and *Dudum*,<sup>17</sup> and affirms the authority of the pope to impose boundaries and the necessity for inferiors to obey them.<sup>18</sup>

The treatise then proceeds through eleven articles which set out the cases reserved to superiors in the law and clarify potential ambiguities that might result during the course of the friars' pastoral work. Herman's first article considers whether cases of uncertain restitution (*uaga restitutio*) should be reserved to bishops. Rejecting Hostiensis's interpretation that these cases are reserved, Herman cites the Archdeacon and Johannes Andreae, who argue instead that it suffices to distribute the goods in question to the poor. He also cites John Duns Scotus in support, and ends by resolving two potential ambiguities in practical matters the confessor might encounter, one when the rightful recipient is known but no longer living, another when great distance would make the act of restitution exceed the value of the debt itself.

Article two broadens this discussion by listing the cases for which absolution is reserved to the bishop or pope. Herman's discussion is composed primarily of the well-known cases drawn from Hostiensis, Johannes Monachus, and Johannes Andreae, from whom he takes much of his language. The organization of the cases included, however, is his own. Because the treatise is meant as a handbook, Herman elaborates more fully several of the cases which rely on fine distinctions to determine jurisdiction, for example between public and solemn penance and between transgression and commutation of vows and oaths. Finally, he advises his readers that one's superior is to be consulted for any serious offenses, for

<sup>17</sup> On mendicant resistance, see Lippens, "Le droit nouveau," 245–46; and Uyttenbroeck, "Le droit pénitentiel," 177–78. The friars' superiors, however, urged submission to the legislation (Lippens, "Le droit nouveau," 253).

<sup>18</sup> Herman here addresses John of Pouilly's assertion that pastoral powers were given by Christ to the apostles and disciples and thus to their successors, the secular clergy. Herman argues instead that the power passed to the successors of Peter alone, i.e., the popes. See Koch, "Der Prozess," 414; and Uyttenbroeck, "Le droit pénitentiel," 186.

new or especially difficult cases, and for cases beyond the ability of the priest.

Article three moves from the limits of priestly jurisdiction to consider the place of the mendicant friars in pastoral care along the lines set out in *Dudum*. Herman interprets the decree broadly, arguing that friars can absolve in any case permitted to curates, whether or not they have the license from the bishop required by the decree. This argument is central to the work as a whole, and Herman returns to it again at the very end of the treatise.

Herman deals specifically with cases in which bishops withhold licenses from friars; he argues that in such cases the decretal explicitly states that friars may hear confessions by the grace of the Apostolic See. Furthermore, he argues that *Dudum* grants parishioners free choice of confessor, whether friar or curate, and later he extends the same argument to include choice of burial.

The longest section of the article addresses John of Pouilly's thesis that no papal pronouncements could release the faithful from the obligation of confessing all their sins once a year to their own parish priest (even if already confessed to a friar) according to *Omnis utriusque sexus* of the Fourth Lateran Council. The reiteration of confessions had long been a sore point in relations between the seculars and the mendicants, and *Super cathedram* did not provide a clear solution. Indeed, this question would arise again in the disputes between the mendicants and Richard FitzRalph in the 1350s.<sup>19</sup> Herman follows the usual mendicant interpretation of *Omnis*, that the obligation of yearly confession to one's curate in no way requires reconfession of sins already confessed to a friar. He cites John XXII's *Vas electionis*, which declared Pouilly's argument erroneous, and stresses that *Dudum* in no way denies or revokes *Omnis* but rather broadens it to include friars under "proprius sacerdos." He supports this point with Scotus's distinction on "proprius sacerdos."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> This is evident in Roger Conway, *Defensio religionis mendicantium*, cap. 5 (Goldast, *Monarchia* 2:1421–25), and Bartholomeus de Bolsenheim, *Tractatus . . . in quo respondet ad articulos a domino Armacano contra ordines mendicantium propositos*, art. 8 (Meersseman, "La défense," 167–71). See also Uyttenbroeck, "Le droit pénitentiel," 181–85.

<sup>20</sup> Scotus follows the usual mendicant view of confessional jurisdiction, which sees the *proprius sacerdos* in *Omnis* as *commissarius* rather than *ordinarius*; *proprius sacerdos* thus applies to friars as well as to secular curates. John of Paris employs this same distinction in his *De confessionibus audiendis*. See the survey of the disagreement over this crucial question in Hödl, *Johannes Quidort*, esp. 14, as well as the background in Joseph Avril, "A propos du 'proprius sacerdos': Quelques réflexions sur les pouvoirs du prêtre de paroisse," in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Salamanca, 21–25 September 1976*, ed. Stephan Kuttner and Kenneth Pennington, Monumenta Iuris Canonici Series C: Subsidia 6 (Vatican City, 1980), 471–86.

Neither *Super cathedram* nor *Dudum* was popular among the friars, who saw them as limiting the pastoral rights they had long been asserting in practice. Herman's reading of *Dudum* emphasizes both the extent to which the decree preserved these rights and the legal position of the friars in the event that bishops tried to block the friars' exercise of their rights.

In articles four through eight Herman deals with several objections and difficulties that might arise from his reading of *Dudum*. He begins by rejecting the right of bishops to remove cases from mendicant jurisdiction by declaring in synod that they are with just cause reserved. He develops this by considering several points from Johannes Monachus's gloss on *Super cathedram*.<sup>21</sup> In article five he argues that absolutions in *casus reservati* can be given in parts, whereby a curate or friar absolves the penitent in what pertains to him and defers the rest to the bishop. Article six continues this discussion by considering conditional absolutions: Herman argues (against Hostiensis) that neither curates nor friars can absolve pending the bishop's approval in reserved cases. Article seven, drawn from Hostiensis, argues that officials of the bishop cannot absolve in particular reserved cases, which are listed (again from Hostiensis) in article eight.

In article nine Herman turns from *Dudum* to consider the decree *Religiosi* from the Council of Vienne, which regulated friars' powers in absolving from sentences of excommunication *latae sententiae*.<sup>22</sup> Herman assumes in his readers some familiarity with the literature on the question when he cites where lists of these cases can be found (in Innocent IV, William Durandus, Hostiensis, and Johannes Andreae) but does not actually repeat the cases themselves "because they are remembered by many." Since *Religiosi* was relatively recent and the changes it enacted might present problems to friars in the field, Herman considers in detail the special cases in which such excommunications are not reserved. Article ten continues the gloss on *Religiosi* by outlining the penalties for illicit absolution of excommunicates.

In the final article Herman deals with cases customarily reserved to bishops, again presenting the list from Hostiensis that appears in article two. Herman here takes his reading of *Dudum* a step further, arguing that the cases are not reserved unless they are public or particularly scandalous,

<sup>21</sup> Herman's use of this gloss and the subsequent spread of the *Casus* point to a greater influence for Johannes's gloss than Uyttenbroeck ("Le droit pénitentiel," 183–84) concedes.

<sup>22</sup> See Elisabeth Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986), esp. 28–35, 56, and 140–42. She notes that by the end of the thirteenth century compendia of these cases had become "a minor literary form" (35 n. 27), evident in Herman's summary reference to several such lists.

and furthermore that the decree, by revoking any customs to the contrary, explicitly gives friars the authority to hear these cases.

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As even this brief summary makes clear, much of the *Casus* is a pastiche of opinions drawn from other authors, especially articles one, two, and nine, where Herman treats questions well developed in the literature. The text, however, is not a rote compilation. Herman has put his own organization on the material, and he reads his authorities critically, as for example in article one. Several of the arguments are original, such as the detailed glossing of the decretal *Dudum* in articles three and eleven, the reading of Johannes Monachus in article four, and the gloss on *Religiosi* in article nine.

Herman's main source is the corpus of canon law and its glosses, especially Johannes Andreae's glosses on the recent legislation in the *Liber Sextus* and the Clementines. Herman concentrates on the decretals relevant to the pastoral status of the friars, in particular Andreae's glosses on *Dudum* and *Religiosi*. He also uses relevant decretals outside the contemporary corpus: John XXII's *Vas electionis* of 1321 and Johannes Monachus's gloss on *Super cathedram*.

In addition to the corpus, Herman uses Hostiensis's *Summa* and his *Lectura* on the decretals, Innocent IV's *Apparatus* on the decretals, and the Archdeacon's commentary on the *Liber Sextus*. Several close echoes suggest that Herman was also familiar with Johannes Andreae's *Commentaria* on the decretals and perhaps Raymond of Peñafort's *Summa de penitentia*, and he cites William Durandus's *Speculum iudiciale* and *Repertorium iuris canonici*, presumably at first hand. Herman's theological training is evident in the two citations to Scotus's commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard (in articles one and three). The other extra-legal citations (the Breviary in article one and the *glossa ordinaria* on Matthew 16:19 in the prologue) would be well known to a religious author with some advanced training.

The remainder of the citations are probably all second hand. The passage from Petrus de Sampsona (article two) includes no indication of its source, but since Johannes Andreae made use of Petrus's commentary in his own *Commentaria* on the *Liber Extra*, Herman might have drawn the passage from there.<sup>23</sup> Andreae might similarly be the source of the cita-

<sup>23</sup> I have not located the passage in Andreae. On some of the problems associated with Petrus's commentary, see Vodola, *Excommunication*, 233–36 (appendix 6).

tions of his student Mattheus Romanus.<sup>24</sup> The citations of Johannes Teutonicus, Vincentius Hispanus, Richardus Anglicus (all in article one), and Alanus Anglicus (article two) appear in quotations or paraphrases from other authors.

I have located nine copies of the *Casus*, to which I have assigned the following *sigla*:

- A1 Assisi, Sacro Convento di S. Francesco 447, fols. 121v–127r (olim Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale 447)<sup>25</sup>
- A2 Assisi, Sacro Convento di S. Francesco 667, fols. 74r–78r (olim Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale 667)<sup>26</sup>
- C Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 333, fols. 126r–135v<sup>27</sup>
- M Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 8968, fols. 182ra–192va<sup>28</sup>
- N Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III VII. F. 23., fols. 181r–186r<sup>29</sup>
- P1 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3373, fols. 21v–25v<sup>30</sup>
- P2 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3373, fols. 32v–34v

<sup>24</sup> These appear in articles two and nine, both apparently to Romanus's unedited *Lectura super Clementinis*, which antedates the commentary on the Clementines of his teacher; it survives only in Halle, Universitätsbibliothek Ye. 2° 29. See R. Naz, "Matthieu le Romain," in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, vol. 6 (Paris, 1957), col. 846; and Joh. Friedrich von Schulte, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts von Gratian bis auf die Gegenwart*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1877; rpt. Graz, 1956), 239–41.

<sup>25</sup> Descriptions in Cesare Cenci, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad Sacrum Conventum Assisiensem*, 2 vols. (Assisi, 1981), 1:331–32; and G. Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. 4 (Forlì, 1894), 94. Written in an Italian *textualis*, s. xiv med.; attested in the 1381 inventory of the collection of the Franciscans of Assisi (published in Cenci, *Bibliotheca*).

<sup>26</sup> Cenci, *Bibliotheca* 2:569–70, and Mazzatinti, *Inventari* 4:130. Also attested in the 1381 Assisi inventory; the hand is an Italian *cursiva*, s. xiv<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Cambridge, 1911), 160–62. Written in an English hand, s. xv med.; of unknown medieval provenance (presumably English, as several English names appear on the front cover in post-medieval hands).

<sup>28</sup> *Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Munich, 1874; rpt. Wiesbaden, 1968), 69. Written in a German *cursiva*, s. xiv ex./xv in.; in the collection of the Franciscans of Munich, though not in the inventory of 1439; see Sigrid Krämer and Michael Bernhard, *Handschriftenerbe des deutschen Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1989–90), 2:584.

<sup>29</sup> Cesare Cenci, *Manoscritti francescani della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1971), 553–54. Written in an Italian *cursiva*, s. xv<sup>2</sup> (probably ca. 1460: see fol. 180v); a post-medieval note (fol. 193r) connects the book to the Franciscans of S. Maria delle Grazie of Teramo.

<sup>30</sup> *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1966), 302–11. This rather ornate book includes two copies of the text in distinct but coeval Italian *textualis* hands, s. xiv<sup>2</sup>. The book was in the library of the Visconti and Sforza of Milan by 1426, where it remained until taken to Blois in 1499 by Louis XII of France; see Élisabeth Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1955), 247 (A 783) and 308 (B 429).



- R* Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II Vitt. Em. 16, fols. 33r–74r (unseen)<sup>31</sup>  
*W* Wrocław, Biblioteka Kapitulna 72 (unseen)<sup>32</sup>

This edition is based on *AI*, because of both its age and the consistency of its readings; the other manuscripts (except *R* and *W*, which I was unable to examine) have been collated against it. Abbreviations have been silently expanded; spelling has been regularized (with *i/I* and *u/V* for both vowel and consonant uses, and *e* for *ae/oe*); and paragraphs, punctuation, and capitalization follow modern practice.<sup>33</sup> The names of legal *tituli* have been silently expanded only as far as suggested by the abbreviation used. *AI* has no rubrics numbering the articles or summarizing their contents such as those found in some of the other manuscripts; for ease of reference I have added simple numbered headings to mark each article, and I have noted the more elaborate rubrics in the apparatus.

Major variants between copies are few, and the text reveals no signs of different authorial redactions. *M* shows minor reworking and some brief elaborations throughout (the clearest example occurs at the beginning of article two), though this is probably a scribe's attempt to make sense of a poor exemplar: *M*'s readings are frequently unique and often nonsense. *N* presents a truncated text which omits much of the prologue (to "Ne itaque delinquendi"), omits all of articles eight, ten, and eleven, and includes only a brief abbreviation of article nine.<sup>34</sup> The other manuscripts preserve texts close to *AI*: *P1* and *C* are generally reliable, while *A2* and *P2* include frequent omissions and misreadings.

The *apparatus criticus* records significant variants between the manuscripts. All readings from *AI* are recorded, but I have omitted minor variants occurring in the other manuscripts, such as obvious errors, transposition of words, and changes of verb tense or number where they do not affect the sense of the passage. Where significant variants occur, however, I have noted the readings of all the manuscripts. Omissions common to

<sup>31</sup> Cited in Cenci, *Manoscritti francescani* 2:554 n. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Cited in Meier, *Barfüsserschule*, 94 n. 20.

<sup>33</sup> In general I have followed the guidelines set out by Stephan Kuttner in the "Bulletin of the Institute of Research and Study in Medieval Canon Law," *Traditio* 11 (1955): 436–39 and 15 (1959): 452–64, though I have adapted them to the peculiarities of this text. Note that angle brackets (< >) denote material to be added to the manuscript, and square brackets ([ ]) denote material to be deleted.

<sup>34</sup> Article nine is reworked into a *questio*: "Vtrum religiosus qui absoluit aliquem a peccato ignorans ipsum uallatum sententia per statutum prouinciale aut sinodale numquid excusatur per ignorantiam? Dic quod sic . . ." (fol. 186r). The rest of the article follows as in the other manuscripts.

several copies have been noted (for example, the *homoeoteleuton* common to *A2*, *N*, and *P2* in article two), though others appearing in only one manuscript have not.

Herman's sources are identified in the *apparatus fontium*. He frequently borrows ideas or entire passages from others: direct quotations (or those with only minor changes) are indicated by quotation marks, even where they are lengthy, such as the substantial passage drawn from the Archdeacon's commentary on the *Liber Sextus* in article one. Paraphrases are cited in the apparatus but are not distinguished in the text.

The following abbreviations appear in the apparatus:

Andreae, <i>Comm.</i>	= <i>Iohannis Andreae . . . in quinque Decretalium libros novella commentaria</i> , 4 vols. (Venice: Apud Franciscum Franciscum, Senensem, 1581; rpt. Turin, 1963)
<i>Cod.</i>	= <i>Codex Iustinianus</i> , ed. Paul Krueger, <i>Corpus iuris civilis</i> , vol. 2, 2d ed. (Berlin, 1880)
<i>Dig.</i>	= <i>Digesta</i> , ed. Theodor Mommsen, <i>Corpus iuris civilis</i> , vol. 1, 6th ed. (Berlin, 1893)
Friedberg	= <i>Corpus iuris canonici</i> , 2 vols., ed. Aemilius Friedberg (Leipzig, 1879–81)
Host., <i>Lectura</i>	= <i>Henrici de Segusio cardinalis Hostiensis . . . in quintum Decretalium librum commentaria</i> (Venice: Apud Iuntas, 1581) (all citations from book five)
Host., <i>Summa</i>	= <i>Summa domini Henrici cardinalis Hostiensis</i> ([Lyons], 1542)
Inn. IV, <i>Apparatus</i>	= <i>Commentaria Innocentii Quarti pont. maximi super libros quinque decretalium</i> (Frankfurt: Sigismundus Feyrabendus, 1570; rpt. Frankfurt, 1968)

The *glossae ordinariae* of the *Corpus iuris canonici* are cited from the following editions:

- Decretum Gratiani* (Paris: Apud Gulielmum Merlin, Gulielmum Desboys, Sebastianum Niuellium, 1561)
- Decretales Gregorii IX* (Paris: Apud Gulielmum Merlin, Gulielmum Desboys, Sebastianum Niuellium, 1561)
- Sextus decretalium liber* (Lyons: Apud Hugonem à Porta, 1559) (gloss of Johannes Andreae)
- Clementis quinti constitutiones* (Lyons: Apud Hugonem à Porta, 1559) (gloss of Johannes Andreae)
- Extravagantes communes* (Lyons: Apud Hugonem à Porta, 1559) (gloss of Johannes Monachus)

## &lt;CASUS ABSTRACTI A IURE&gt;

&lt;m°. ccc°. xxx°. vii°. , tempore Geraldi generalis&gt;

“Terminum posuisti quem non transgredientur,” in Psalmo.<sup>1</sup> Vna ista immaculata columba,<sup>2</sup> alma mater ecclesia, unica unici Christi sponsa, quamuis a sue primeue etatis exordio fundatores habeant duodenario contentos numero. Vnius tamen sponsi legitimi semper unica sponsa fuit, apud quam residebat et residet plenitudo ecclesiastice potestatis. Iuxta quod legitur xxi. di. *In nouo*,<sup>3</sup> quod licet “ceteri apostoli cum Petro pari consortio honorem et potestatem acceperint, ipsum tamen principem eorum esse uoluerunt,” et xxii. di. *Sacrosancta*,<sup>4</sup> “licet omnes essent apostoli, Petro tamen a Domino concessum est, et ipsi inter se id ipsum uoluerunt, ut reliquis omnibus preesset apostolis et Cephas, id est capud, et principatum teneret apostolatus.”

Prefate igitur uniuersalis potestatis beati Petri eodem numero usque in finem seculi continuat auctoritas in summis pontificibus legitimis cum heredibus diuersis numero sibi succedentibus. Licet enim plures sint apostolici sacerdotes eo quod morte prohibeantur permanere, apostolica tamen potestas una est numero per sedem que non moritur continuata et usque in finem seculi duratura, dicente Domino Luce xxii.:<sup>5</sup> “Ego pro te rogaui, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua.” Heredes isti legitimi “beati Petri eterne uite clauigeri, cui Christus terreni simul et celestis imperii iura commisit,” ut xxii. di. *Omnis*,<sup>6</sup> potestatem ligandi atque soluendi quam quilibet sacerdos in ordinatione recipit, dicente beato Ieronimo, et est in glossa

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1 m°. . . . generalis *add. al. man.* A1 : om. A2 C M N P1 P2      2 terminum] terminos C  
 4 primeue] prime C      habeant] habeat P2      5 fuit] fuerit C      8 acceperint] acceperunt C  
 14 continuat] continuatur A2 C M P1 P2      cum] eius A2 C M P1 P2      17 potestas] auctoritas C : auctoritas seu potestas P1  
 19 isti] istius P2 : ergo M      21 ut] ut habetur P1  
 Omnis] Omne A2 : Omnes *ed. Friedberg*

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<sup>1</sup> Ps 103:9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cant 6:8: “Una est columba mea, perfecta mea. . . .”

<sup>3</sup> Gratian, D.21 c.2.

<sup>4</sup> Gratian, D.22 c.2.

<sup>5</sup> Lc 22:32.

<sup>6</sup> Gratian, D.22 c.1.

Matthei xvi., *Quodcumque ligaueris et cetera*:<sup>7</sup> quod eandem potestatem  
 25 “habet omnis ecclesia in presbiteris,” laxare, artare, restringere et ampliare  
 possunt prout eis uidetur. Cuius restrictionis et limitationis terminos trans-  
 gredi non licet nec “in messem alienam falcem mittere,”<sup>8</sup> quia “sine culpa  
 non est qui rei que ad se non pertinet se immiscet.”<sup>9</sup>

Iuxta premissa in uerbis propositis quantum ad sacramentalem absolu-  
 tionem aliquid supponitur et aliquid imponitur. Supponitur apud summos  
 30 pontifices determinandi et limitandi auctoritas, quia ipsorum est certos  
 limites et terminos in huiusmodi ponere et cuilibet prefigere statui. Im-  
 ponitur inferioribus obediendi facultas et obsequendi necessitas ut sibi  
 prefixos non transgrediantur terminos.

Ne itaque delinquendi incentiuum prebeat facilitas uenie per summos  
 35 pontifices, in sacris est prouisum canonibus ne quilibet peccator a quolibet  
 peccato absolui possit a quolibet confessore. Vt casus superioribus reser-  
 uati et de quibus se non habent intromittere inferiores sub compendio  
 habeantur, et ut confessores simplices in administratione sacramenti  
 penitentie sic habere se sciant ut ipsorum non uituperetur ministerium,  
 40 procedo per infrascriptos articulos.

#### <Primus articulus>

Primus articulus stat in una conclusione, uidelicet quod dispositio de  
 male ablatiis uel acquisitis incertis, quam uagam restitutionem uocant, non  
 est casus episcopis reseruatus. Et per hanc conclusionem tollitur opinio  
 45 Hostiensis, qui dicit hunc casum pertinere ad episcopum, Extra, de Iudeis,

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23 ligaueris] ligaueritis *P1 P2* : ligaueris super terram *M* 25 uidetur] uidebitur *C* 26  
 quia] De regulis iuris in 6<sup>o</sup> quia *C* 27 rei] in rem *M* : in re *P1* : re *P2* immiscet] immisset  
*A1 M P1 P2* 28 propositis] prepositis *C* 31 in huiusmodi ponere] in huiusmodi inponere  
*C P2* : scilicet huiusmodi ponere *A2* : in huius ponere *M* 32 facultas *om. A2 C M P1 P2*  
 33 terminos] -in- *interl. A1* : limites seu terminos *M* 34 itaque] utique *C* facilitas]  
 facultas *M* 36 ut] unde ne *C* 37 habent] habet *A2* : debent *C* 38 administratione]  
 administrationem *C* 40 per] ad *M* infrascriptos] subscriptos *C* 41 Primus articulus  
*marg. A2, rubr. P2* : 2<sup>us</sup> articulus *rubr. M* : 1<sup>us</sup> articulus de male ablatiis *marg. C* : *om. A1 N P1*  
 42 una] ista *A2 C N P2* conclusione] questione *C* dispositio] dispensatio *N P2* 43  
 acquisitis incertis] inquisitis inter uiuos *C* quam] quod *A1 A2* 44 conclusionem]  
 opinionem *C*

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<sup>7</sup> *Glossa ordinaria* at Mt 16:19, in *Biblionum sacrorum tomus quintus, cum Glossa ordinaria*  
 et *Nicolai Lyrani expositionibus* (Lyons, 1545), fol. 52va.

<sup>8</sup> Gratian, C.6 q.3 c.1.

<sup>9</sup> VI [5.13] reg. 19.

*Cum sit* et de usuris, *Cum tu*.<sup>10</sup>

Contrarium teneo cum Archidiacono<sup>11</sup> in glossa Extra, de testamentis, *Religiosus*, Libro vi.,<sup>12</sup> ubi recitata opinione Hostiensis predicta subiungit hec uerba: “Sed dic contra ut clare patet Extra, de testamentis, *Tua*<sup>13</sup> et  
50 eodem capitulo *Religiosus*, Libro vi.,<sup>14</sup> ibi *Libere*.” Et subdit quod “ipsemet qui male accepit posset disponere si uellet, ut est planus testus Extra, de usuris, *Cum tu*,<sup>15</sup> § i., ibi *Pauperibus erogare*. Et huiusmodi sententie sunt Iohannes, Vincentius, et Ricardus, Extra, de Iudeis, *Cum sit*, in glossa,<sup>16</sup> sic ergo et Innocentius, Extra, de immunitate ecclesiarum, *Quia plerique*, in  
55 glosse parte prima iuxta finem, uersiculo *Si autem illicitas negotiationes* et cetera.<sup>17</sup> Nec obstat decretalis allegata *Cum sit*,<sup>18</sup> quia loquitur de Iudeo cuius actus et dispensatio non immerito habetur suspecta circa pauperes Christianos. Ideo bene et iuste dicitur ibi ‘Secundum prouidentiam diocesani episcopi’ et cetera, que suspitio cessat in fidei Christiano. Et si bene  
60 aduertatur illa decretalis *Cum sit*,<sup>19</sup> non dicit quod per manum episcopi uel eius auctoritatem illa incerta debeant dispensari.”

Et sic non obstat decretalis etiam Extra, de priuilegiis, *Religiosi*, in Clementinis,<sup>20</sup> ubi “Religiosi qui male ablata incerta sibi aut aliis sui ordinis fratribus uel conuentibus in aliorum preiudicium fieri seu erogari procurant” certa pena puniuntur. Non obstat quia intelligo “In aliorum pre-

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47 teneo] tene A2 : ergo dico et tene M      48 Religiosus ed. Friedberg : Et religiosus A1  
A2 C M N P1 P2      49 dic] dicis C : dicit M      51 accepit] accipit C M      disponere] dis-  
pensare uere M      testus] textus C M      52 § i.] ¶ i. A1 : q. i. A2 : i. M      55 parte prima]  
pars prima A1, prima interl. : prima C      57 dispensatio] dispositio M      circa] contra M N P2  
58 dicitur] dicit C M N P1 P2      61 auctoritatem] auctoritatem habentem A2

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<sup>10</sup> Host., *Lectura*, X 5.6.16, at “Secundum prouidentiam dioecessani” (fol. 33ra) and X 5.19.5, at “Pauperibus erogare” (fol. 56vb).

<sup>11</sup> Guido de Baysio, *In sextum decretalium commentaria* (Venice, 1606), VI 3.11.2, § “Libere” (fol. 100ra), the source of the following quotations.

<sup>12</sup> VI 3.11.2.

<sup>13</sup> X 3.26.17.

<sup>14</sup> VI 3.11.2.

<sup>15</sup> X 5.19.5.

<sup>16</sup> Iohannes Teutonicus, Vincentius Hispanus, and Ricardus Anglicus. The Archdeacon here cites “Io. Vin. et B.,” referring to Bernardus Parmensis, which he draws from the *glossa* on X 5.6.16, at “Pauperum,” which cites “Io. et Bernardus” (col. 1814).

<sup>17</sup> Inn. IV, *Apparatus*, at X 3.49.8 (fol. 460rb).

<sup>18</sup> X 5.6.16.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> *Clem.* 5.7.1, the source of the following quotation.

iudicium" "quibus debetur uel quibus legari uolebant." Hec Iohannes Andree.<sup>21</sup>

Si uero capiamus aliam partem glosse ubi Iohannes Andree dicit sic:<sup>22</sup>  
 70 "Posset etiam intelligi de episcopis quibus competit dispensatio male abla-  
 torum incertorum, et tunc faceret pro Hostiense in hiis que scripsimus post  
 eum, de Iudeis, *Cum sit* et de usuris, *Cum tu*." Hec Iohannes Andree.

Dico quod bene dicit si teneatur uia Hostiensis, sed illam non credo  
 ueram propter quod hoc intellectus uacat. Vnde idem Iohannes Andree de  
 usuris, *Cum tu*,<sup>23</sup> sic nominauit. Putat Hostiensis quod distribuere male  
 75 ablata incerta spectat ad diocesanum et quod de auctoritate eius debeat  
 fieri huiusmodi erogatio, sed dico satis esse quod ille qui recipit det  
 pauperibus, de homicidio, *Sicut dignum*, § *Eos*.<sup>24</sup> Et sic uidetur Iohannem  
 Andree concordare cum Archidiacono contra Hostiensem.

Item cum Archidiacono et aliis superius enumeratis doctoribus sentit  
 80 Doctor Subtilis, lib. iiii<sup>o</sup>, di. xv., q. ii.:<sup>25</sup> Queritur "utrum quicumque iniuste  
 abstulit uel detinet rem alienam teneatur illam restituere?"

Sed oritur dubium: Aliquis tenet male ablatum uel acquisitum et scit cui  
 facienda est restitutio sed mortuus est. Dico quod restitutio facienda est  
 propinquis seu heredibus si habet, et si non inueniuntur propinqui uel  
 85 heredes succedunt pauperes et illis erogandum est. Ratio: Cui non potest  
 temporaliter reddi spiritualiter est reddendum. Sed hoc fit erogando pau-  
 peribus, nam et hoc est thesaurizare in celo, dicente beato Laurentio "ad

66 debetur uel quibus legari uolebant] legare uolebant *C*: debetur uel quibus legare  
 uolebant *M N P2*: debetur uel quibus rogare nolebat *P1* hec] secundum *A2 C M N P1 P2*  
 69 posset] possit *A2* 70 pro] per *A2 C M P1* post] per *M* 71 et *om. A1* hec]  
 secundum *P1* 72 dico] dicitur *M* 73 ueram] esse ueram *A2 N P2* hoc] hic *A2 N*:  
 habeatur *C*: habet *P1* idem] ibidem *A2*: *om. N* 74 nominauit] notauit *C M* putat]  
 putauit *C* 76 recipit] recepit *N P1* 77 de homicidio] Extra, de homicidio *C* 79  
 superius enumeratis] superius numeratis *A2*: supernominatis *P1* 81 abstulit] abstulerit *C N*  
 detinet] detinuerit *C* restituere] destituere *P1* 82 ablatum uel acquisitum] ablata uel  
 acquisita *N*: ablatum uel acquisitum iniuste *M* 83 restitutio<sup>1</sup>] restitio *A1* 84  
 inueniuntur] inueniunt *C P1* 85 ratio] quia *M* 86 sed hoc] sed hic *A2*: quod *C* 87  
 nam et hoc] nonne hic *A2* dicente] nota de *N*

<sup>21</sup> *Clem.* 5.7.1, glossa at "In aliorum" (col. 265), the source of the preceding quotation.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, citing X 5.6.16 and X 5.19.5.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Andreae, *Comm.*, X 5.19.5, at "Erogare" (vol. 4, fol. 73va).

<sup>24</sup> Host., *Lectura*, X 5.12.6, § "Eos insuper," at "Fuerat" (fol. 44va).

<sup>25</sup> John Duns Scotus, *Quaestiones in librum quartum Sententiarum*, dist. 15, quaest. 2, in vol. 18 of *Opera omnia* (Paris, 1894), 255.

impium tiranum illum: nam facultates ecclesie quas requiris in celestes thesauros manus pauperum deportauerunt.”<sup>26</sup>

- 90 Aliud dubium est, aliquis certus est cui facienda est restitutio sed habitat in remotis et fierent maiores expense in transmittendo quam ualeret debitum. Quicquid dicant alii, michi uidetur dicendum quod ex hoc non liberatur rei aliene iniustus detentor, ut non oporteat eam ei restituere cuius est, et “dampnum, quod ex hoc sentit, sibi imputet,” ut Extra, de regulis iuris, 95 *Dampnum*, Libro vi.<sup>27</sup>

### <Secundus articulus><sup>28</sup>

- Secundus articulus enumerat casus episcopis reseruatos a iure. Primus est in crimine pro quo est sollempnis penitentia imponenda. Vbi notandum pro intellectu termini quod penitentia alia est publica alia sollempnis. 100 Publica est quando alicui iniungitur peregrinatio cum baculo cubitali et pera benedictis uel cum aliquo alio genere uestis. Hanc sacerdos potest iniungere cum non sit prohibitum,<sup>29</sup> arg. l. di. *Penitentes*<sup>30</sup> et xxx. di. *Si quis*

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88 ad impium tiranum illum] ad ipsum tiranum *C* : ad tiranum *M* : *om.* *N* 91 ualeret] ualet *N* 93 oporteat] oportet *A2* 94 sentit] sentit uel sequitur *M* ut] ut habetur *C P1* 96 Secundus articulus *arg. A2, rubr. MP2* : Secundus articulus est de casibus episcopis a iure reseruatis *arg. C* : *om.* *A1 N P1* 97 Secundus . . . a iure] Secundus articulus est enumerare casus episcopis reseruatos a iure, tamen distinctionibus suis utilibus et bonis et sunt nonem *M* primus] primus casus *M* 98 in crimine] crimen *N* ubi] unde *C* : secundum *P2* 100 cubitali] capitali *A1 A2 M N P1 P2* 101 benedictis] benedictionis *A2 M* : benedictus *C* : *om.* *P1* uel] aliter *C* : *om.* *P1* genere] onere *N* 102 prohibitum] ei prohibitum *C*

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<sup>26</sup> *Breviarium Romanum, pars aetiva* (Regensburg, 1931), 10 August, Ant. ad Magn. in II Vesp. (p. 879).

<sup>27</sup> VI [5.13] reg. 86.

<sup>28</sup> This article borrows from the discussions of this theme by Hostiensis, Johannes Monachus, and Johannes Andreae: respectively Host., *Summa*, lib. 5, rubr. “De penitentiis et remissionibus,” § “Cui confitendum,” at “Nec in hoc” (fol. 272va); *glossa* on *Super cathedram* (*Extrav. Comm.* 3.6.2), at “A iure” (cols. 101–2); and *glossa* on *Si episcopus*, VI 5.10.2, at “Reseruantur” (col. 641).

<sup>29</sup> The language here is close to Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, ed. Xaverius Ochoa and Aloisius Diez, *Universa Bibliotheca Iuris*, vol. 1B (Rome, 1976), col. 801, at lib. 3, tit. 34, § 6: “Publica dicitur quandoque quae supra est dicta sollempnis. . . non cum praedicta sollempnitate, sed cum iniungitur peregrinatio per mundum cum baculo cubitali et scapulari, vel veste alia ad hoc consueta.”

<sup>30</sup> Gratian, D.50 c.63.

*presbiter*,<sup>31</sup> de consecratione di. iii. *De penitentibus*,<sup>32</sup> Extra, de penitentiis et remissionibus, *Quesitum*.<sup>33</sup> Secundo notandum est quod hec non debet  
 105 imponi nisi pro graui crimine et publico. Penitentia sollempnis est que imponitur in capite quadragesime cum sollempnitate, que habetur l. di. *In capite*.<sup>34</sup> De quo notanda sunt sex per ordinem.

Primo quod a solo episcopo imponitur, per capitulum allegatum,<sup>35</sup> Extra, de excessibus prelatorum, *Accedentibus*,<sup>36</sup> xvi. q. i. *Peruenit*<sup>37</sup> et capitulo  
 110 sequenti.<sup>38</sup> Licet littera ibi dicat de publica, sepe tamen in iure ponitur publica pro sollempni et econuerso, ut ibi. Sed oritur dubium, utrum simplex sacerdos possit istam indicare, licet predictam sollempnem per se nequeat adhibere. Dico quod non, nisi haberet ab episcopo specialiter potestatem. In criminibus enim pro quibus ista imponitur penitens est ad  
 115 episcopum remittendus. Preterea si ita diceretur, tunc maior, cui competit huius penitentie sollempnizatio, esset executor inferioris ordine prepostatico, Extra, de officio iudicis ordinarii, *Pastoralis*,<sup>39</sup> de officio et potestate iudicis delegati, *Si quando*.<sup>40</sup>

Secundo nota quod hec imponitur pro homicidio, intellige publico, ut l.  
 120 di. *Placuit*<sup>41</sup> et capitulo *Si quis uoluntate*,<sup>42</sup> pro sacrilegiis, pro incestu et similibus grauibus et horrendis, subintellige publicis, ut in capitulo *Placuit*,<sup>43</sup> pro filiorum oppressione et publica, ut Extra, de penitentiis et

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107 de] ex A2 M N P2      111 econuerso] econtra M P1 : econtra A2 C N P2      oritur] occurrit A2      112 possit] poterit A2      indicare] inducere A2 : incidere P1      sollempnem] sollempnitatem N P1 P2 : auctoritatem M      113–14 specialiter potestatem] specialem potestatem P1 : specialem potestatem et auctoritatem M : potestatem C      114 ista] ista tale penitentia M      116 huius] huiusmodi C P1      inferioris] inferior A1 : inferiori A2 : inferiorum M : inferiore N P2      116–17 prepostatico sic A1 A2 C M N P1 P2      119 ut] ut habetur P1      120 c<apitulo>] in c. C P1      121 publicis] publice A2 : publico P1      ut] ut habetur P1      122 et<sup>1</sup> om. C      ut] ut habetur P1

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<sup>31</sup> Gratian, D.30 c.17, *glossa* at “Propter publicam” (col. 153).

<sup>32</sup> Gratian, *De cons.*, D.3 c.17, *glossa* at “Aegritudo” (col. 2059).

<sup>33</sup> X 5.38.7, *glossa* at “Nisi in publicum” (col. 2029).

<sup>34</sup> Gratian, D.50 c.64.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., *glossa* at “Susceperunt” (col. 279).

<sup>36</sup> X 5.31.12, *glossa* at “Publicas poenitentias” (col. 1947).

<sup>37</sup> Gratian, C.16 q.1 c.9, *glossa* at “Iura” (cols. 1142–43).

<sup>38</sup> Gratian, C.16 q.1 c.10, *Interdicimus*, *glossa* at “Publicas poenitentias” (col. 1143).

<sup>39</sup> X 1.31.11, *glossa* at “Nullam habeat potestatem” (col. 446).

<sup>40</sup> X 1.29.8.

<sup>41</sup> Gratian, D.50 c.68.

<sup>42</sup> Gratian, D.50 c.44.

<sup>43</sup> Gratian, D.50 c.68.



remissionibus, *Quesitum*;<sup>44</sup> et breuiter “pro omni uulgatissimo crimine totam urbem uel uillam commouente,” xxvi. q. vi. capitulo ultimo.<sup>45</sup>

125 Tertio nota quod omnis penitentia sollempnis est publica sed non econtra. Sollempnis enim ad publicam addit sollempnitatem expressam, in capitulo preallegato *In capite*.<sup>46</sup>

Quarto nota quod ubi sollempnis penitentia alicui iniuncta, durat per annos plures. Licet prima eiectio ab ecclesia et finalis introductio per  
130 quam quis sacramentis ecclesie simpliciter restituitur possint solum fieri per episcopum, medie tamen eiectiones que fiunt singulis annis infra tempus penitentie per simplices sacerdotes fieri possunt. Quod dic, ut nota de consecratione, di. iii. capitulo *De penitentibus*<sup>47</sup> et predicto capitulo *In capite*.<sup>48</sup>

135 Quinto notandum quod sollempnitatem prime eiectionis et finalis introductionis seu reconciliationis simplici sacerdoti episcopus non potest inhibere, cum sit ordinis et non iurisdictionis, ut xxvi. q. vi. capitulo ultimo et capitulo i. et ii<sup>o</sup>.<sup>49</sup>

140 Sexto notandum quod sollempnis penitentia cum sit sacramentalis non est iterabilis.

Secundus casus episcopalis est in excommunicatis a canone in casibus in quibus potest episcopus absolvere, Extra, de sententia excommunicationis, *Nuper*.<sup>50</sup> Potest tamen sacerdos simplex absolvere a sententia incursa per participationem, ut cum quis excommunicato participat uerbo, osculo uel

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123 pro] in *P1* uulgatissimo] uulgarissimo *A2 C M N P2* 124 urbem] orbem *P1*  
 commouente] commouentem *A1 A2 N*: commouendum *M*: comentem *P1*: commorentem *P2*  
 xxvi. *ed. Friedberg*: xxiii. *A1 A2 C M N P1 P2* 128 quod ubi] ubi est *C*: cum ubi *A2*: ubi  
*M N P1 P2* 129 prima] persone *A1*, -ne *interl.* eiectio] abiectio *C*: eiciendus *A2 N P2*  
 130 sacramentis] sacramentaliter *A2 M N P2* possint] possunt *C P1* solum] solummodo  
*A1*, -modo *interl.* 131 eiectiones] eiectionis *M*: electiones *N P2* 132 quod dic ut] et *M*  
 133 predicto] in predicto *P1* 135 prime] penitentie *A2*: penitentie prime *C* 136–37  
 inhibere] innibere *A1*: prohibere *M*: comittere *P1* 137 iurisdictionis] imperfectionis  
*A2 N P2*: perfectionis *M* ut] ut habetur *P1* 138 et] et capitulo *A2*

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<sup>44</sup> X 5.38.7, *glossa* at “Quaesitum” (col. 2028).

<sup>45</sup> Gratian, C.26 q.6 c.14, *Presbiter*.

<sup>46</sup> Gratian, D.50 c.64, *glossa* at “Susceperunt” (col. 279).

<sup>47</sup> Gratian, *De cons.*, D.3 c.17, *glossa* at “Aegritudo” (col. 2059).

<sup>48</sup> Gratian, D.50 c.64, *glossa* at “Repraesententur” (col. 280).

<sup>49</sup> Gratian, C.26 q.6 c.14, *Presbiter*<sup>2</sup>, c.1, *Si iubet*, *glossa* at “Reconciliare” (col. 1538); and c.2, *Presbyter*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> X 5.39.29.

145 mensa, eodem *Nuper*. Secus si esset excommunicatus cum participantibus, uel cum quis communicat excommunicato in crimine pro quo excommunicatus est.

Nota quod incendiarii ecclesiarum ipso iure sunt excommunicati, ut in capitulo *Tua nos*,<sup>51</sup> et alii incendiarii sunt excommunicandi, xxiii. q. ultima *Pessimam*.<sup>52</sup> Item nota quod incendiarii ecclesiarum postquam sunt publicati et alii incendiarii excommunicati et publicati non possunt absolui nisi per sedem apostolicam, eodem *Tua nos* et capitulo *Conquesti*.<sup>53</sup> Et notant Innocentius<sup>54</sup> et Hostiensis<sup>55</sup> quod “qui locum religiosum uel cimiterium uel ea que sunt in spatio priuilegiato incendit excommunicatus est, xvii. q. iiiii. *Sicut*.”

155 Tertius casus episcopalis uel papalis est in clericis qui propter delictum irregularitatem incurrerunt. Secundum Hostiensem in *Summa*<sup>56</sup> inconueniens enim uidetur quod a peccato absoluat qui penitentiam imponere uel irregularitatem sequelam peccati tollere non potest.

160 Quartus in homicidio uoluntario, xxiii. q. ultima *Si quis membrorum* ii.,<sup>57</sup> capitulo *Pessimam*,<sup>58</sup> ex quibus uidetur quod hec tria, scilicet membrorum truncatio, incendium et homicidium, sint casus episcopales uel superioribus reseruati. Et si dicas quod ibi non exprimitur homicidium, respondetur quod quia ibi exprimitur truncatio, que est minor, idem intelligi uidetur de  
165 homicidio, cum sit maius.<sup>59</sup>

145 e<odem>] c. *A2 M N P1 P2* 146 uel] ut *C* 148 ut] ut habetur *P1* 149  
excommunicandi] excommunicati *A2 M* 151 excommunicati et publicati] excommunicati  
publice *C*: excommunicati et publici *A2*: *om. M* 152 e<odem>] c. *A2 M N P2*: Extra *P1*  
156 uel papalis *om. C* est *interl. A1*: *om. A2 C N* 157 incurrerunt] incurrunt  
*A2 C M N P1* 160 Quartus in homicidio uoluntario] Quartus casus in homicidio uoluntario  
*A2 C N P2*: Quartus casus episcopalis est in homicidio uoluntario *M*: Quartus casus episcopalis  
est homicidium uoluntarium *P1* 162 truncatio] contruncatio *A2* sint] sunt *C* 164  
truncatio] truncatio membrorum *C* idem intelligi] idem intelli<gi> *A1*: idem enim intelligi  
*C*: ideo potius *M*: de intellectu *N P2*: de incendia *A2*: intelligere *P1* 165 sit] est *A2*

<sup>51</sup> X 5.39.19, *glossa* at “Incendiarii” (col. 2052).

<sup>52</sup> Gratian, C.23 q.8 c.32, *glossa* at “Damno” (col. 1442).

<sup>53</sup> X 5.39.22, *glossa* at “Repraesentent” (col. 2054).

<sup>54</sup> Inn. IV, *Apparatus*, at X 5.39.22, *Conquesti* (fol. 549ra).

<sup>55</sup> Host., *Summa*, lib. 5, rubr. “De incendiariis,” § “Et qua pena,” at “Solutio” (fol. 247ra), citing Gratian, C.17 q.4 c.12. This is the source of the following quotation.

<sup>56</sup> *Non inueni*.

<sup>57</sup> Gratian, C.23 q.8 c.31.

<sup>58</sup> Gratian, C.23 q.8 c.32.

<sup>59</sup> This argument is made by Johannes Monachus in his *glossa* on *Super cathedram* (*Extrav. Comm.* 3.6.2), at “A iure” (col. 102).

Et nota quod per predicta capitula non conuincitur truncatio membro-  
rum et incendia ecclesiastica sint casus superioribus reseruati. Probatur ex  
littera, nam ibi dicitur quod “truncatores membrorum et incendiarii, quo-  
usque coram episcopo et ciuibus non emendauerint,”<sup>60</sup> debent separari a  
170 communione fidelium. Nunc autem non tenetur quis de peccato occulto  
publice satisfacere nec se ipsum in publicum prodere, de penitentia di. i.  
§ *Quem penitet*<sup>61</sup> et supra ibidem § *Item illud*,<sup>62</sup> ubi dicitur quod “secreta  
peccata secreta confessione et occulta satisfactione purgantur.” Arg. ad  
hoc de penitentiis et remissionibus, *Quesitum*.<sup>63</sup> Item “probatione cessante  
175 uindictae ratio conquiescit,” xxxii. q. v. *Christiana*,<sup>64</sup> et “secretorum solus  
Deus iudex est,” xxxii. di. *Erubescant*,<sup>65</sup> ii. q. v. *Consuluisti*,<sup>66</sup> et “solum  
deum habent ultorem,” C., de iureiurando, *Iurisiurandi*.<sup>67</sup> Quod si omnino  
contendas quod per capitulum *Si quis membrorum*<sup>68</sup> truncatio sit casus  
episcopalis, dicam tibi quod per istud capitulum eque potest probari quod  
180 sit casus pertinens ad ciues sicut ad episcopum, quia dicitur ibi “Coram  
episcopo et ciuibus.” Vnde nota quod Petrus de Sampsona homicidas et  
mutilatores mittendos ad episcopum intelligit pro dispensatione uel  
publica penitentia, ut Extra, de maledicis, *Statuimus*.<sup>69</sup>

185 Quintus in publico blasfemo Dei et sanctorum, Extra, de maledicis, *Sta-  
tuimus*.<sup>70</sup>

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167 et] ut A2 M N P2 ecclesiastica] occulta C P1 : ecclesia P2 sint] sunt C 169  
emendauerint] emendauerit A2 ed. Friedberg 170 tenetur] -netur interl. A1 : teneatur P2  
171 prodere] procedere P1 173 purgantur] puniantur M : purgatur P1 P2 175 uin-  
dicte] dicta A1 : uindicare P1 : uidetur dicere M 175–76 xxxii. q. . . . est om. per homoeotel.  
A2 N P2 175 v. ed. Friedberg : viii. A1 C M P1 177 habent] habet C M 178 per]  
hoc A2 M P2 : hunc N : preallegatum P1 179 per istud] per illud A2 N P1 P2 : idem C : per  
idem M 180 pertinens] reseruatus et pertinens C ibi] ibidem A2 C : om. M 181  
Sampsona] Sampsonia A1 : Xasonia A2 : Saxania M : Sasonia N P2 : Saxonia P1 184 quin-  
tus] quintus casus est C M P1 : quintus casus A2 blasfemo dei et sanctorum] blasphemare  
deum et sanctos M

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<sup>60</sup> Gratian, C.23 q.8 c.31.

<sup>61</sup> Gratian, *De poen.*, D.1 c.88.

<sup>62</sup> Gratian, *De poen.*, D.1 c.87, Gr. p. § 1.

<sup>63</sup> X 5.38.7, *glossa* at “Nisi in publicum” (col. 2029).

<sup>64</sup> Gratian, C.32 q.5 c.23.

<sup>65</sup> Gratian, D.32 c.11.

<sup>66</sup> Gratian, C.2 q.5 c.20 (q.4 in old editions).

<sup>67</sup> *Cod.* 4.1.2.

<sup>68</sup> Gratian, C.23 q.8 c.31.

<sup>69</sup> *Non inveni*. Cf. Petrus Sampson’s *Lectura decretalium*, at X 5.26.2.

<sup>70</sup> X 5.26.2.

Sextus in uotorum commutatione, Extra, de uoto, capitulo i. et capitulo *Magne*.<sup>71</sup> Idem uidetur de iuramenti commutatione secus de transgressione iuramenti uel uoti, quia ab hiis absoluit quicumque simplex sacerdos.

190 Hic nota primo in iuramenti dolo, ui uel metu extortis dispensat episcopus, xv. q. vi. capitulo i. et ii.<sup>72</sup>

Secundo nota ubi quis abiurauit res suas ui uel metu quod iuramentum debet seruari nisi episcopus dispenset, Extra, De iureiurando, *Si uero*.<sup>73</sup> Tutius tamen est quod episcopus uel legatus non dispenset.

195 Tercio nota secundum Innocentium<sup>74</sup> et Hostiensem<sup>75</sup> quod episcopus "potest iuramentum commutare in melius sicut et uotum, ut si iurasset quis ire ad sanctum Iacobum et magis esset utile quod iret ultra mare posset episcopus commutare hoc in illud."

200 Quarto nota ubi certum est iuramentum esse illicitum iurans propria auctoritate potest contrauenire, Extra, de regulis iuris, *Non est et In malis*, Libro vi.<sup>76</sup>

Quinto nota quod ubi dubium est an iuramentum sit licitum, iurans non potest propria auctoritate contrauenire sed tantum dispensatiue.

Consequenter notandum secundum Iohannem Andree, Extra, de uoto, capitulo i.,<sup>77</sup> quod decretalis illa est recepta et per magistros interpretata  
205 quod in uotis possint episcopi dispensare siue uota commutare, cum tamen

186 sextus] sextus casus est *C M P1* : sextus casus *A2 P2* in] de *M* 187 idem] item *A2 P1 P2* secus] secus est *C* de<sup>2</sup>] in *M* 188 quicumque] quandoque *A2 C M N P1 P2* 189 in] de *M* 191 quis] aliquis *C* : om. *P1* abiurauit] abiurat *A1*, corr. al. man. adiurauit, -ui- interl. : adiurauit *N* : adiurauerit *A2* quod interl. *A1* : om. *A2 C M N P1 P2* 192 dispenset] dispensauerit *C* : dispensasset *M* 193 est] esset *A2* 194 et Hostiensem om. *C* 196 esset] sit *P1 P2* quod iret] ut iret *C* : ire *M* 197 illud] aliud *C* 198 nota] nota ut *C* 198–99 esse . . . contrauenire] esse licito iurans non potest propria auctoritate commutare *C* 201 dubium est an] dubitatur an *C* : dubium in *A2* : dubium est *M* : dictum est an *P2* 202 dispensatiue] de dispensatione *A2* : dispensatione *C* : dispensatio *M* : dispensare *P1* 205 possint] possunt *A2 C*

<sup>71</sup> X 3.34.1, *De peregrinationis*, and c.7. Cf. Host., *Summa*, lib. 3, rubr. "De voto et voti redemptione," cap. 12 (fol. 177va).

<sup>72</sup> Gratian, C.15 q.6 c.1, *Si sacerdotibus*, and c.2, *Auctoritatem*, in *littera* and *glossa* at "Absoluimus" (col. 1129).

<sup>73</sup> X 2.24.8, *glossa* at "Proprium iuramentum" (col. 871).

<sup>74</sup> Inn. IV, *Apparatus*, at X 2.24.6, *Debitores* (fol. 284rb), the source of the quotation here.

<sup>75</sup> Host., *Summa*, lib. 3, rubr. "De voto et voti redemptione," § "Qualiter et cuius auctoritate," at "Sic patet" (fol. 177va).

<sup>76</sup> VI [5.13] reg. 58 and 69.

<sup>77</sup> This passage echoes the discussion in Andree, *Comm.*, X 3.34.1, *De peregrinationis* (vol. 3, fol. 168ra–rb).

ut patet non plus dicat de episcopis quam de inferioribus prelatiis. Sed quia decretalis sic est recepta et intellecta et hucusque sic seruata, et nos eam ita seruemus. Innocentius<sup>78</sup> dicebat quod episcopus commutare possit in uotis, arg. quia decretalis ista dirigitur episcopo. Hostiensis:<sup>79</sup> Dic hoc  
 210 uerum esse si littera diceret “arbitrio tuo,” sed quia non dicit uidetur secus. Tamen fatetur per antiquos esse seruatum quod hoc tantum possit episcopus, non inferior. Hec Iohannes Andree.

Et dicit ibidem secundum Alanum<sup>80</sup> et Hostiensem<sup>81</sup> incontinentiam solum papam posse dispensare ex causa. Idem Innocentius,<sup>82</sup> qui hoc notauit de statu monachorum, *Cum ad monasterium*,<sup>83</sup> quod pleniter Iohannes Andree<sup>84</sup> notauit. Romanus, in Clementinis, de penitentiis et remissionibus, *Abusionibus*,<sup>85</sup> secundum Innocentium,<sup>86</sup> quod in omni uoto, siue consistat in faciendo uel non faciendo, dispensari potest etiam in sollempni si iusta causa subsit, dummodo compensatio melior sit. Alias non teneret  
 220 compensatio, de uoto, *Scripture*.<sup>87</sup>

Septimus casus est in uiolatoribus immunitatis ecclesiastice.

Octauus, quem ponit Hostiensis in *Summa*,<sup>88</sup> “si episcopus audiuit confessionem de aliquo peccato, xxi. di. *Inferior*.”

Nonus in penitentiis imponendis pro matrimoniis contractis clandestine,  
 225 prout Extra, de clandestina desponsatione, *Cum inhibitio*. Hunc ponit

207 et<sup>2</sup> om. A1 P1 seruata] obseruata C 208 dicebat] dixit C 208–9 in uotis, arg.] arbitrio C 209 dic] dicit A2 : dicit quod M 210 secus] secus est P1 211 fatetur] fateretur P2 : fatetur Hostiensis A2 212 hec . . . Andree om. C 214 idem] ibidem A2 : item M 215 pleniter] posset A2 M N P2 : placet C P1 216 Romanus] Contrarium C 217 siue] si N 218 dispensari] dispensare A2 N 221 in] de N 222 octauus] octauus casus est A2 M : octauus casus C N P2 223 Inferior interl. A1 224 nonus] nonus casus est C M : nonus casus A2 N P2 : nonus que P1 225 prout] probat A2 M N P1 P2 inhibitio ed. Friedberg : in homicidio A1 A2 C M N P1 P2

<sup>78</sup> Inn. IV, *Apparatus*, at X 3.34.1, *De peregrinationis* (fol. 428va).

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Host., *Summa*, lib. 3, rubr. “De voto et voti redemptione,” § “Qualiter et cuius autoritate” (fol. 177va–vb).

<sup>80</sup> Alanus Anglicus; *non inueni*.

<sup>81</sup> Host., *Summa*, lib. 3, rubr. “De voto et voti redemptione,” § “Qualiter et cuius autoritate,” at “Sed et de votis voluntariis” (fol. 177vb).

<sup>82</sup> Inn. IV, *Apparatus*, at X 3.34.1, *De peregrinationis* (fol. 428vb).

<sup>83</sup> X 3.35.6.

<sup>84</sup> Andree, *Comm.*, X 3.34.1, at “Et ibi, secus est” (vol. 3, fol. 168rb).

<sup>85</sup> *Non inueni*. Cf. Mattheus Romanus’s *Lectura super Clementinis*, on *Clem.* 5.9.2.

<sup>86</sup> Inn. IV, *Apparatus*, at X 3.34.1, *De peregrinationis* (fol. 428vb).

<sup>87</sup> X 3.34.4.

<sup>88</sup> Host., *Summa*, lib. 5, rub. “De penitentiis et remissionibus,” § “Cui confitendum,” at “Septimus” (fol. 272va), citing Gratian, D.21 c.4.

Iohannes Andree in glossa de penitentiis et remissionibus, *Si episcopus*, Libro vi.<sup>89</sup>

Decimus in penitentiis imponendis supra contractum matrimonium contra interdictum ecclesie. Hunc ponit Iohannes Andree<sup>90</sup> ubi supra, et probat Extra, de matrimonio contracto contra interdictum ecclesie, capitulo i. et ultimo.

Premissis articulis superioribus reseruatis adiungit Hostiensis in *Summa*, rubrica de penitentiis et remissionibus, § *Cui confitendum*.<sup>91</sup> crimen falsariorum; sortilegia; uitium contra naturam, etiam cum brutis, intellige de publico; incestum publicum ut supra; corruptionem sanctimonialium; periurium, intellige de publicis.

De falsariis nota specialiter quod cum quis per se uel per alium falsat litteras pape cum fautoribus et defensoribus suis, et cum quis scienter utitur litteris apostolicis, etiam ab alio falsatis, excommunicatus est, Extra, de crimine falsi, *Ad falsariorum*.<sup>92</sup> Et nota quod falsator litterarum papalium uel scienter utens eis et defendens [eum] seu fauens falsariis absoluitur tantum a papa, et hoc est uerum etiam in femina, ut notant quidam.<sup>93</sup>

Et nota quod ubicumque graue delictum fuerit uel enorme, superioris est iudicium requirendum, Extra, de sententia excommunicationis, *Cum illorum*,<sup>94</sup> et ubicumque difficultas uel ambiguitas inciderit propter imperitiam sacerdotis uel casus nouitatem, Extra, qui filii sint legitimi, *Per uenerabilem*.<sup>95</sup>

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226–29 in glossa . . . ponit Iohannes Andree *om. per homoeotel. C M* 228 decimus] decimus casus est *N* : decimus casus *A2 P2* 229–30 probat *corr. ex proat A1* : probant *C P1* : *om. A2* 234 etiam] et *C M* : que *A2* 236 intellige de publicis] publicum *C* : intelligo de publicis *M* 237 quis] aliquis *A2 M P2* falsat] falsificauerit *C* 238 pape] domini pape *C* defensoribus suis] factoribus *A2* : dispensatoribus suis *M* 239 falsatis] falsificatis *M* 241 eum *interl. A1* : *om. A2 C M P1 P2* 242 notant] notauit *C* 243 superioris] superiorum *A2 M* 245 uel ambiguitas *om. C*

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<sup>89</sup> VI 5.10.2., glossa at “Reseruantur” (col. 641), citing X 4.3.3.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., citing X 4.16.1, *Littere* and c.3, *De muliere*.

<sup>91</sup> Host., *Summa*, lib. 5, rubr. “De penitentiis et remissionibus,” § “Cui confitendum,” at “De falsariis” (fol. 272va); cf. below, article eleven.

<sup>92</sup> This passage is a close paraphrase of Andree, *Comm.*, X 5.20.7, at § 7 (vol. 4, fol. 79vb).

<sup>93</sup> *Non inveni*.

<sup>94</sup> X 5.39.32.

<sup>95</sup> X 4.17.13.

## &lt;Tertius articulus&gt;

250 Tertius articulus stat in ista conclusione, quod frater minor uel predi-  
cator potest in omni casu absoluere in quo potest curatus de iure, et hoc si  
fuerit presentatus et per episcopum admissus, et in casu negat licentie uel  
neglecte de gratia sedis apostolice. Probatur ista conclusio Extra, de sepul-  
turis, *Dudum*, Concilii Vienensis, § *Statuimus*, uersiculo *Per huiusmodi*,<sup>96</sup>  
255 ubi dicitur sic: “Per huiusmodi autem concessionem nequaquam intendi-  
mus fratribus ipsis potestatem in hoc impendere ampliozem quam in ea  
curatis seu parochialibus sacerdotibus est a iure concessa.”

Ista propositio duas habet exponentes: unam affirmitiuam quod fratri-  
bus conceditur potestas equalis potestati curatorum quam habent curati a  
iure; secundam exponentem habet negatiuam quod non amplior. Et si  
260 forte quis dicat quod iste uersiculus *Per huiusmodi autem* et cetera loquitur  
in casu in quo locum habet gratia apostolica, et episcopus posset fratres ad  
minorem admittere gratiam, contra probo quod in utroque casu idem est,  
si episcopus admittat siue papa concedat. Ratio quia papa non intendit  
conferre nisi quod episcopus habuit concedere et negat. Gratia enim  
265 apostolica succedat tantum in casu negat licentie uel infra terminum sta-  
tutum non date. Cum ergo papa concedat potestatem que competit curatis  
de iure, ergo episcopus ad hanc admittere debuit fratres. Ergo siue neget  
siue minus concedat succedit gratia apostolica, que ponitur § illo *Statui-*  
*mus*, uersiculo *Si uere* et uersiculo sequenti.

270 Ex hiis infertur corellarie quod ad confitendum fratri predicatori uel  
minori non oportet penitentem petere licentiam a suo curato, et hoc notat  
Iohannes Andree in glossa constitutionis *Dudum*, super illo uerbo *Li-*  
*bere*,<sup>97</sup> ubi iacent hec uerba sua: “Denotat quod non est necesse licentiam

248 Tertius articulus *marg. A2, rubr. M P2* : Tercius articulus quod frater potest ubicumque  
curatus *marg. C* : *om. A1 N P1* 251 et<sup>1</sup>] uel *C* : *om. M* 257 exponentes] expositiones  
*M N P2* 259 exponentem] expositionem *N* : exponendam *P1* : *om. M* 260 quod *illeg. A1*  
261 et] et quod *C M N P1 P2* 262 utroque] unoquoque *C* : eodem *A2 N* 263 si] siue  
*A2 C M N P1 P2* 264 conferre] confirmare *A2* habuit] habet *A2* et negat] uel  
negare *C* 265 succedat] succedit *A2 C M N P1 P2* 266 date] dare *A2 M P1* 267  
debuit fratres] debet fratres *A2 M* : debuit fratres de iure *C* siue] -ue *interl. al. man. A1*  
271 penitentem *om. A1*

<sup>96</sup> *Clem. 3.7.2.*

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, glossa at “Libere” (col. 176), citing Johannes Monachus, *Glossa aurea . . . super sexto decretalium libro edita* (Paris, 1535; rpt. Aalen, 1968), VI 3.4.37 (fol. 396ra).

- sacerdotis parochialis haberi, et est simile de prebendis, *Si episcopus*, Libro  
 275 vi, cuius contrarium uidetur uelle Iohannes Monachus." Confertur quia  
 quod a iure concessum est non est necesse a iudice postulari, C., de con-  
 ditionibus insertis, l. *Que sub conditione*,<sup>98</sup> § ultimo. Sed ius concedit  
 equalem potestatem fratribus et curatis, quare et cetera. Item ubicumque  
 280 libertas a iure alicuius actus uel rei conceditur, conditionem quam ius uel  
 iuris conditor non adicit nullus potest adicere, nec libertatem talem  
 amplius conditione uel seruitute pregrauare. Arg. Extra, de electione, *Vbi*  
*periculum*, § *Sane*, Libro vi., ubi Archidiaconus<sup>99</sup> exponit libere absque  
 conditione. Patet etiam quia "libertati fauendum est," et si "dubia est  
 285 interpretatio libertatis, pro libertate reddendum est," ff., de regulis iuris,  
*Quotiens* et eodem capitulo *In obscura*.<sup>100</sup> Sed in predicto capitulo *Dudum*,  
 § *Statuimus*, conceditur fratribus, et admissis et in casu negatæ uel neglecte  
 licentie de gratia sedis apostolice, libere liciteque confessiones audire,  
 absolvere, penitentias imponere. Et licet addiciatur conditio aliqua, tamen  
 290 per ius uel iuris conditorem non addicitur premissa conditio, scilicet quod  
 licentia curati requiratur, quare ab alio adici non poterit.

Item si requireretur alia licentia priuilegium iuris fratribus nichil con-  
 ferret. Contra illud Extra, de priuilegiis, *In hiis*, quia sine priuilegio fratri-  
 bus hoc liceret, ut patet per ea que notat Hostiensis.<sup>101</sup>

- Sed oritur dubium an confessus fratribus teneatur eadem peccata iterum  
 295 confiteri proprio sacerdoti, et uidetur quod sic, per capitulum de peniten-  
 tiis et remissionibus, *Omnis*,<sup>102</sup> ubi dicitur quod quilibet Christianus semel

274 prebendis] presbiteri *A1 A2 N P1* : prelati *C* 275 uelle] hic uelle *A2 C M P1 P2* :  
*om. N* 279 a] in *C M N P1 P2* 279–80 ius uel iuris] iuris *C* 280 adicere] adhibere  
*A2 M N P2* 282 exponit] ponit *C* 283 quia] quod *A2 C N* si] ubi *C* 284 red-  
 dendum] respondendum *C P1* : respondens *P2* 286 et<sup>1</sup> *om. C M* 288 tamen] cum *C M*  
 291 iuris] iure *A2* : irat *A1* 291–92 fratribus nichil . . . In hiis *om. A2 M N P2* 292  
 priuilegio] priuilegiis *P1* 293 ut patet . . . Hostiensis] Extra, de priuilegiis, In hiis *A2 N P2* :  
 Extra, de priuilegiis, uel Ex hiis *M* 294 eadem] predicta *A2* 296 Omnis] Omnis  
 utriusque sexus *C*

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Dig. 28.7.8 (de conditionibus institutionum, *Que sub conditione*), § 8: "De hoc iure-  
 iurando remittendo non est necesse adire praetorem." Cod. 6.46.3 (de conditionibus insertis, *Si*  
*ea conditione*) clearly does not apply in this context.

<sup>99</sup> Guido de Baysio, *In sextum decretalium commentaria*, VI 1.6.3, at "Libere" (fol. 19ra).

<sup>100</sup> Dig. 50.17.20, the source of the latter quotation, and Dig. 50.17.179, the source of the  
 former.

<sup>101</sup> Host., *Lectura*, X 5.33.30, at "Propter quod" (fol. 89ra), "Conferret" (ibid.), and "Gra-  
 tiam" (fol. 89ra–rb).

<sup>102</sup> X 5.38.12.



in anno tenetur omnia peccata sua confiteri proprio sacerdoti, nisi de eius licentia petita et obtenta confiteretur alteri.

Contrarium determinatum est hodie per dominum Iohannem papam  
300 xxii. in Extrauaganti, *Vas electionis*,<sup>103</sup> qui hunc dampnauit et reprobauit articulum “quod confessi fratribus habentibus licentiam generalem audiendi confessiones teneantur eadem peccata que confessi fuerant iterum confiteri eorum proprio sacerdoti.”

305 Sed dices estne ergo reuocata decretalis *Omnis*? Posset dici quod non sit reuocata sed elargata, quia quoad audiendas confessiones, absolutiones faciendas et penas imponendas eodem iure censentur curatus et frater.

Secundo posset dici quod decretalis mutata est et correcta per constitutionem *Dudum*, sed solum quoad expressos in ea et quoad alios remanet. Correctio enim iurium est uitanda, Extra, de electione, *Ecclesia uestra* ii.<sup>104</sup>  
310 et eodem enim *Cum expediat*, Libro vi.<sup>105</sup>

Tertio posset dici quod nec est mutata nec correcta, distinguendo de proprio sacerdote iuxta uiam quam tangit Doctor Subtilis, iiiio. Sententiarum, di. xvii.<sup>106</sup> Sacerdos enim proprius potest accipi tripliciter: Proprie et stricte, sicut accipitur qui est huius parochie et huius parochiani et aliorum, ut de hac parochia tantum. Et sic non intelligitur constitutio quod  
315 necesse sit confiteri proprio sacerdoti, quia si confiteretur domino pape uel episcopo satisfactum esset statuto. Aliomodo large. Sic dicitur sacerdos proprius qui non est alienus, et sic papa et episcopus sunt proprii sacerdotes. iiiio. modo largissime, et sic proprius sacerdos dicitur commissarius,  
320 et sic frater est proprius.

Quarto potest dici quod de licentia proprii sacerdotis confitetur qui de licentia pape uel episcopi confitetur fratri, et sic seruatur statutum ad litteram. Sed hic oritur dubium, quia diceret aliquis quod uerum est quod

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297 tenetur] teneatur *C P1 P2*      302 confessi] confessa *P1 : om. M*      304 estne ergo] ne est *A2 : estne C*      posset dici] possum dicere *A2*      sit] est *C M : om. A2*      305 elargata] clarificata *M*      audiendas] augendas *A1*      306 penas] penitentias *A2 C M N P1 P2*  
307 posset dici] possum dicere *A2*      310 et *interl. al. man. A1 : q. A2 : om. C*      enim] c. *A2 M N P2 : om. C*      311 posset] potest *A2 M*      314 sicut] et sic *C : sic A2 M N P2 : scilicet P1*      316 domino pape] domino papa *A1 : pape A2 C M N P2 : papa P1*      317 esset] est *C*  
320 frater] frater minor *M*      proprius] proprius sacerdos *A2 C*      321 potest] posset *C*  
322 fratri] fratri minori uel predicatori *M*

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<sup>103</sup> *Extrav. Comm.* 5.3.2.

<sup>104</sup> *X* 1.6.57.

<sup>105</sup> *VI* 1.6.29.

<sup>106</sup> Scotus, *Quaestiones*, dist. 17, quaest. unica (*Opera omnia* 18:496–593, esp. 562–63).

fratres habent liberam licentiam confessiones audiendi et absoluendi, sed  
 325 ex hoc non sequitur quod populus habeat liberam licentiam eis confitendi,  
 unde requiritur licentia proprii sacerdotis secundum formam capituli  
*Omnia*.

Et est arg. in duabus seruitutibus, quarum si una tollitur altera remanet,  
 ff., de seruitutibus urbanorum prediorum, *Si domus*.<sup>107</sup> Dico quod uerum  
 330 est in seruitutibus inconnexis: in hiis enim una sublata remanet altera. Se-  
 cus est in seruitutibus connexis. Verbi gratia: Si habeo seruitutem in agro  
 tuo eundi per ipsum ad glandem meam coliendam uel legendam, habeo  
 seruitutem semitam faciendi per ipsum. Et si una tollitur, altera tollitur.  
 Similimodo posse absolvere et posse absolui sunt connexa. Actio enim et  
 335 passio sunt unius motus, ergo ubi tollitur seruitus a posse actio, tollitur a  
 posse passio. Connexorum enim idem iudicium est, i. q. iii. *Si quis ob-*  
*iecerit*.<sup>108</sup> Preterea omnis seruitus tollitur ubi libertas sine conditione con-  
 ceditur, sic et in proposito, ut patet Extra, capitulo *Dudum*.

Item quod uoluntati alicuius relinquitur id libere potest, sed uoluntati  
 340 penitentis relinquitur confiteri fratribus, ut patet ex constitutione predicta,  
 § *Statuimus*, uersiculo *Si uero*, ibi “Nos ex nunc ipsis ut confessiones sibi  
 confiteri uolentium libere” et cetera. Ergo libere potest confiteri fratri et  
 cum frater libere possit audire nulla alia licentia requiritur.

Preterea per istud motuum eadem ratione diceretur in casu sepulture,  
 345 que libera conceditur fratribus, quod uerum est quod fratres libere possunt  
 sepelire, sed sepeliendi libere non possunt eligere, quod uidetur absurdum.  
 Nec ualet si dicas quod non est simile, quia in casu libere sepulture con-  
 cesse fratribus conceditur etiam sepeliendis electio libera, ut in predicto  
 capitulo *Dudum*, § *Huiusmodi quoque*, ubi dicitur “liberam habeant sepul-  
 350 turam, uidelicet ut omnes ad eam recipere ualeant qui sepeliri eligerint” et  
 cetera.

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325 habeat] habet A1      329 urbanorum] agrorum A1 : apud A2 M N P2 : om. C      330  
 sublata] ablata C : sub aliter M      331 habeo] habeam C      332 coliendam] colligendam  
 A2 C M N P1 P2      uel legendam interl. A1 : om. A2 M N P1 P2      335 ergo] igitur C  
 actio] actiuo M N P2      336 passio] passiuo A2 M N P2      338 et om. A2 C N P2 : est M :  
 ergo P1      Extra om. C : esset in P1      339 id] illud A2 C M N P1 P2      340 confiteri]  
 posse confiteri C      342 fratri] fratribus C M      344 preterea] propria A1 : et A2 N P2 :  
 om. M      istud] illud P1 P2      345 libera] libere A2      347 dicas] dicat C P1

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<sup>107</sup> Dig. 8.2.21.

<sup>108</sup> Gratian, C.1 q.3 c.7, glossa at “Neutrum” (col. 600).

Arguam enim sic circa ea que sunt ad finem. Eque liber est actus  
petendi et eligendi. Sed confiteri fratribus relinquitur uoluntati penitentis,  
ut patet in capitulo predicto, § *Statuimus*, uersiculo *Si uero*, ibi *Nos exnunc*  
355 et cetera, sicut in sequenti § sepeliri apud fratres relinquitur electioni  
sepeliendi, ibi “omnes ad eam recipere ualeant qui sepeliri eligerint” et  
cetera. Ergo eque libere potest quis fratri confiteri sicut apud fratres  
sepeliri.

Preterea quero quid conceditur fratribus per decretalem *Dudum*: aut  
360 nudum posse sine materie subiectione, et sic concessio nulla esset, quia  
hoc posse accipit sacerdos in ordinatione secundum Hostiensem,<sup>109</sup> aut  
utrumque simul, et habetur propositum. Nec obstat decretalis *Omnis* in eo  
quod dicit “si quis alieno sacerdoti uoluerit confiteri, hoc postulet et  
obtineat a proprio sacerdote.” Quero quid intelligis per alienum: uel  
365 quemcumque alium qui non est curatus parochialis, et talis intellectus esset  
erroneus, quia sic non posset quis confiteri pape nisi petita et obtenta  
licentia sacerdotis parochialis; uel intelligis alienum eum qui non est a  
papa uel episcopo institutus ad hoc aut licentiatus, et ad hunc intellectum  
frater licet sit alter alienus tamen non est, ut patet in capitulo *Dudum*, uer-  
370 siculo *Per huiusmodi*, et § *Ceterum*, ibi “Cooperatores eorum idoneos et  
laborum suorum participes” et cetera.

#### <Quartus articulus>

Quartus articulus stat in ista conclusione, quod potest dici quod fratres  
predicti possunt absolvere in casibus quos episcopi sibi sua auctoritate  
375 reseruant in sinodis uel alias, ita quod si ex causa ardent potestatem cura-  
torum non intelligitur fratrum potestas artata. Et per istam conclusionem  
tollitur opinio Iohannis Monachi in glossa constitutionis *Super cathe-  
dram*,<sup>110</sup> quam recitat Iohannes Andree in glossa constitutionis *Dudum*,

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352 liber] libere C P1 P2    353 petendi] uolendi A2 C M N P1 P2    354 predicto] pre-  
dicto Dudum C    355 sicut] -icud interl. A1    360 materie] iuris A2    364 intelligis]  
intelligitur A2 M N: intelligit P2    alienum] alienum sacerdotem C    366 pape] pape uel  
episcopo C    372 Quartus articulus marg. A2, rubr. M P2: Quartus articulus quod frater  
admissus potest absolvere in casibus quos episcopi reseruant marg. C: om. A1 N P1    375  
ardent] arteant C

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<sup>109</sup> Non inueni.

<sup>110</sup> *Extrav. Comm.* 3.6.2, glossa at “A iure” (col. 102), citing X 5.33.22. This glossa, rather  
than Andree, is the source of the following quotations.

Concilii Vienensis.<sup>111</sup> Pro qua opinione Iohannis Monachi ratio persone  
 380 est ista: "Idem parochianus diuerso iure censi non debet quoad curatos  
 et fratres, Extra, de priuilegiis, *Quia circa*, ut qui non est sub curato non sit  
 sub fratre quoad id de quo agitur."

Item fratres equiparantur curatis quia sunt eorum coadiutores, ut patet  
 per constitutionem. Ergo quod non potest curatus non potest coadiutor.

385 Item "nichil est curatis a iure concessum nisi quod non est episcopis  
 reseruatum." Hanc opinionem tollo per conclusionem. Ratio: Per consti-  
 tutionem *Dudum* fratres habent potestatem eam quam habent curati de  
 iure, quare quoad eos hanc nullus potest artare nisi conditor canonis uel  
 eorum superior, qualis non episcopus. Arg. xxi. di. *Inferior*.<sup>112</sup>

390 Item fratribus conceditur potestas que a iure curatis conceditur, non ut  
 est in casu uel ex causa per episcopum artata.

Item alias priuaretur quis iure suo sine culpa uel causa, et per eum cui  
 non subest, quod esse non debet. Arg. Extra, de eo qui cognouit con-  
 sanguineam uxoris, *Discretionem*<sup>113</sup> et de constitutionibus, *Cognoscentes*.<sup>114</sup>

395 Item hoc esset beneficium canonis decurtare et auferre, quod esse non  
 debet, xxviii. di. *De hiis*.<sup>115</sup>

Ad rationes Iohannis Monachi. Ad primam cum dicit "Idem parochia-  
 nus" et cetera, dico quod una et eadem res quoad diuersa potest diuerso  
 iure censi, licet non quoad idem, Extra, de priuilegiis, *Cum capella*,<sup>116</sup> de  
 400 prebendis, *Cum in ecclesia*, Libro vi.,<sup>117</sup> ff., de in ius uocando, l. *Quesi-*  
*tum*.<sup>118</sup> Nec obstat decretalis *Quia circa*.<sup>119</sup> Verum quidem est quod uirtute

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379 pro qua . . . Monachi] que opinio fulcitur rationibus istis *M* opinione] opinio *A2* :  
 oppositione *P2* persone] prima *A2 C M P2* : persona *P1* : *om. N* 380 idem] ideo  
*A1 A2 N P2* : *om. M* debet] deberet *C* 381 circa] contra *A1* 382 id] illud  
*A2 C M N P1 P2* 385 a iure *interl. A1* 386 opinionem] conclusionem *A2 M* : questionem  
*N P2* 389 qualis non] qualis non est *A2 M N P2* : quamuis non sit *C* 392 iure] a iure *C*  
 et] ut *A2 M N P2* 394 *Discretionem ed. Friedberg* : Districtam *A1 N P1 P2* : Distinta *A2* :  
*lac. C* : *om. M* 395 decurtare] detruncare *C* : deturbare *M* : decurare *P2* 396 debet]  
 deberet *C*

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<sup>111</sup> *Clem.* 3.7.2, *glossa* at "Concessa" (col. 176).

<sup>112</sup> Gratian, D.21 c.4.

<sup>113</sup> X 4.13.6.

<sup>114</sup> X 1.2.2, *glossa* at "Culpa caret" (col. 16).

<sup>115</sup> Gratian, D.28 c.5.

<sup>116</sup> X 5.33.16, *glossa* at "Inquantum exempti" (col. 1978).

<sup>117</sup> VI 3.4.25.

<sup>118</sup> *Dig.* 2.4.16.

<sup>119</sup> X 5.33.22, in the *casus* in the *glossa* (col. 1983).

eiusdem concessionis res una non censetur iure diuerso. Poterat tamen concedens imponere conditionem rei sue, ut remitteret decimas adquisitas non acquirendas, sed quia indistincte remisit eadem res uirtute unius indistincte concessionis non censetur diuerso iure. Sic in proposito uirtute concessionis iuris communis non restricti, “idem parochianus diuerso iure non censetur quoad curatos et fratres.” Sed attendendo ius non restrictum seu artatum quoad fratres et restrictum et artatum quoad curatos, cum artatio et non artatio ponant diuersitatem in extraneis fratribus uidelicet et curatis, non est inconueniens eundem parochianum quoad hos et illos diuerso iure censi.

Ad aliud quando dicitur “Fratres equiparantur curatis” et cetera, uerum est in iure non artato uel restricto.

Ad aliud, scilicet “Nichil est concessum” et cetera, uerum est de iure artato uel artante.

#### <Quintus articulus>

Quintus articulus stat in ista conclusione, quod dicitur probabiliter a quibusdam quod absolutiones in casibus reseruatis episcopo et in aliis casibus non reseruatis possunt fieri diuisim et per partes, ita quod curatus uel frater confessor penitentem confessum potest absolvere in hiis que ad eum pertinent et remittere absoluendum ad superiorem in eo quod ad illum pertinet.

Hoc ostendo sic. Absolutio sacramentalis facienda per ecclesiam duo facit. Vnum est quod partem debite satisfactionis remittit. Aliud est quod absolutum ecclesie militanti a qua per peccatum separatus fuerat reconciliat, quia omnis mortaliter peccans quantum ad se a communione sacramentorum et ecclesie separatus est et excommunicatus.

Nunc autem ita est quod neuter istorum repungnat absolutionem diuisim fieri et per partes. Satisfactio enim potest per partes iniungi: potest enim sacerdos dicere “Facias hoc usque ad tale tempus et tunc reuertaris

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404 indistincte] indistincte *AI* : in distinctione *M* 404–5 indistincte] indistincte *AI* : in distinctione *M* 409 diuersitatem] diuersatem *AI* extraneis] extremis *C N P2* : tramis *PI* uidelicet] scilicet *PI* 412 uerum] respondendum *P2* 413 in iure . . . restricto] in iure non artato uel astricto *N P2* : de iure artato non artante *C* : in iure non in artato uel astricto *A2* 416 Quintus articulus *marg. A2, rubr. M P2* : Quintus articulus quod tam de casibus reseruatis quam non reseruatis possunt fieri confessiones diuisim *marg. C* : *om. AI N P1* 418 in<sup>1</sup> illeg. *AI* episcopo] episcopo et eius auctoritate *M* 422 illum] eum *C* 424 quod<sup>2</sup>] quia *AI PI*

et tibi aliud iniungam.” Similiter reconciliatio potest fieri per partes, sicut de excommunicato pluribus excommunicatoribus qui potest absolui ab una et non ab alia. Quare uidetur quod absolutio potest fieri per partes, sicut et eius effectus.

435 Melius dicitur quod absolutio ab omnibus unica est, ita quod factum in prima absolutione suspenditur nec habet effectum quousque ueniat secunda, et tunc secunda agens in uirtute propria et prime precedentis agit totum quod unica absolutio ageret simul facta. Et sic interpretatiue una reputatur absolutio et indiuisa.

440 Et nota hic quatuor. Primo quod inferior debet absoluere et sine conditione de pertinentibus ad se. Vnde non debet dicere “Absoluo te si ibis ad episcopum, alias non,” sed debet absolute dicere “Absoluo te.” Secundo quod de aliis debet penitentem remittere ad episcopum, dummodo ipse proponat eum adire. Tertio quod episcopus debet absolute de pertinentibus ad se penitentem absoluere. Quarto quod ex hiis sequitur quod sic  
445 remissus ad episcopum solum tenetur ei confiteri de casu propter quem remissus est, non de aliis. Hec dico cum correptione magistrorum meorum in theologia, cum hiis que consequenter dicam sub articulo sexto.

#### <Sextus articulus>

450 Sextus articulus stat in ista conclusione, quod nec curatus nec frater potest absoluere sub spe ratihabitionis in casibus reseruatis episcopo. Ratio quia in omni absolutione sacramentali penitentiali requiritur potestas ordinis et eius executio ex parte ministri, et uerba absolutoria applicata ad confessum ut ad propriam materiam. Et cum alterum defecit uel utrumque,  
455 que, non habetur sacramentalis absolutio.

In proposito autem ex parte absoluentis deficit potestas, ex parte autem superioris, et si sit ratihabitio, defecit tamen uerbum cum applicatione ad delictum seu materiam. Quia ad absolutionem confessi ratihabitio non suf-

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431 similiter] -militer *interl. al. man. A1* per *om. A1* sicut] sicut patet *C* 432  
excommunicatoribus *interl. A1* : excommunicationibus *C* 434 et] etiam *C* 435 melius]  
melius tamen *C* 443 ipse] ille *C P1* : *om. MNP2* 444 eum] illum *P1* adire] audire  
*M* absolute] absoluere *A2 P1* 446 solum] solummodo *A1* 447 non] et non *A2 C P1*  
correptione] correctione *A2 C MP1* 448 sub] in *A2 MNP2* 449 Sextus articulus *marg.*  
*A2, rubr. M P2* : Sextus articulus quod nec curatus nec frater potest absoluere in casibus reseruatis sub spe ratihabitionis *marg. C* : *om. A1 N P1* 452 penitentiali *om. C* 454 defecit]  
deficit *C MNP1 P2* 456 deficit] defecit *N* autem *interl. A1* : *om. A2* 457 superioris]  
superiorum *A2 M* defecit] deficit *C MNP1 P2*

ficit, quia “accedente uerbo ad elementum fit sacramentum,” i. q. i. *De-*  
 460 *trahe*.<sup>120</sup> Hostiensis tamen notauit contrarium, arg. ix. q. ii. *Lugdunensis*.<sup>121</sup>

<Septimus articulus>

Septimus articulus stat in ista conclusione. “Si episcopus committit alicui  
 generaliter uices suas quoad absolutionem et penitentias iniungendas, talis  
 potestatem non habet in casibus episcopo specialiter reseruatis. Ratio quia  
 465 in generali mandato non ueniunt talia, nisi quis hoc exprimat, arg. ff., de  
 procuratoribus, l. *Mandato* et l. *Procurator*, idem de officio archidiaconi,  
 capitulo i. et capitulo *Significasti*.” Et sic nota Hostiensis in *Summa*,  
 rubrica de penitentiis et remissionibus, § *Cui confitendum*.<sup>122</sup> Hec intelligo  
 uera esse nisi appareat contrarium de intentione committentis.

470 Ex premissis primo infero corellarium, secundo mouebo dubium. Corel-  
 larium: “Si episcopus concessit alicui subdito suo quod possit sibi eligere  
 idoneum confessorem, talis confessor non potest eum absolvere in casibus  
 episcopo specialiter reseruatis,” Extra, de penitentiis et remissionibus, *Si*  
*episcopus*, Libro vi.<sup>123</sup> Dubium: An officialis episcopi in penitentiis iniun-  
 475 gendis potestatem episcopi habeat? Notauit Hostiensis in *Summa*<sup>124</sup> quod  
 non, “sed tantum in contentiosis. In hiis enim idem consistorium est  
 episcopi et officialis, et non potest ab uno ad alterum appellari, Extra, de  
 appellationibus, *Romana*,” Libro vi.

459 fit] et fit P2 : cum fit M 460 ix. ed. Friedberg : xi. A1 A2 C M N P1 P2 461  
 Septimus articulus rubr. M P2 : Septimus articulus quod quamquam episcopus committat alicui  
 generaliter uices non tamen potest talis in casibus specialiter episcopo reseruatis marg. C : om.  
 A1 A2 N P1 464 specialiter interl. A1 465 talia] specialia C 466 archidiaconi] ordin.  
 P1 470 mouebo] moueo N : moneo P1 471 quod] ut A2 474 dubium] dubium est  
 M 476 idem om. A1 A2 C M N 477 alterum] alium C P1

<sup>120</sup> Gratian, C.1 q.1 c.54.

<sup>121</sup> Host., *Summa*, lib. 5, rubr. “De penitentiis et remissionibus,” § “Cui confitendum,” at  
 “Octauo” (fol. 272va), citing Gratian, C.9 q.2 c.10.

<sup>122</sup> The preceding quotation is from Host., *Summa*, lib. 5, rubr. “De penitentiis et remis-  
 sionibus,” § “Cui confitendum,” at “Quid si” (fol. 272va). Hostiensis cites, respectively, *Dig.*  
 3.3.60 and 63; X 1.23.1, *Vt archidiaconus*; and X 1.23.8, *glossa* at “Literas” (col. 347).

<sup>123</sup> VI 5.10.2.

<sup>124</sup> Host., *Summa*, lib. 5, rubr. “De penitentiis et remissionibus,” § “Cui confitendum,” at  
 “Quid de” (fol. 272vb), citing *Romana ecclesia* from the first Council of Lyons, later VI 2.15.3.

<Octauus articulus><sup>125</sup>

- 480 Octauus articulus enumerat casus in quibus episcopus habet potestatem et non is cui specialiter uices suas commisit. Primus est ubi sollempnis penitentia est imponenda. Secundus quod non potest absolvere a sententia excommunicationis in casu in quo episcopus hoc potest, nisi sibi specialiter committatur, Extra, de sententia excommunicationis, *Peruenit*.<sup>126</sup>
- 485 Tertius ubicumque inuenit irregularitatem contractam, tunc enim debet illum ad episcopum remittere ut dispenset cum eo si potest, si non potest remittat eum ad papam.

## &lt;Nonus articulus&gt;

- Nonus articulus stat in ista conclusione, quod “religiosi qui excommuni-
- 490 catos a canone, preterquam in casibus a iure expressis uel per priuilegia sedis apostolice concessis eisdem, uel a sententiis per prouincialia aut sinodalia promulgatis, absolvere quemquam presumpserint, excommunicationis sententiam ipso facto incurrunt,” Extra, de priuilegiis, *Religiosi*, Concilii Vienensis.<sup>127</sup>
- 495 Ad euidenciam istius articuli nota per ordinem: Primo quod casus in quibus est quis excommunicatus a canone notantur per Innocentium, Extra, de sententia excommunicationis, capitulo i.,<sup>128</sup> et per Guilielmum in *Repertorio*, titulo de sententia excommunicationis.<sup>129</sup> “Hostiensis etiam collegit triginta tales casus ueteris iuris in *Summa*, eodem titulo, § iii., in principio.

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479 Octauus articulus *marg. A2, rubr. M P2*: Octauus articulus continet casus quos episcopus reseruatur sibiipsi quamuis aliter generaliter committit uices suas *marg. C : om. A1 P1*  
 480 Octauus . . . casus] Octauus capitulus enumerat articulus enumerat casus *P1*: Octauus articulus est enumerare casus *M* episcopus *om. A1 A2 P1 P2* 481 is] in hiis *A2*: his *P2*: ratio *M* 482 imponenda] iniungenda *C* secundus] secundus est *M* 483 hoc potest] habet potestatem *A2 M P2* 486 illum *om. A1* 488 Nonus articulus *marg. A2, rubr. M P2*: Nonus articulus est de religiosis qui absoluunt excommunicatos a iure uel a sententiis sinodalibus *marg. C : om. A1 N P1* 490 priuilegia] priuilegium *C*: priuilegium *P1*

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<sup>125</sup> This article is a close paraphrase of Host., *Summa*, lib. 5, rubr. “De penitentiis et remissionibus,” § “Cui confitendum,” at “Nec in hoc” (fol. 272va).

<sup>126</sup> X 5.39.17.

<sup>127</sup> *Clem.* 5.7.1.

<sup>128</sup> Inn. IV, *Apparatus*, at X 5.39.1, *Super eo* (fol. 546va–vb).

<sup>129</sup> William Durandus, *Repertorium aureum*, lib. 5, rubr. “Casus in quibus aliquis est ipso iure excommunicatus” (pp. 75–76); appended to edition of Durandus, *Speculum iuris* (Frankfurt, 1592).



500 Iohannes Andree uigintiduos, eodem titulo, *Eos qui*, Libro vi.”<sup>130</sup> Idem Iohannes Andree in Clementinis, de sententia excommunicationis, *Ex frequentibus*, super illo uerbo *Excommunicationis sententie*,<sup>131</sup> dicit “quod per xviii. constitutiones Clementinas comprehensi sunt quinquaginta casus, quorum xvi. reseruati sunt pape.” Hos casus omnes huic operi inserere  
505 longum esset et superfluum quia a pluribus sunt recollecti.

Secundo circa hoc quod dicitur “Excommunicatos a canone” notat Iohannes Andree<sup>132</sup> quod si absoluunt a sententia hominis non est locus huic pene.

Tertio notat circa hoc quod dicit “Praeterquam in casibus a iure expressis,” sicut in articulo mortis. Tunc enim quilibet potest absoluere, Extra, de officio iudicis ordinarii, *Pastoralis*,<sup>133</sup> de penis, *Felicitis*, § *Penitenti*, Libro vi.<sup>134</sup> Et notat in glossa de officio iudicis ordinarii, *Pastoralis*,<sup>135</sup> quod in tali “casu de quolibet genere excommunicationis a quolibet etiam laico potest absolui quis, arg. xvii. q. iiii., *Si quis suadente*, de sententia excommunicationis, *Quod de hiis*.” A talibus autem qui sic absoluuntur debet absoluens exigere iuramentum ut “resumptis uiribus et oportunitate concessa, si est casus papalis, quod ipsum in persona propria uisitaberint,” ut in predicto capitulo *Quod de hiis*. Et sic absolutus debet in cimiterio sepeliri, Extra, de raptoribus, *In litteris*.<sup>136</sup> Nec obstat eodem titulo, *Super eo*,<sup>137</sup>  
520 ibi enim negatur sepultura ad terrorem, Extra, de sepulturis, *Parochiano*.<sup>138</sup>

500 idem] item A2 C      504 inserere] inferre C      507 absoluunt] absoluerint C : absoluit M      510 sicut illeg. A1 : quid A2 P2 : quod C : que M      511 penis] -nis interl. A1  
514 de] Extra, de C      515 talibus] casibus A1 A2 M P2      516 ut] quod C      517 uisitaberint] uisitabunt C : uisitabit A2 M P2      520 terrorem] errorem A2

<sup>130</sup> Quotation from Iohannes Andree, *glossa* on *Clem.* 5.10.1, at “Excommunicationis sententiae” (col. 280), where he cites Host., *Summa*, lib. 5, rubr. “De sententiis excommunicationis,” § “Quis possit excommunicare” (fol. 290ra–vb) and his own gloss on VI 5.11.22, at “Canonis” (col. 681).

<sup>131</sup> *Clem.* 5.10.1, *glossa* at “Excommunicationis sententiae” (col. 280), the source of the following quotation.

<sup>132</sup> *Clem.* 5.7.1, *glossa* at “A canone” (col. 264).

<sup>133</sup> X 1.31.11.

<sup>134</sup> VI 5.9.5.

<sup>135</sup> X 1.31.11, *glossa* at “Praeterquam in mortis articulo” (col. 445 [“415”]), citing Gratian, C.17 q.4 c.29 and X 5.39.26.

<sup>136</sup> X 5.17.5, *glossa* at “Sepeliri” (col. 1879).

<sup>137</sup> X 5.17.2, *glossa* at “Sepulturae” (cols. 1877–78).

<sup>138</sup> X 3.28.14, *glossa* at “Denegari” (col. 1320).

Quarto nota quod statuta prouincialia dicuntur que facit archiepiscopus cum suffraganeis suis, nam et "sinodus prouincialis constitutionem potest facere, xvi. di. *Quod dictis*."<sup>139</sup> Statuta sinodalia sunt que facit episcopus in  
 525 concilio sinodali, quia "episcopus sine consensu metropolitani sinodale concilium tenet, xxxviii. di. *Quando presbiteri*, xii. q. ii. *Placuit*. Sed tale concilium magis proprie sinodus appellatur, de accusationibus, *Sicut olim*, § i. ad finem."<sup>140</sup>

Quinto dubium oritur: Quis a sententiis latis per statuta legatorum possit absolvere? Dico quod ordinarii locorum. De hoc in *Speculo*, titulo de legato, § *Superest*, uersiculo *Potest* et sequenti.<sup>141</sup>

Sexto quis possit absolvere a sententia canonis ubi papa sibi non reseruat? De hoc notat Innocentius, de sententia excommunicationis, *Nuper*.<sup>142</sup>

Septimo nota pro eo quod dicitur "A sententiis per statuta" et cetera.  
 535 Non extenditur nisi ad sententias "excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti, cuius necessaria est absolutio," secundum Iohannem Andree.<sup>143</sup> Vnde si religiosi absoluant a casibus reseruatis non est locus huic pene. Puniuntur enim religiosi absoluentes a peccato uel culpa in casibus pertinentibus ad papam uel ordinarios speciali pena, ut habetur eodem  
 540 capitulo, *Religiosi*, § *Quibus etiam*, ibi *Nec in casibus*, ubi super uerbo *Absolvere* dicit Iohannes Andree:<sup>144</sup> "A peccato uel culpa. De absolutione enim ab excommunicatione dicit in prima parte," quod "subiacent per duos menses penis illis que secundum regulam uel statuta pro grauibz criminibus seu culpis consueuerunt imponi." Et notat ibi Romanus,<sup>145</sup> quod  
 545 pro quocumque crimine graui seu enormi religiosus potest poni in carceribus uel ergastulis monasterii, et incorrigibilis expelli potest. Dicunt

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532 canonis] excommunicationis *P1*      532-33 sibi non reseruatur] absolutionem sibi non reseruatur *A2 P1 P2* : *om. M*      533 de se<ntentia> ex<communicationis>] Extra, de se. ex. *C* : *om. M*      537 si] licet *C*      539 speciali] a speciali *C*      539-40 e<odem> c<apitulo>] Extra, e. c. *P2* : Extra, c. *P1*      542 prima *interl. A1* : propria *A2*      545 quocumque] quolibet *C* : cumque *P1*

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<sup>139</sup> Host., *Summa*, lib. 1, rubr. "De constitutionibus," § "Quis possit constitutionem facere" (fol. 5ra), citing Gratian, D.16 c.14.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., citing, respectively, Gratian, D.38 c.2 and C.12 q.2 c.51, and X 5.1.25.

<sup>141</sup> *Speculum iuris Gulielmi Durandi* (Venice, 1576), lib. 1, partic. 1, rubr. "De legato," § "Superest," at "Potest" and "Sed per quem" (1:38).

<sup>142</sup> Inn. IV, *Apparatus*, at X 5.39.19, *Nuper a nobis* (fol. 550vb).

<sup>143</sup> *Clem.* 5.7.1, *glossa* at "Sententiis" (col. 264).

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., *glossa* at "Absolvere" (col. 265); the first quotation that follows comes from Andreae's gloss, the second from the decretal itself.

<sup>145</sup> *Non inueni*.

tamen aliqui quod si expulsus uagatur, quod ordo tenetur ipsum recipere ne pereat salua ordinis disciplina.

550 Octauo pro eo quod dicitur “Quemquam,” istud extenditur ad “religiosum uel consocium, quia nil excipit qui dicit quodcumque, de maioritate et obedientia, *Solite*.” Hec Iohannes Andree.<sup>146</sup>

555 Nono oritur dubium. Religiosus absoluit a peccato ignorans ipsum ualatum sententia per statutum prouinciale aut sinodale. Numquid excusatur per ignorantiam? Dic quod sic. “Ignorantia enim facti excusat,” de regulis iuris, *Ignorantia*, Libro vi.<sup>147</sup> Sed statuta talia sunt facti, eodem libro, de constitutionibus, *Licet Romanus*.<sup>148</sup> Facit ad hoc quod dicit decretalis “Absoluere presumpserint,” ergo temerarios presumptores tantum punitur.

### <Decimus articulus>

560 Decimus articulus stat in quatuor propositionibus. Prima est ista: “Religiosi qui a pena et culpa absoluere quemquam presumpserint excommunicationis sententiam ipso facto incurrunt.” Secundo quod hii absoluuntur tantum a papa. Tertio quod “locorum ordinarii, postquam de hoc eis constiterint, debent eos facere publice denuntiari, donec de ipsorum absolutione eis fuerit facta fides.” Quarto quod in hoc ipsis religiosis nullum  
565 priuilegium suffragatur, de priuilegiis et excessibus priuilegiatorum, *Religiosi*, Concilii Vienensis.<sup>149</sup>

Quantum ad quartum, quia in hiiis nullum priuilegium suffragatur, intelligendum est quando “penam incurrant et denuntientur, tamen priuilegia super hiiis eis concessa tollere non intendit,” secundum Iohannem Andree.<sup>150</sup> Et nota quod “ista absolutio a pena et a culpa est illa plenissima

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547 ipsum] eum C    549 istud extenditur] istud extenditur secundum Iohannem Andree  
interl. C    550 consocium] socium A2 M    de] Extra, de C    552 absoluit] absoluerit C :  
absoluit aliquem N    553 sententia] sententia excommunicationis P1 : om. C    554 dic]  
dico A2 C : dicit P1    554–55 de regulis iuris] Extra, de regulis iuris C : om. M    555 facti]  
facta A2 M    e<odem> li<bro>] e. c. A2 N P2 : Extra, li. vi. P1 : om. M    558 Decimus  
articulus marg. A2, rubr. M P2 : Decimus articulus stat in quatuor propositionibus que ponuntur  
infra consequenter marg. C : om. A1 P1    567 quia in hiiis] quod in hiiis A2 M P1 P2 : quod  
debet in hiiis eis C    568 et om. C    tamen] cum A2

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<sup>146</sup> Clem. 5.7.1, glossa at “Quenquam” (col. 264), citing X 1.33.6.

<sup>147</sup> VI [5.13] reg. 13.

<sup>148</sup> VI 1.2.1.

<sup>149</sup> Clem. 5.7.1, the source of the preceding quotations.

<sup>150</sup> Clem. 5.7.1, glossa at “Suffragante” (col. 264).

peccatorum remissio que conceditur cruce signatis pro subsidio ultramarino et que datur in anno centesimo, ut in Extrauaganti Bonifacii, *Antiquorum*, quam solus papa concedit." Hec Iohannis Andree, de penitentiis et remissionibus, *Abusionibus*, Concilii Vienensis.<sup>151</sup> De hoc uide Innocentius, de  
575 penitentiis et remissionibus, *Quod in te*.<sup>152</sup>

Et nota quod episcopi, "etiam non exempti," secundum Iohannem Andree,<sup>153</sup> et superiores eis et prelati inferiores exempti in hoc priuilegiati sunt, quod preter superioris licentiam possunt sibi eligere confessores, Extra, de penitentiis et remissionibus, *Ne pro dilatione*.<sup>154</sup> Et tales confes-  
580 sores possunt eos absolvere ab excommunicatione iuris non iudicis, ut scribunt doctores.<sup>155</sup>

### <Vndecimus articulus>

Vndecimus articulus continet tria: Primo unum notabile. Secundo unum corellarium. Tertio unum dubitabile.

585 Notabile est quod Hostiensis in *Summa*, rubrica de penitentiis et remissionibus, § *Cui confitendum* dicit.<sup>156</sup> Infrascriptos casus de consuetudine sola uel reseruatione sua pertinere ad episcopum: "De parentibus qui filios opprimunt, de quo ii. q. v. *Consuluisti*. De sacrilegiis. De falsariis. De uiolatoribus ecclesiarum et ecclesiastice immunitatis et libertatis. De sorti-  
590 legiis. De uitio contra naturam, etiam cum brutis. De incestu. De corruptione sanctimonialium. De periurio. De clandestine contrahentibus." De falsariis tamen dic ut supra in articulo secundo.

572 in<sup>2</sup> interl. A1    573 papa] dominus papa C    576 etiam non exempti] non exempti C : om. M    578 licentiam] licentia A1 M P1    579 pro dilatione] per dilationem A1 M  
582 Vndecimus articulus rubr. M P2 : om. A1 A2 C P1    586-87 de . . . episcopum] de consuetudine solum uel reseruatione sua pertinere ad episcopum A2 M P2 : posse episcopus reseruare P1    587 parentibus] pertinentibus M : penitentibus P1    588 filios] filios suos C  
589 uiolatoribus] uigilatoribus M    590 uitio] uitii C    etiam] et C M    592 dic ut] dicit ut M P1 P2 : dicunt A2

<sup>151</sup> Clem. 5.9.2, glossa at "A poena et a culpa" (col. 278), citing Boniface VIII's *Antiquorum*, later Extrav. Comm. 5.9.1.

<sup>152</sup> Inn. IV, *Apparatus*, at X 5.38.11 (fol. 544vb).

<sup>153</sup> Andree, *Comm.*, X 5.38.16, at "Episcopis" (vol. 4, fol. 129vb).

<sup>154</sup> X 5.38.16; the preceding is a close paraphrase of the decretal.

<sup>155</sup> *Non inueni*.

<sup>156</sup> Host., *Summa*, lib. 5, rubr. "De penitentiis et remissionibus," § "Cui confitendum," at "De parentibus" (fol. 272va). This is the source of the following quotation, though Hostiensis does not cite *Consuluisti* (Gratian, C.2 q.5 c.20).

Secundo infero corellarie ex premissis quod si predicta essent uera,  
 quod tamen non assero, sequeretur quod casus premissi non essent episco-  
 595 pis reseruati a iure, nisi in casibus ubi contra talium patratores est lata  
 sententia excommunicationis ab homine uel a iure, uel ubi essent publici et  
 scandalosi uel enormes.

Tertio moueo dubium, an fratres absoluere possint ab hiis que de con-  
 suetudine reseruantur episcopo in aliquo episcopatu. Et uideretur alicui  
 600 quod non, "quia consuetudo dat iurisdictionem etiam in foro penitentiali,  
 Extra, de electione, *Dudum*, de prescriptionibus, *Ex transmissa*, et capitulo  
*Cum olim* et capitulo *Veniens*,"<sup>157</sup> de foro, *Cum contingat*,<sup>158</sup> et arg. Extra,  
 de arbitriis, *Dilecti*.<sup>159</sup> Posset dici tamen sine temeraria adhesione quod sic.  
 Constitutio enim preallegata *Dudum*, § *Statuimus*, uersiculo *Per huius-*  
 605 *modi*,<sup>160</sup> concedit fratribus auctoritatem que competit curatis a iure, et  
 consequenter alio § "Cassantur omnes consuetudines premissis uel alicui  
 premissorum contrarie." Amen.

Expliciunt casus abstracti a iure per fratrem Hermannum de prouincia  
 Saxonie, per capitulum generale apud Caturcum examinati.

610 <Sub anno Domini m°. cccxxxvii., tempore Geraldii generalis ministri.>

*McGill University.*

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593 corellarie] corelarium *A2 C M P2*    predicta] premissa *C*    595 contra talium] con-  
 trarium *A2*    patratores] patenter *A2* : paractores *M*    598 moueo] monebo *C M*    pos-  
 sint] possunt *C P2* : possit *P1*    598–99 consuetudine] iure *C*    599 uideretur] uidetur  
*C M P1 P2*    603 *Dilecti ed. Friedberg* : *Dilectus A1 C* : *Cum dilectus A2 M P1 P2*    ad-  
 hesione] assertionem uel adhesionem *M*    606 alio] alia *C* : alie *M*    607 Amen *om.*  
*A2 C M P1 P2*    608 Expliciunt casus] Isti sunt aliqui casus *N*    fratrem] fratrem et ma-  
 gistrum *C*    Hermannum] Hormannum *A1*    609 Saxonie] Sassonie *A1 P2*    Caturcum]  
 Saurium *C*    examinati] examinati et approbati *A2 C N P2*    610 Sub anno . . . ministri  
*add. al. man. A1* : *om. A2 C N P1 P2*

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<sup>157</sup> Quotation from Johannes Monachus's gloss on *Super cathedram* (*Extrav. Comm.* 3.6.2),  
 at "A iure" (col. 102), citing, respectively, X 1.6.54, *glossa* at "Suspendit" (col. 222); X 2.26.10;  
 X 2.26.18; and X 2.26.19.

<sup>158</sup> X 2.2.13, *glossa* at "Vel consuetudine" (col. 601).

<sup>159</sup> X 1.43.4, *glossa* at "Consuetudinem" (col. 556).

<sup>160</sup> *Clem.* 3.7.2.

## BEDE AND THE ISIDORIAN LEGACY

William D. McCready

IN his essay in the well-known collection commemorating the thirteenth centenary of the birth of the Venerable Bede, Paul Meyvaert makes a convincing case both for Bede's scholarly stature and for the growing maturity and independence of judgment that can be detected over the course of his career.<sup>1</sup> In the early years, as Bede himself tells us, his inclination was to follow the doctors of the Church, happily deferring to their authority.<sup>2</sup> Once he learned to look into questions more carefully, however, he was ready to advance his own opinions, even if he happened to be in conflict with esteemed predecessors. In general, says Meyvaert, Bede was able to state his disagreement respectfully, without jeopardizing the becoming modesty that has endeared him to so many. In his handling of Isidore, however, Meyvaert claims that it is a different Bede that we see, one much less gracious than is usually the case. The point has been made by other scholars as well, both before and since, and now represents the generally established view. Indeed, it is suggested that Bede's attitude towards Isidore amounted to nothing less than a hearty dislike, one strong enough for him to have made the correction of the errors in Isidore's *De natura rerum* one of the two major projects of his final days.<sup>3</sup>

In his *Epistola de obitu Bedae* the deacon Cuthbert tells us that Bede was engaged on two works, neither of which has survived, at the time of his death. Alongside a translation of the Gospel of St. John, which Bede completed up to John 6:9, Cuthbert mentions certain "exceptiones" from Isidore's *De natura rerum*; Bede is reported to have said, "I cannot have my children learning what is not true and losing their labour on this after I

<sup>1</sup> Paul Meyvaert, "Bede the Scholar," in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. Gerald Bonner (London, 1976), 40–69, esp. 58.

<sup>2</sup> See *Retractatio in Actus Apostolorum* [Retr.] 1.13 (ed. M. L. W. Laistner, CCL 121 [Turnhout, 1983], 107): "Non autem mihi imputandum errorem reor, ubi auctoritatem magnorum sequens doctorum, quae in illorum opusculis inueni, absque scrupulo suscipienda credidi."

<sup>3</sup> Meyvaert, "Bede the Scholar," 58–60. Cf. Charles W. Jones, ed., *Bedae Opera de temporibus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), 131; Roger Ray, "Bede's *Vera Lex Historiae*," *Speculum* 55 (1980): 1–21 at 16–17.

am gone.”<sup>4</sup> Although the authenticity of Cuthbert’s text has been called into question,<sup>5</sup> most scholars would agree that there is little doubt that it is indeed what it purports to be: an eyewitness account of Bede’s last days by a former pupil who was destined to become abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow. Whether Cuthbert’s description of Bede’s scholarly activities can sustain the interpretation that Meyvaert and others have placed upon it is, however, another matter. Was Bede compiling a set of corrections to the errors in Isidore’s text, or was he not rather, as has traditionally been thought, assembling a set of extracts from Isidore to counter the misinformation that his students would encounter elsewhere? The question is a complex one, deserving an essay of its own. The purpose of the present essay, which focuses on passages in which Bede either criticizes Isidore or has been thought to do so, is to provide some additional context for that debate by examining the attitude towards Isidore—particularly Isidore’s *De natura rerum*—that emerges from Bede’s own published works.

If the dying Bede was obsessed enough with Isidore’s blunders to devote a book to the subject, his attitude had changed dramatically over the years. While he was still a young scholar, Bede produced his own *De natura rerum*, a treatise that covers much the same ground as Isidore’s. It was probably contemporaneous with *De temporibus*, written in 703, for which he reserved the subjects raised in Isidore’s first eight chapters. The dependence of Bede’s *De natura rerum* on Isidore’s, at least in general terms, has frequently been recognized. As Pierre Duhem puts it, “Non seulement, les mêmes matières y sont enseignées à peu près dans le même ordre, mais encore l’exposé du Moine de Wearmouth reproduit bien souvent, d’une manière textuelle, des phrases ou des paragraphes entiers du livre de l’É-

<sup>4</sup> *Epistola de obitu Bedae* (ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People* [Oxford, 1969], 582–83): “In istis autem diebus duo opuscula multum memoria digna, exceptis lectionibus quas cotidie accepimus ab eo et cantu Psalmorum, facere studuit, id est a capite euangelii sancti Iohannis usque ad eum locum in quo dicitur ‘Sed haec quid sunt inter tantos?’ in nostram linguam ad utilitatem ecclesiae Dei conuertit, et de libris Rotarum Ysidori episcopi exceptiones quasdam, dicens ‘Nolo ut pueri mei mendacium legant, et in hoc post meum obitum sine fructu laborent.’” Cf. Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, *The Manuscripts of Caedmon’s Hymn and Bede’s Death Song* (New York, 1937), 120–22 and 121–23. Dobbie provides on facing pages critical editions of two distinct versions of the *Epistola*, an earlier “Continental Version,” and a later “Insular Version.” Of the many additional manuscripts that have come to light since Dobbie’s time of writing, the most important is The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek 70 H 7, a tenth-century manuscript first identified and published by N. R. Ker, “The Hague Manuscript of the *Epistola Cuthberti de Obitu Bedae* with Bede’s Song,” *Medium Aevum* 8 (1939): 40–44. Colgrave and Mynors adopted this manuscript as the basis for their edition.

<sup>5</sup> See W. F. Bolton, “*Epistola Cuthberti De Obitu Bedae*: A Caveat,” *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 1 (1970): 127–39.

vêque espagnol.”<sup>6</sup> What has not been acknowledged, and what seems particularly significant in light of the alleged critique that occupied his last days, is that only infrequently, either in *De natura rerum* or in *De temporibus*, does Bede find anything to correct in Isidore’s work; and when he does, rarely is there a serious and substantive point at issue.

An example is provided by the chapter he devotes to the rainbow. Bede states,

*Arcus in aere quadricolor ex sole aduerso nubibusque formatur, dum radius solis inmissus cauae nubi, repulsa acie in solem refringitur, instar cerae imaginem anuli reddentis. Qui de caelo igneum, de aquis purpureum, de aere hyacinthinum, de terra gramineum trahit colorem.*<sup>7</sup>

[The rainbow is of four colours, and is produced in the sky through the combined effect of sun and clouds when a ray of the sun, striking a hollow cloud, has its point repelled and is reflected back to the sun, like wax bearing the image of a ring. It is fiery in colour from the heavens, purple from the waters, blue from the air, and green from the earth.]

Bede’s information is derived in about equal measures from Pliny and Isidore, Pliny’s words, for the most part, reporting the effect of sun and clouds, Isidore’s describing the colours of the rainbow.<sup>8</sup> Isidore maintains that there are four colours, and that they parallel the four elements, points that Bede retains. Inexplicably, however, Isidore identifies them as red, purple, white and black. Precisely where he got such an idea is difficult to tell. Fontaine suggests a *scholium* on Lucan.<sup>9</sup> Bede quietly corrects Isidore while preserving much of his language. At the same time, however, it is noteworthy that he presumes upon Isidore for the clarification of a much more substantive point: how to account for the rainbow’s shape. Bede’s

<sup>6</sup> Pierre Duhem, *Le système du monde*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1915), 16.

<sup>7</sup> Bede, *De natura rerum* [DNR] 31 (ed. C. W. Jones, CCL 123A [Turnhout, 1975], 220–21). In all quotations from Bede, I have retained (with some modifications) the italics that the editors have used to indicate passages from Isidore and other sources.

<sup>8</sup> See Pliny, *NH* 2.60.150 (ed. and trans. H. Rackham, *Pliny: Natural History*, vol. 1, Loeb Classical Library [London and Cambridge, Mass., 1938], 286); Isidore, *De natura rerum* [DNR] 31.1–2 (ed. Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville: Traité de la nature*, Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études Hispaniques, fasc. 28 [Bordeaux, 1960], 285). Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 13.10.1 (ed. W. M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1911]). A new edition of the *Etymologies* is being published in the series “Auteurs latins du moyen âge.” Four volumes have appeared to date: Book II (ed. and trans. [into English] Peter K. Marshall [1983]); Book IX (ed. and trans. Marc Reydellet [1984]); and Books XII and XVII (ed. and trans. Jacques André [1986 and 1981 respectively]). All quotations below are from the Lindsay edition (without pagination).

<sup>9</sup> Fontaine, *Traité de la nature*, 285; idem, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l’Espagne wisigothique*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1959–83), 2:566.



text, quoted above, is scarcely followable at this juncture, referring cryptically to wax bearing the image of a ring. Isidore makes it intelligible. He explains,

arcus enim in aere ex imagine solis hoc modo formatur. Dum enim sol in nubibus rarescentibus ex aduerso refulserit radiosque suos directa linea humori nubilo transfundens inpresserit, fit repercussio splendoris eius in nubibus ex quibus fulgor emicans arcus speciem format. Sicut enim inpressa cera anuli imaginem exprimit, sic nubes e contra ex rotunditate solis figuram sumentes orbem efficiunt et arcus effigiem fingunt.<sup>10</sup>

[The rainbow (*arcus*) is formed in the sky from the image of the sun in the following way. When the sun shines upon thinning clouds, impressing its rays on them directly and diffusing them through the cloudy vapour, its brilliance is reflected in the clouds, and the brightness that springs forth creates the figure of a rainbow (*arcus*). Just as wax that has been impressed bears the image of a ring, so clouds fashion themselves after the roundness of the sun facing them, and making a circle, form the likeness of a bow (*arcus*).]

Either Bede compressed his argument excessively, or he counted on his readers' familiarity with Isidore to flesh it out. In either case his dependence on Isidore is clear.

Bede is able to add precision to Isidore's comments about the tides as well, narrowing Isidore's three possible explanations down to one.<sup>11</sup> The philosophers, says Isidore, referring to Solinus, have likened the world, which is composed of the four elements, to a great animal. Hence some have suggested that there are large passages for winds hidden in the depths of the ocean, passages that function like global nostrils. Exhalation causes the seas to rise; inhalation permits them to fall back once again. Others, however, say that rising tides are associated with the waxing of the moon. By its exhalation, as it were, the waters subside, but by its inhalation they are allowed to flow back in proper measure. Still others claim that the stars are fueled by the waters of the ocean. On this view, the sun draws on these waters both to sustain its own fires and to regulate the flames of the other stars; and when it does so, the waters rise. Isidore, unsure what to make of any of this, declares it a mystery known to God alone.<sup>12</sup> Bede is

<sup>10</sup> Isidore, *DNR* 31.1 (ed. Fontaine, 285). Cf. Ps.-Clement, trans. Rufinus, *Recognitiones* 8.42 (PG 1:1391).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Bede, *DNR* 39 (CCL 123A:224–25); Isidore, *DNR* 40.1–2 (ed. Fontaine, 305–7).

<sup>12</sup> However, cf. *Etym.* 13.15.1, where Isidore shows a preference for the first theory: "Iste [i.e. oceanus] est qui oras terrarum amplectitur, alternisque aestibus accedit atque recedit; respirantibus enim in profundum ventis aut revomit maria, aut resorbet." This was a popular view in antiquity. See Marina Smyth, "The Physical World in Seventh-Century Hiberno-Latin Texts," *Peritia* 5 (1986): 201–34 at 226.

knowledgeable enough simply to state the lunar explanation, showing no interest in the other possibilities at all. He may well have seen them, especially the first of them, as a little simpleminded. Interestingly enough, however, it is Isidore's language that Bede uses in articulating the lunar explanation, and it is still coloured by its association with the first explanation in Isidore's text: "Aestus oceani lunam sequitur, tamquam eius aspiratione retrorsum trahatur eiusque impulsu retracto refundatur."<sup>13</sup> With "aspiratione," and implicitly with "impulsu retracto," Bede suggests an image of the moon inhaling and exhaling, and drawing up and pushing back the tide accordingly.

Another chapter in which Bede both draws on and corrects what Isidore has to say is the ninth chapter of *De temporibus*, entitled "De annis." Whereas Isidore is content with round numbers, defining the solar or civil year as being of 365 days, Bede states more precisely that it is 365 and one-quarter days.<sup>14</sup> He also quietly changes what Isidore has to say about the length of the "great year." Isidore defines this as the period of time in which all the constellations return to the same place in the heavens. According to the ancients, he claims, it is the equivalent of nineteen solar years. Bede agrees with the definition, much of which he adopts verbatim, but then states that, according to Josephus, the period in question is 600 years.<sup>15</sup> In the *Etymologies* Isidore wisely avoids a precise figure.<sup>16</sup> Ancient

<sup>13</sup> Bede, *DNR* 39 (CCL 123A:224). Cf. Isidore, *DNR* 40.1 (ed. Fontaine, 307): "Quidam autem uolunt cum augmento lunari crescere oceanum et tamquam eius quibusdam spirationibus retrorsum trahatur, et iterum eiusdem impulsu ac retractu in mensuram propriam refundatur." Jones misses Bede's dependence on Isidore here. Duhem, *Système du monde* 3:18, suggests Bede's direct use of Ambrose, who was Isidore's source. On close inspection, however, that seems unlikely. Cf. Ambrose, *Exameron* 4.7.30 (ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 32.1 [Vienna, 1897], 136), where it is said of the rising and falling of the western sea, "... tamquam lunae quibusdam aspirationibus retrorsum trahatur et iterum isdem impulsu ac retractum in mensuram propriam refundatur." Bede invokes the same imagery again in *De temporum ratione* [DTR] 29 (ed. C. W. Jones, CCL 123B [Turnhout, 1977], 366), where he says of the ocean, "*Tamquam lunae quibusdam aspirationibus inuitus protrahatur, et iterum eiusdem ui cessante in mensuram propriam refundatur.*" Here the likelihood of direct dependence on Ambrose is increased by the extensive use Bede makes of the *Exameron* in the preceding chapter. The words "eiusdem ui cessante," however, sound more like a paraphrase of the Isidorian version than of Ambrose himself.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Isidore, *DNR* 6.4 (ed. Fontaine, 195); Bede, *De temporibus* [DT] 9 (ed. C. W. Jones, CCL 123C [Turnhout, 1980], 591).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Isidore, *DNR* 6.3 (ed. Fontaine, 195): "Annus magnus dicitur quando omnia sidera, certis temporibus numerisque completis, ad suum locum uel ordinem reuertuntur. Quem annum antiqui undeicensimo anno finiri uel adimpleri dixerunt"; and Bede, *DT* 9 (CCL 123C:592): "*Annus magnus est dum omnia sidera certis cursibus exactis ad locum suum reuertuntur, quem sexcentis annis solaribus Iosephus dicit impleri.*"

<sup>16</sup> See *Etym.* 5.36.3, where Isidore also defines the "great year" a little differently, referring of the return of all the planets to the same point: "Tria sunt autem genera annorum. Aut enim lunaris annus est triginta dierum; aut solstitialis, qui duodecim continet menses; aut magnus, omnibus planetis in eundem locum recurrentibus, qui fit post annos solstitiales plurimos." Cicero

astronomy associated a large variety of numbers with the “great year,” from the very small to the extraordinarily large.<sup>17</sup> Most were entirely lacking in astronomical significance. However, some authorities had identified it with the more important soli-lunar cycles, the nineteen-year Metonic cycle, for example. This, it would seem, is what Isidore had in mind in his *De natura rerum*, following, directly or indirectly, the example of Censorinus. One wonders why Bede would have preferred Josephus, whom he could not have regarded as an astronomical authority. Josephus raises the matter in the context of a discussion of the extended lives of the patriarchs. God granted them such longevity both “for their merits and to promote the utility of their discoveries in astronomy and geometry, . . . for they could have predicted nothing with certainty had they not lived for 600 years, that being the complete period of the great year.”<sup>18</sup>

At about the same level of seriousness are the differences between Bede and Isidore in their handling of the seasons. Bede clearly draws on the relevant chapter of Isidore’s *De natura rerum* for his own treatment of the subject in *De temporibus*.<sup>19</sup> He begins with the same quotation of Ambrose that Isidore employs, and moves on to list the same qualities of the seasons.<sup>20</sup> But the dates he then gives for their various beginnings—7 February (spring), 9 May (summer), 7 August (autumn), 7 November (winter)—differ from those Isidore offers. Isidore has the seasons beginning approximately two weeks later, on 22 February, 24 May, 23 August, and 25 November.<sup>21</sup> A thorough treatment of this matter would demand

had defined it the same way, displaying a similar reluctance to offer a precise estimate of its length. See *De natura deorum* 2.20.51–52 (ed. and trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library [London and New York, 1933], 172), where he refers to a *magnus annus* “qui tum efficitur cum solis et lunae et quinque errantium ad eandem inter se comparationem confectis omnium spatiis est facta conversio. Quae quam longa sit magna quaestio est, esse vero certam et definitam necesse est.” In *De re publica* 6.22.24 (ed. L. Castiglioni, 3d ed. [Torino, 1960], 160–61), however, Cicero refers to all the stars (*cuncta astra*) in connection with the “great year,” as does Augustine in *De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber* 13 (ed. I. Zycha, CSEL 28.1 [Vienna, 1894], 487). Augustine also avoids pronouncing on its length: “et fortasse ita cum omnia sidera ad idem redierint, annus magnus peragitur, de quo multi multa dixerunt.”

<sup>17</sup> See O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, 3 pts. (New York, 1975), 2:618.

<sup>18</sup> Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 1.106 (ed. and trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus IV*, Loeb Classical Library [London, 1930], 51).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Bede, *DT* 8 (CCL 123C:591); Isidore, *DNR* 7 (ed. Fontaine, 199–205).

<sup>20</sup> See Isidore, *DNR* 7.1 and 7.4 (ed. Fontaine, 199, 203).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Bede, *DT* 8 (CCL 123C:591); Isidore, *DNR* 7.5 (ed. Fontaine, 203). Bede says of the seasons, “Haec antiqui sexto die ante idus Februarias et Maias Augustasque et Nouembres inchoabant.” My assumption is that the dates should be compatible with those offered in *De temporum ratione*, and therefore should not require inclusive reckoning. Cf. *DTR* 35 (CCL 123B:393), where Bede claims to follow Greek and Roman practice: “hiemem vii id. Nouembres, uer vii id. Februarias, aestatem vii id. Maias, autumnum vii id. Augustas inchoara

further analysis of Isidore, who seems to have suggested more than one set of dates.<sup>22</sup> It would also require anticipating our examination of the treatment Bede gives the subject in *De temporum ratione*.<sup>23</sup> Suffice it to say that the matter is clearly not a substantive one, nor does Bede's opting for a different set of dates imply a significant criticism of Isidore. The discussion in *De temporum ratione* indicates clearly Bede's awareness that the dates of the seasons could vary by historical period or culture.

Potentially more serious than any of the matters discussed so far are the differences between Isidore and Bede in their respective treatments of the shape of the earth. The clarity that characterizes Bede's discussion contrasts sharply with the ambiguities that surround Isidore's. In the sixteenth chapter of *De natura rerum*, entitled "De quantitate solis et lunae," Isidore states a claim that more than one scholar has understood to presuppose a flat earth: "The sun is similar for the inhabitants of both India and Britain. It is seen by both at the same moment when it arises . . ." ("Similis sol est et Indis et Brittanis; eodem momento ab utrisque uidetur cum oritur . . .").<sup>24</sup> Wesley Stevens has argued against any such implication. What Isidore intends to say, he claims, is not that everyone, whether in the eastern or in the western hemisphere, sees the sun rise at the same time, but rather that, at the same time in its rising, it displays the same features to

decernunt."

<sup>22</sup> See Julio Samsó, "Astronómica Isidoriana," *Faventia* 1 (1979): 167–74 at 169–71.

<sup>23</sup> See pp. 66–67 below.

<sup>24</sup> See *DNR* 16.1–2 (ed. Fontaine, 231), where Isidore appeals to the authority of St. Ambrose: "Rursus in eodem opere doctor idem ita testatur: solis radius nulli propior, nulli longinquior est. Similiter et lunae globus aequalis est omnibus. Similis sol est et Indis et Brittanis; eodem momento ab utrisque uidetur cum oritur, nec cum uergit in occasu minor apparet Orientalibus, nec Occidentalibus, cum oritur, inferior quam Orientalibus extimatur. Quantum distat, inquit, oriens ab occasu! Tantum haec sibi inuicem distant. Sed sol a nullo distat, nulli praesentior nullique remotior est. Neque moueat quemquam quod tamquam cubitalis in orbe suo uidetur cum oritur; sed considerare oportet quantum intersit spatii inter solem et terram, quod aspectus nostri infirmitas et quaedam aegritudo uix ualet intendere. Hunc autem ampliorem aliquot partibus quam terram esse sapientes describunt." Cf. *Etym.* 3.47: "De magnitudine solis. Magnitudo solis fortior terrae est, unde et eodem momento, quum oritur, et orienti simul et occidenti aequaliter apparet. Quod vero tamquam cubitalis nobis videtur, considerare oportet quantum sol distat a terris, quae longitudo facit ut parvus videatur a nobis." Ernest Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville* (New York, 1912), 147, translates as follows: "The size of the sun is greater than that of the earth and so from the moment when it rises it appears equally to east and west at the same time. . . ." In a note he observes, "This passage indicates Isidore's belief in a flat earth." Cf. John Kirtland Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades* (New York, 1925), 54. See also Thomas R. Eckenrode, "Venerable Bede as a Scientist," *The American Benedictine Review* 22 (1971): 486–507 at 489–90; idem, "The Growth of a Scientific Mind: Bede's Early and Late Scientific Writings," *The Downside Review* 94 (1976): 197–212 at 208–9; Samsó, "Astronómica Isidoriana," 167–68.

everyone.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, however, this does not fully resolve the issue. There is also the rather disconcerting illustration that appears in chap. 10. There Isidore provides a figure of the five terrestrial zones that are roughly determinative of climate. It would have done nothing to address any disdain Bede may have felt for such illustrative devices.<sup>26</sup> The five zones appear, not as parallel bands running at right angles to the poles of a spherical earth, but as the petals of a flower. They are projected as five circles on a plane surface, with the resulting absurdity that arctic and antarctic circles are shown side by side, while the two temperate circles appear, one in the East and one in the West.<sup>27</sup>

Sorting out Isidore's thought on this matter would involve us in complexities to which we cannot begin to do justice here. In Bede's case it is a much more straightforward matter. Bede knew all about the sphericity of the earth, a subject on which Pliny served as his major guide. Indeed, he devotes a chapter of *De natura rerum* to the topic, one that could serve as a corrective to any misstatements on Isidore's part. It is because of the earth's spherical shape, he says, that the stars of the northern region never set for us, while those of the southern region never rise.<sup>28</sup> Whether he *intended* any correction of Isidore, however, is not clear. If he did, he went about it very delicately, without drawing attention to Isidore's shortcomings. Isidore's imprecision was not such as to undermine his usefulness, for elsewhere Bede draws directly on the passage from the sixteenth chapter of Isidore's *De natura rerum* mentioned above. While doing so, however, he quietly omits the possibly troublesome statement about the sunrise.<sup>29</sup>

An issue of comparable importance concerns the periods of sidereal revolution for the planets. When he treats this matter in the thirteenth

<sup>25</sup> Wesley M. Stevens, "The Figure of the Earth in Isidore's 'De natura rerum,'" *Isis* 71 (1980): 268–77 at 273. Cf. David Woodward, "Medieval *Mappaemundi*," in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago, 1987), 286–370 at 320.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. H. Bober, "An Illustrated Medieval School-Book of Bede's 'De Natura Rerum,'" *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 19–20 (1956–57): 65–97 at 86.

<sup>27</sup> Isidore, *DNR* 10.2, fig. 3 (ed. Fontaine, 210 *bis*). Fontaine reproduces the figure as it appears in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14300. For a reproduction of the figure in Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 83<sup>II</sup>, fol. 130v, see Anna Dorothee von den Brincken, *Fines Terrae: Die Enden der Erde und der vierte Kontinent auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten*, MGH Schriften 36 (Hannover, 1992), pl. 12.

<sup>28</sup> Bede, *DNR* 46 (CCL 123A:228–29). Cf. *DTR* 32 (CCL 123B:380–81).

<sup>29</sup> Bede, *DNR* 19 (CCL 123A:210–11): "*Solis ignem dicunt aqua nutrirī, multoque hunc luna ampliorem, lunam uero terra esse maiorem. Unde et cunctis unius magnitudinis apparet. Quod enim nobis quasi cubitalis uidetur nimiae celsitudinis distantia facit—alioquin maior Indis oriens et Britannis appareret occidens.*"

chapter of his *De natura rerum*, it is Pliny whom Bede follows, preferring him to what he could find in Isidore.<sup>30</sup> He reports that it takes the sun 365 and one-quarter days to complete its circuit of the heavens, and the moon twenty-seven and one-third days, although it remains concealed *in coitu solis* for two additional days before the cycle recommences. Venus requires 348 days; Mercury completes its orbit nine days more quickly. Of the remaining planets, Mars takes two years to orbit the earth, Jupiter twelve years, and Saturn thirty years. With the exception of those provided for Mercury and Venus, Bede's numbers correspond reasonably well to modern figures, and they increase in accuracy with the distance of the planets from the sun.

In the cognate chapter of his *De natura rerum* Isidore appears to be addressing the same issue,<sup>31</sup> but the data he provides are significantly different:

The Moon:	eight years.
Mercury:	twenty years.
Venus:	nine years.
The Sun:	nineteen years.
Mars:	fifteen years.
Jupiter:	twelve years.
Saturn:	thirty years.

Isidore's text is accompanied by a *rota*, a circular figure conveying the same information. For illustrative purposes Fontaine reproduces the version that appears in an eighth-century manuscript, probably from Salzburg: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14300. It shows a circular earth in the centre bearing the likeness of a human face, and surrounded by a series of concentric circles representing the paths of the planets. In each is inscribed the relevant text for the planet in question. As one would expect, the Munich manuscript possesses some unique features. However, Fontaine's edited version of the text of the figure, which is based on all the manuscripts that contain it, confirms the numbers for the planets given above. At only two points, the numbers for Jupiter and Saturn, do Bede and Isidore agree.

Some features of Isidore's account strike the reader immediately: the periods given for the sun and the moon, for example. These were well

<sup>30</sup> Bede, *DNR* 13 (CCL 123A:204–5). The basic data come from Pliny, *NH* 2.6.32–44, 2.15.78, and 2.12.59, occasional phrases of which are quoted verbatim.

<sup>31</sup> Isidore, *DNR* 23.4 (ed. Fontaine, 259–61).

known, and it is hard to believe Isidore could have been confused about them.<sup>32</sup> Unsurprisingly, there are indications that copyists also stumbled at this point. In the main text Isidore credits the moon with a period of eight years: “luna octo annis fertur explere circulum suum.” The text of the figure is essentially the same: “luna conplet circulum suum annis octo.” The reading *octo annis* (*octo a.* or *viii a.*) is attested to by only four manuscripts. Seven provide *tot annis* (*tot a.*); two provide *tot annis decim et novem* (*tot a. xviii* or *tot a. decim et novem*). In the figure, only three manuscripts attest to the reading *octo* (*octo* or *viii*). In three others the reading is *xviii*; four omit the number entirely. Only two manuscripts say in both text and figure that the moon completes its circuit of the earth in eight years, a fact that suggests a considerable amount of confusion early in the manuscript tradition. However, the apparatus yields nothing comparable with regard to the sun or any of the other planets. Moreover, with the exception once again of the moon, the data provided by *De natura rerum* are confirmed by the *Etymologies*.<sup>33</sup> Puzzling though they may be, it seems clear that these were indeed the data that Isidore recorded.

Julio Samsó has recently pointed out, following Otto Neugebauer, that the numbers Isidore provides for the sun and the moon were also associated with two different soli-lunar cycles known to ancient astronomy: the eight-year cycle called the *octaeteris*, and the nineteen-year Metonic cycle.<sup>34</sup> The former was premised on a solar year of 365 days (the Egyptian year) and a lunar year of 354 days, the latter being composed of twelve months of twenty-nine and one-half days each. In one solar year the difference between the two was eleven days. In eight years it was eighty-eight days, which almost exactly coincided with a period of three months. The *octaeteris*, therefore, was a cycle that, by the provision of three intercalary months, reconciled solar and lunar years over an eight-year period. The Metonic cycle—associated with the school of Meton and Euctemon, ca. 430 B.C.—accomplished the same end over a nineteen-year period.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Isidore, *DNR* 19.1 (ed. Fontaine, 247): “Terris autem uicina luna breuiori orbe conuertitur, et iter quod sol in diebus CCCLXV peragit, ista per XXX dies percurrit. Unde et antiqui menses in luna, annos autem in solis cursu posuerunt.”

<sup>33</sup> Isidore, *Etym.* 3.66: “Numerus circularis stellarum est, per quod cognosci dicitur in quanto tempore circulum suum unaquaeque stella percurrat, sive per longitudinem, sive per latitudinem. Nam Luna totannis fertur explere circulum suum, Mercurius annis XX, Lucifer annis IX, Sol annis XIX, Vesper XV, Phaethon annis XII, Saturnus XXX.” Interestingly, Lindsay’s apparatus records both *quotannis* and *octo an.* as variants on *totannis*.

<sup>34</sup> Samsó, “Astronómica Isidoriana,” 172. For further information on these two cycles, see Neugebauer, *History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* 2:620–21, 622–23. See also 2:605, where Neugebauer informs us that nineteen, “from the ‘Metonic’ cycle,” was a number associated with the sun in Greek astrology.

The logic behind the numbers Isidore provides for the other planets becomes clearer with Neugebauer's reference to a scheme, attested to in many versions in ancient astrological literature, in which numbers representing three different periods—"greatest," "mean," and "smallest," or their equivalent—were provided for each planet. With one exception, the minimum periods in this scheme for Mercury (twenty years), Venus (eight years), Mars (fifteen years), Jupiter (twelve years) and Saturn (thirty years) are those provided by Isidore.<sup>35</sup> The exception is Venus, for which Isidore provides a period of nine years. As Samsó explains, the number attributed to each planet represents the length of time in which sidereal revolutions and synodic periods of the planet can be harmonized.<sup>36</sup> In Mercury's case, therefore, twenty solar years of 365 days correspond almost exactly to sixty-three synodic periods of 115.9 days and eighty-three sidereal revolutions of eighty-eight days. The actual numbers are 62.98 synodic periods and 82.95 sidereal revolutions. The numbers provided for all the other planets have the same logic. In the case of Venus it is reinforced by the fact that the eight years with which the planet is credited—and this is the correct number, rather than the nine reported by Isidore—also represent its ancient Babylonian goal-year period.<sup>37</sup>

Because of what he regards as confusion in Isidore's definition of the *numerus circularis*, Samsó thinks it unlikely that Isidore grasped the significance of his numbers. On closer inspection, Isidore's definition, which he derives from Cassiodorus, seems clear enough. But did Isidore understand it? Does it point to a series of numbers of the kind that he reports?<sup>38</sup> What Isidore may have thought remains uncertain, but in all likelihood Bede would have been as puzzled as we are. In both the *Etymologies* and *De natura rerum* Isidore seems to promise a report on the periods of sidereal revolution of the planets, only to deliver a series of *numeri circulares* bizarrely different.<sup>39</sup> Despite knowing full well the proper numbers

<sup>35</sup> Neugebauer, *History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* 2:605–6.

<sup>36</sup> Samsó, "Astronómica Isidoriana," 172–73.

<sup>37</sup> Neugebauer, *History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* 2:605.

<sup>38</sup> Samsó, "Astronómica Isidoriana," 173–74. The text to which he points is *Etym.* 3.66: "Numerus . . . per latitudinem" (see n. 33 above). Cf. Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 2.7.2 (ed. R. A. B. Mynors [Oxford, 1937], 154–55), which represents the sum total of what Cassiodorus has to say on the subject: "numerus circularis stellarum est per quem cognosci dicitur, per quantum tempus unaquaeque stella circulum suum implere potest, sive per longitudinem sive per latitudinem." For the ancients, longitude and latitude were celestial coordinates, imaginary lines on the sphere of the heavens by means of which the position of a heavenly body could be mapped, the fundamental plane being the celestial equator.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Isidore, *DNR* 23.4 (ed. Fontaine, 259): "Anni autem singularum stellarum hii sunt qui in sphaera subiecta continentur. Quibus peractis ad reuersionem circuli sui *hisdem signis et partibus* ueniunt." The phrase has been italicized for emphasis. Could it conceivably suggest something other than sidereal revolutions?



for the orbits of the sun and moon, he credits them with orbits of nineteen and eight years respectively. Under the circumstances, Bede may well have attributed the problem to a defective manuscript. Exactly what he thought is unknown. Rather than pointing to a fault in Isidore, he quietly chooses to follow Pliny instead.

Recently Alessandra Di Pilla has cited some further instances of Bede lending greater clarity or precision to Isidore, or else correcting him on some point of detail. In his *Etymologies*, for example, Isidore observes that some would attribute the brightness of the Milky Way to its being in the path of the sun. In *De natura rerum* Bede points out that this is just a popular view, and that it is mistaken, since the sun touches the Milky Way only in the signs of Sagittarius and Gemini.<sup>40</sup> If this case is fairly clear, another of the examples Di Pilla provides is not as straightforward. Bede, she claims, attributes the irregular movements of the planets to the influence of the sun, correcting Isidore, who had referred erroneously to solar influence on the fixed stars instead.<sup>41</sup>

The relevant chapter from Bede, "De cursu planetarum," reads as follows:

*Inter caelum terramque septem sidera pendent, certis discreta spatiis, quae vocantur errantia, contrarium mundo agentia cursum, id est laeuum, illo semper in dextra praecipiti. Et quamuis assidua conuersione immensae celeritatis attollantur ab eo, rapianturque in occasus, aduerso tamen ire motu per suos quaeque passus aduertuntur: nunc inferius, nunc superius, propter obliquitatem signiferi uagantia. Radii autem solis praepedita, anomala, uel retro-grada, uel stationaria fiunt.*<sup>42</sup>

[Between heaven and earth, at definite spaces apart, hang the seven stars that are called "planets" (*errantia*, "wandering"). They follow a course contrary to that of the cosmos—to the left, that is, the cosmos always running to the right. Although they are borne on by it and carried westward with an unceasing revolution of immeasurable velocity, nevertheless they are observed to

<sup>40</sup> See Alessandra Di Pilla, "Cosmologia e uso delle fonti nel *De natura rerum* di Beda," *Romanobarbarica* 11 (1991): 129–47 at 142. The relevant texts are *Etym.* 3.46 and 13.5.7: "Lacteus circulus via est, quae in sphaera videtur, a candore dicta, quia alba est. Quam aliqui dicunt viam esse qua circuit sol, et ex splendoris ipsius transitu ita lucere"; and Bede, *DNR* 18 (CCL 123A:210): "Lacteus circulus est figura candidior per medium caeli uerticem, quem uulgo dicunt ex splendore solis in eo currentis ita fulgere. Sed frustra, cum ab illo numquam nisi in parte Sagittarii et Geminorum tangatur, in quibus candidum circulum signifer cingit." See also Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville* 2:490–91.

<sup>41</sup> Di Pilla, "Cosmologia," 141–42.

<sup>42</sup> Bede, *DNR* 12 (CCL 123A:203–4).

travel with an opposite motion along their respective tracks, moving now lower, now higher, because of the obliquity of the zodiac. Impeded by the rays of the sun, their motions become anomalous, either retrograde or stationary.]

The bulk of the chapter is drawn from two passages of Pliny, the first reflected in the words "*Inter . . . errantia*," the second in the words "*contrarium . . . advertuntur*."<sup>43</sup> The remainder comes from Isidore, whose comments, says Di Pilla, Bede corrects at the same time: what is at issue is the sun's influence on the planets, not the fixed stars. The context indicates clearly, however, that it was the planets Isidore had in mind.<sup>44</sup> A comparison of Bede and Isidore at this point is still instructive, but for a different reason. It reveals an example not of Bede correcting Isidore but of his supplementing Pliny with an explanation derived from Isidore.

Since silence can sometimes imply criticism, some consideration should probably be given to the chapters of Isidore's *De natura rerum* that Bede does not use. A couple of instances are possibly significant. When Isidore asks whether the moon could have its own source of light,<sup>45</sup> Bede does not follow him, presumably because the answer is perfectly clear. This, how-

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Pliny, *NH* 2.4.12 and 2.6.32–33 (ed. Rackham, 176–77, 188–91). I have drawn from this for the translation given above. It is from Pliny that Bede borrows the observation that the basic direction of the cosmos is to the right, the contrary movement of the planets being to the left. Eckenrode, "Venerable Bede as a Scientist," 493–94, is puzzled by his use of confusing, relative terms that depend on the position of the observer, when he could have learned from Isidore that the firmament moves from east to west and the planets from west to east. Eckenrode's answer is that Bede "probably took it for granted that his students, for whom he was writing, knew" (493). Moreover, he may have adopted a perspective governed by the physical layout of his classroom, or one dependent, either on the position of the North Star, or on "a certain usual stance taken by the Anglo-Saxons when observing the heavens" (494). It is noteworthy that, taking his bearings from the North Pole, Hyginus, *De astronomia* 1.5 (ed. André Le Boeuffe, *Hygin: L'astronomie* [Paris, 1983], 7), claims that the heavens move from the right to the left: "Naturalis autem mundi statio [quae] physice dicitur; ea est in boreo polo finita, ut omnia a dextris partibus exoriri, in sinistris occidere uideantur." On this matter it clearly makes a difference whether the observer is thought to be looking up at the heavens from the earth, or down upon them from some point outside the cosmos. Stevens, "Figure of the Earth," 276, explains that such a difference of perspective separated Aristotle and the Pythagoreans.

<sup>44</sup> See Isidore, *DNR* 22, "De cursu stellarum" (ed. Fontaine, 255–57). Isidore begins by stating, "Stellae quidem cum mundo uertuntur, non stante mundo stellae uagae feruntur. Exceptis enim his qui uocantur planetae, id est errantes, quae uagis mouentur ordinibus, ceterae, quae aplanas appellantur, uno loco fixae cum mundo uoluuntur." When, therefore, he subsequently refers to the influence of the sun—"Radiis autem solis praepedita sidera anomala fiunt aut retrograda aut stationaria"—he must be thinking of the sun's effect on the planets. The point is clarified further in the next chapter: see especially *DNR* 23.3 (ed. Fontaine, 259). See also *Etym.* 3.66–67, where the critical statement of *Etym.* 3.66.3—"Quaedam sidera radiis solis praepedita anomala fiunt, aut retrograda, aut stationaria"—is surrounded by discussion of the planets.

<sup>45</sup> Isidore, *DNR* 18.1–4 (ed. Fontaine, 237–41).

ever, does not imply contempt of Isidore, who is guided by Augustine and ultimately comes to the correct answer. It indicates only that the question is not one that needs airing for Bede's students. The issue of whether the stars have souls is another to which Bede gives no attention.<sup>46</sup> Although he may have thought the matter quite silly,<sup>47</sup> on balance this is improbable: Augustine took the question seriously.<sup>48</sup> Since exactly what Bede did think, however, is unknown, time is better spent considering one additional major difference with Isidore that has been suggested by Di Pilla. It concerns Bede's rejection of allegory. According to this view, Bede follows Isidore only as long as his treatment of the natural realm remains on the descriptive, empirical level. When he goes on to consider the deeper, spiritual significance of the phenomenon in question, Bede abandons him in favour of Pliny.<sup>49</sup> By this account, Bede's approach was the more rigorously scientific one; Isidore's, by contrast, was such as to deprive nature of any intrinsic consistency of its own. In Isidore's hands, "le sensible est . . . vidé de tout contenu réel véritable: il n'est plus qu'apparence seconde, accident fragile de la seule réalité surnaturelle qu'il est chargé de signifier."<sup>50</sup>

In *De natura rerum*, it is indeed Isidore's usual practice to accompany his comments on the phenomena he considers with an explanation of the higher meaning they possess when considered on the allegorical level. The latter is a path on which Bede rarely follows him. Although his basic explanation of thunder and lightning comes from Isidore, Bede ignores Isidore's comments about the former being the voice of the divine rebuke and the latter being an image of the sparkling miracles of the saints.<sup>51</sup> Although he clearly depends on Isidore in his treatment of the rainbow, Bede avoids the suggestion that, being a product of the sun's refulgence in the clouds, the rainbow signifies Christ resplendent among the prophets and doctors.<sup>52</sup> The same pattern is exemplified in the use Bede makes of

<sup>46</sup> Isidore, *DNR* 27 (ed. Fontaine, 275–77).

<sup>47</sup> See Eckenrode, "Venerable Bede as a Scientist," 488: "Bede apparently thought such a problem was pointless."

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 2.18 (ed. I. Zycha, CSEL 28.1 [Vienna, 1894], 62); and Isidore, *DNR* 27.1 (ed. Fontaine, 275).

<sup>49</sup> Di Pilla, "Cosmologia," 134–36.

<sup>50</sup> Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville* 2:544.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Bede, *DNR* 28–29 (CCL 123A:219–20); Isidore, *DNR* 29–30 (ed. Fontaine, 279–83), esp. 29.2 (*ibid.*, 279–81): "tonitruum diuinae uocis superna est increpatio siue clara praedicatio sanctorum, quae clamore forti per totum orbem terrarum in auribus fidelium perstrepat"; and 30.5 (*ibid.*, 283): "In fulminibus sanctorum accipiuntur miracula claritate signorum ac uirtutum micantia atque ad intima cordis peruenientia."

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Bede, *DNR* 31 (CCL 123A:220–21); Isidore, *DNR* 31 (ed. Fontaine, 285–87). Following Gregory the Great, Isidore goes on to suggest that two of its colours, blue and red, signify God's two great judgments on humanity: one past, in which the impious were destroyed by the

Isidore's teaching on the stars. If it is not employed directly, most of the material in chaps. 22–25 of Isidore's *De natura rerum* is at least part of the general background to Bede's treatment.<sup>53</sup> The major exceptions are the section of chap. 23, discussed above, in which Isidore gives the times the planets take to complete their heavenly orbits,<sup>54</sup> and the following section of chap. 24:

Stellae autem, secundum mysticum sacramentum, sancti uiri intelleguntur, de quibus dictum est: qui numerat multitudinem stellarum [Ps 146:4]. Sicut enim omnes stellae a sole inluminantur, ita sancti a Christo gloria caelestis regni clarificantur. Et sicut prae fulgore solis et ui maxima luminis eius sidera obtunduntur, ita et omnis splendor sanctorum in conparatione gloriae Christi quodammodo obscuratur. Et quemadmodum stellae sibi differunt claritate, ita iustorum diuersitas meritorum discretione.<sup>55</sup>

[On the allegorical level, the stars are understood to be the saints, of whom it is said, "he (the Lord) numbers the multitude of the stars." For just as all the stars are illumined by the sun, so the saints are made illustrious by Christ in the glory of the heavenly kingdom. Just as the stars are dulled before the brightness of the sun and the extreme intensity of its light, so in a certain way is all the splendor of the saints dimmed in comparison with the glory of Christ. And just as the stars differ among themselves in brightness, so the just in the distinction of their merits.]

This is a subject on which Bede, for his part, ventures not a word.

Additional examples could easily be given.<sup>56</sup> Clearly, the difference is

Flood, and one to come, by which sinners will suffer the torments of Hell. See Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelam* 1.8.29 (ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 142 [Turnhout, 1971], 118–19).

<sup>53</sup> Bede, *DNR* 11 (CCL 123A:201–3). The portions of Isidore on which he draws directly are *DNR* 22.1, 24.1, and 25.1 (ed. Fontaine, 255, 261, 263).

<sup>54</sup> Isidore, *DNR* 23.4 (ed. Fontaine, 259–61). See pp. 49–50 above.

<sup>55</sup> Isidore, *DNR* 24.2 (ed. Fontaine, 263).

<sup>56</sup> See, for example, *DNR* 5, "De firmamento" (CCL 123A:196–97), where Bede draws on Isidore, *DNR* 12.4 and 6 (ed. Fontaine, 219–23), but omits Isidore's reference to the allegorical significance of the heavens at *DNR* 12.1 (*ibid.*, 217): "Caelum spiritaliter ecclesia est, quae in huius uitae nocte sanctorum uirtutibus quasi claritate siderum fulgit." In *DNR* 26, "De uentis" (CCL 123A:217–18), Bede is largely dependent on Isidore, *DNR* 36.1–2 (ed. Fontaine, 293). He omits, however, the allegorical message in *DNR* 36.3 (*ibid.*, 295): "Venti autem interdum angelorum intelleguntur spiritus, qui a secretis Dei ad salutem humani generis per uniuersum mundum mittuntur. Item nonnumquam uenti incentores spiritus poni solent pro eo quod malae suggestionis flatu ad terrena desideria iniquorum corda succendunt, secundum quod scriptum est: tollet eum uentus urens [cf. Job 27:21]." The first half of Bede, *DNR* 49, "De terrae motu" (CCL 123A:232), is taken from Isidore, *DNR* 46 (ed. Fontaine, 319–21). Bede, however, skips the theological point with which Isidore closes in *DNR* 46.3 (*ibid.*, 321): "Terrae autem motio pertinet ad iudicium, quando peccatores et terreni homines spiritu oris Dei concussi commouebuntur. Item terrae commotio hominum terrenorum est ad fidem conuersio. Unde scriptum est: pedes eius steterunt et commota est terra [Zach 14:4], utique ad credendum."

significant. One should not, however, make too much of it. Isidore's allegorical perspective was not such as always to dominate his thinking. The spiritual interpretations that are a regular feature of *De natura rerum* are rare occurrences in the *Etymologies*, despite the large amount of material that the two books share. Bede's relative disinterest in such interpretations, on the other hand, was far from being opposition in principle. He acknowledges that the volcanoes of Sicily provide an image of the fires of Hell;<sup>57</sup> he endorses Isidore's view of the mystical or allegorical meaning of the day;<sup>58</sup> and he admits that storms and pestilence can be seen from a theological as well as a natural perspective. The chapter devoted specifically to *signa tempestatum vel serenitatis* avoids such a thought.<sup>59</sup> But the next chapter, "De pestilentia," reads as follows:

*Pestilentia nascitur aere uel siccitatis uel pluuiarum intemperantia pro meritis hominum corrupto, qui spirando uel edendo perceptus luem mortemque generat. Unde saepius omne tempus aestatis in procellas turbinesque brumales uerti conspicimus. Sed haec cum suo tempore uenerint, tempestates; cum uero alias, prodigia uel signa dicuntur.*<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Bede, *DNR* 50 (CCL 123A:233): "*Inde montis Aetnae ad exemplum gehennae ignium tam diutinum durat incendium. . .*" The entire chapter is patched together with words and phrases from Isidore, *DNR* 47 (ed. Fontaine, 321–25). See esp. *DNR* 47.4 (ibid., 323–25), where Isidore explains the meaning of Mount Aetna's fires in more detail: "Constat autem ad exemplum gehennae, cuius ignis perpetua incendia spirabunt ad puniendos peccatores qui cruciabuntur in saecula saeculorum. Nam sicut isti montes tanta temporis diuturnitate usque nunc flammis aestuantibus perseuerant, ita ut numquam extingui possint, sic ignis ille ad crucianda corpora damnatorum finem numquam est habiturus." On this, as on other matters, the imprimatur of Gregory the Great would have been significant for Bede. Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 4.36.12 (ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Grégoire le Grand: Dialogues*, vol. 3, Sources Chrétiennes 265 [Paris, 1980], 122).

<sup>58</sup> Bede, *DT* 2 (CCL 123C:585): "Domino surgente *uespera sabbati* *luciscebat in primam sabbati* ut homo de luce lapsus in tenebras deinceps e tenebris rediret ad lucem." Although it is Matthew 28:1 that Bede quotes, his inspiration probably came from Isidore, on whom he was clearly dependent in this chapter. Cf. Isidore, *DNR* 1.3 (ed. Fontaine, 173–75): "Dies in principio operum Dei a lumine habebat exordium, ad significandum hominis lapsum; nunc autem a tenebris ad lucem, ut non obscuratur in noctem, sed nox luceat in diem, sicut scriptum est de tenebris lumen clarescere [2 Cor 4:6], quia a delictorum tenebris liberatus homo ad lucem fidei scientiaeque peruenit." Isidore also mentions a couple of other possible interpretations, according to one of which the day is an image of the law: "Sicut enim diei claritas obscura tenebrarum inluminat, ita et lex uiam uitae demonstrans, depellit tenebras errorum, lucem declarat uirtutum et iniquorum peccata arguens bonos ad meliora perducit."

<sup>59</sup> Bede, *DNR* 36 (CCL 123A:222–23). This is patched together with passages from Isidore, *DNR* 38 (ed. Fontaine, 299–303). Bede, however, omits the thought with which Isidore begins in *DNR* 38.1 (ibid., 299): "Tempestas turbo est diuini iudicii, sicut propheta ait: Deus in tempestate, et in turbine uiae eius [Nahum 1:3]. Serenitas autem gaudium est lucis aeternae."

<sup>60</sup> Bede, *DNR* 37 (CCL 123A:223). Bede here is dependent on Isidore, *DNR* 39 (ed. Fontaine, 303–5).

[Pestilence arises when, as a consequence of human deserts, the air is corrupted by an excess either of dryness or of rain. Taken in through breathing or eating, it produces plague and death. Wherefore, very often we see the entire summer pass in tempests and wintry storms. When these things occur in their own time, they are simply storms. Otherwise, however, they are said to be prodigies and signs.]

Like Isidore, Bede clearly allows nature to possess spiritual significance.<sup>61</sup> The differences between them, therefore, are matters of degree and emphasis. Isidore did not possess a view of the natural realm that Bede would have regarded as aberrant.

By its very nature, an analysis limited to Bede's use of Isidore in his *De natura rerum* and his *De temporibus* will be less than definitive. Conceivably he changed his mind. It is in his mature works, Meyvaert points out, that one detects a readiness on Bede's part to challenge his authorities. Presumably, therefore, it is in these same mature works that his impatience with Isidore is most apparent. Isidore, it has been claimed, does not receive there the credit that Bede extends to his other sources. Debts to Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory the Great are willingly acknowledged,<sup>62</sup> but Isidore is largely invisible. Only three times is he identified by name, twice in the *Retractions* on Acts, and once in *De temporum ratione*; and on each of these occasions, it is claimed, he is mentioned only to be criticized.<sup>63</sup> While a complete survey of Bede's mature work is clearly beyond the limits of this paper, an examination of these three cases turns out to be quite instructive.

Given the nature of Isidore's work, it is not surprising that Bede referred to him infrequently. Isidore was essentially an encyclopedist:

<sup>61</sup> And like Bede, one could add, Isidore clearly allows nature to possess its own consistency. See *DNR* 39.1 (ed. Fontaine, 303–5), where Isidore, having defined pestilence, goes on to speak of its cause: “quando pro peccatis hominum plaga et correptio terris inicitur, tunc aliqua ex causa, id est aut siccitatis aut caloris ui aut pluuiarum intemperantia, aera corrumpuntur. Sicque naturalis ordinis perturbata temperie, inficiuntur elementa, et fit corruptio aeris et aura pestilens, et oritur perniciēs et corruptelae uitium in homines ceteraque animantia.” The natural and providential points of view complement one another.

<sup>62</sup> See Bede, *In Lucae Evangelium expositio*, prol. (ed. D. Hurst, CCL 120 [Turnhout, 1960], 7), where Bede records his decision to use letters in the margins to indicate what he has borrowed from each of the fathers, “sollicitus per omnia ne maiorum dicta furari et haec quasi mea propria componere dicar.”

<sup>63</sup> Meyvaert, “Bede the Scholar,” esp. 58. See also M. L. W. Laistner, “The Library of the Venerable Bede,” in *Bede: His Life, Times, and Writings*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (Oxford, 1935; rpt. 1969), 237–66 at 256; Jones, *Beda Opera de temporibus*, 131–32; Fontaine, *Traité de la nature*, 79–80; Ray, “Bede's *Vera Lex Historiae*,” esp. 16.

Bede would have felt no more need to cite the *Etymologies* every time he consulted them than a modern scholar would to cite the *OED*.<sup>64</sup> He was also an encyclopedist whom Bede valued highly, as is clear when the first of the three texts mentioned above is examined more closely and placed in context. In his commentary on Acts 1:13, Bede makes the following statement about two of the apostles mentioned there:

*Simon autem Zelotes ipse est qui in euangeliiis scribitur Cananaeus—Cana quippe zelus interpretatur; erat enim de uico Galilaeae Cana ubi dominus aquas conuertit in uinum—et post fratrem suum Iacobum Hierosolymorum rexit ecclesiam centumque et uiginti annorum sub Traiano crucem ascendit. Consobrinus is secundum carnem saluatoris fuisse dicebatur quia patrem ipsius Cleopam fratrem fuisse Ioseph Egesippus contestatus est. Iudas uero Iacobi, id est frater Iacobi, idem est qui in euangeliiis uocatur Taddeus, missusque est Aedissam ad Abgarum regem Osroenae, ut ecclesiastica tradit historia.*

[Now Simon the Zealot is the same man who is described in the gospels as “the Cananean” (indeed, Cana means zeal), for he was from the Galilean village of Cana where the Lord changed water into wine. He ruled the church of Jerusalem after James the brother of the Lord, and as a man of one hundred and twenty years he ascended the cross under Trajan. He is said to have been a cousin of the saviour according to the flesh, because his father, Cleopas, was the brother of Joseph, as Hegesippus attests. Jude of James, that is the brother of James, is the same man who in the gospels is called Thaddeus. He was sent to Edessa, to Abgar the King of Osroena, as the Ecclesiastical History has handed it down.]<sup>65</sup>

For Simon the Zealot, most of Bede’s information comes from Isidore;<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l’occident médiéval* (Paris, 1980), 116.

<sup>65</sup> Bede, *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum* [Expos.] 1.13 (ed. M. L. W. Laistner, CCL 121 [Turnhout, 1983], 10–11; trans. Lawrence T. Martin, *The Venerable Bede: Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, Cistercian Studies Series 117 [Kalamazoo, Mich., 1989], 16 [modified]). What is the antecedent of “suum” in the phrase “post fratrem suum Iacobum”? Is it *Simon* or *dominus*? Martin understands it to be *Simon*, with the result that Bede is taken to be saying that Simon ruled the church of Jerusalem “after his brother James.” On syntactic grounds, this is clearly the preferred choice. However, since James is customarily identified as the brother of the Lord, and since Bede himself so identifies him when he summarizes this passage in the *Retractions*, I have taken the other option in modifying Martin’s translation. See n. 72 below.

<sup>66</sup> See Isidore, *Etym.* 7.9.18 (from which Bede quotes): “Simon Cananeus ad distinctionem Simonis Petri, de vico Galilaeae Cana, ubi aquas Dominus mutavit in vinum. Ipse est qui in alio evangelista scribitur Zelotes. Cana quippe zelum interpretatur.” Cf. Isidore, *De ortu et obitu patrum* 79 (ed. César Chaparro Gómez [Paris, 1985], 215): “Simon Zelotes, qui prius dictus est Chananaeus, zelo Domini feruens, par in cognomento Petri et similis in honore; accepit Aegypti principatum et post Iacobum iustum cathedram tenuit Hierosolymorum. Post annos autem centum uiginti meruit sub Traiano per crucem sustinere martyrii passionem.” Immediately after his

for Jude the brother of James, it comes from Jerome, his reference to the *Ecclesiastical History* notwithstanding.<sup>67</sup> In his *Retractions*, Bede revisits the passage, and the long discussion there is one of the two places in that work where we find Isidore mentioned by name. To read the passage as a criticism of Isidore, however, is mistaken. Although Bede has done additional research and has had some second thoughts, Isidore is not the focus of his displeasure.

Bede tells us that the histories that contain the passions of the apostles—histories which, he also points out, are thought by many to be apocryphal—claim that Simon Zelotes and Jude the brother of James both preached the Gospel in Persia, suffering martyrdom there in the city of Suanir at the instigation of the temple priests. He goes on to say that this information is confirmed by the martyrology that passes under Jerome's name and bears a preface written by him, although its actual author was Eusebius.<sup>68</sup> The histories to which Bede refers are included in the *Apostolicae historiae* of Pseudo-Abdias;<sup>69</sup> the martyrology, of course, is the

main statement, Bede borrows some supporting detail from Eusebius, trans. Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.11 (ed. Eduard Schwartz and Theodor Mommsen, *Eusebius Werke* 2.1 [Leipzig, 1903], 229), although Eusebius speaks of Symeon, not Simon Zelotes. He describes the council that was held to determine "quem oporteret dignum successionem Iacobi iudicari, omnesque uno consilio atque uno consensu Symeonem Cleopae filium decrevisse, cuius mentio in euangeliiis facta est, ut episcopatus sedem susciperet. consobrinus is secundum carnem salvatoris fuisse dicebatur, quia Cleopan fratrem fuisse Ioseph Hegesippus contestatus est."

<sup>67</sup> See Jerome, *In Matheum* 1 (ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, CCL 77 [Turnhout, 1969], 64), commenting on Matthew 10:14: "*Simon Cananaeus*. Ipse est qui in alio euangelista scribitur zelotes; Cana quippe zelus interpretatur. Taddeum apostolum ecclesiastica tradit historia missum Edessam ad Abgarum regem Osroenae; qui ab euangelista Luca Iudas Iacobi dicitur et alibi appellatur Lebbeus quod interpretatur corculus. . . ." Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 7.9.19: "Iudas Iacobi, qui alibi appellatur Lebbaeus, figuratum nomen habet a corde, quod nos diminutive corculum possumus appellare; ipse in alio euangelista Thaddaeus scribitur, quem ecclesiastica tradit historia missum Edessam ad Abgarum regem." Isidore clearly drew on Jerome for both Jude and Simon Zelotes. This accounts for his use of the words "in alio euangelista," which are an oddity in the context of the *Etymologies*. For his information about Jude, Bede draws directly on Jerome as well. Like Jerome, but unlike Isidore, he refers to Abgar as "rex Osroenae."

<sup>68</sup> Bede, *Retr.* 1.13 (CCL 121:106–7): ". . . In Graeco ita se habet ordo nominum: Petrus et Andreas et Iacobus et Iohannes et Simon Zelotes et Iudas Iacobi. Hos referunt historiae, in quibus passiones apostolorum continentur et a plurimis deputantur apocryphae, praedicasse in Perside ibique a templorum pontificibus in ciuitate Suanir occisos gloriosum subisse martyrium. Quibus adstipulatur et liber martyrologii qui beati Hieronimi nomine ac praefatione additatur, quamuis idem Hieronimus libri illius non auctor sed interpres, Eusebius autem auctor extitisse narretur."

<sup>69</sup> See the portion of book 6 devoted to Simon and Jude. The Latin text is in J. A. Fabricius, *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, vol. 2 (Hamburg, 1703), 608–36 (book 6, chaps. 7–23). It has been translated into French in J.-P. Migne, *Dictionnaire des apocryphes*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1856–58; rpt. Turnhout, 1989), 2:939–52. Migne rennumbers the chapters from chap. 1. For the specific point concerning the martyrdom of Simon and Jude, see pp. 628–34 of Fabricius (chaps. 20–22) and cols. 950–52 of Migne (chaps. 14–16).



*Martyrologium Hieronymianum*.<sup>70</sup> According to Isidore, whom Bede had been content to follow in his original commentary, Simon Zelotes succeeded to James the Just as bishop of Jerusalem; he suffered martyrdom under Trajan, not at the hands of Persian priests. In his *Retractions* Bede says that rather than investigate further, when writing his *Expositio*, he was satisfied simply to accept Isidore's version of events, confident that it rested on good authority. His tone implies that he is about to announce a change of heart. What he actually laments, however, is not that he followed Isidore, but only that he did so without realizing that there were other views on the matter. For he goes on immediately to confirm that even now he would not dare deny what Isidore reports, especially since the author of the above-mentioned histories is obviously unreliable. This author claims that Candace, the eunuch whom the apostle Philip baptized in Judea,<sup>71</sup> assisted Matthew when he was spreading the Gospel in Ethiopia, oblivious to the fact that Candace was the name not of the eunuch himself but of his mistress, the Ethiopian queen.<sup>72</sup>

Although Bede realizes that the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* can be invoked in support of the *Apostolicae historiae*, not even Jerome's authority is sufficient to overturn Isidore. Presumably this is because of Jerome's own errors, which Bede clearly regrets having endorsed uncritically. Immediately after his remarks about the blunders in the *historiae*, he goes on to say that, at the same point in his *Expositio*, he reported that Jude the

<sup>70</sup> See *AA SS* Nov. 2.2:2 and 3.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Acts 8:27 ff.

<sup>72</sup> Bede, *Retr.* 1.13 (CCL 121:107): "Porro Isidorus arbitratur hunc Simonem esse qui post Iacobum fratrem domini Hierosolymorum rexit ecclesiam ac sub Traiano crucis martyrio coronatus est, cum centum uiginti esset annorum; quem et nos olim in primo in actus apostolorum libro secuti sumus, non ea quae scripsit scrupulosius discutientes, sed simpliciter eius dictis auscultantes, rati quod haec ipse de certis ueterum historiis didicerit. Quod ne adhuc quidem negare audemus, maxime cum ille qui praefatas apostolorum passiones scripsit ipse se certissime incerta et falsa scripsisse prodiderit. Dicit enim quia Candacis eunuchus, quem baptizasset Philippus in Iudaea, eo tempore fuerit in Aethiopia quo Matheus ibi docebat eique docenti auxilium tulerit, cum manifestum sit Candacen nomen esse non uiri sed feminae, id est, non eunuchi sed dominae eius, reginae uidelicet Aethiopum, quae, sicut ex ueterum monumentis comperimus, omnes antiquitus sic appellari solebant." The relevant portion of the *Apostolicae historiae* is book 7 (Fabricius, 2:636–68; Migne, 2:549–62), which is devoted to Matthew. See especially chap. 2 (Fabricius, 639; Migne, chap. 1, col. 550); and chap. 7 (Fabricius, 649–50; Migne, chap. 6, cols. 554–55). See also Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, and Paul E. Szarmach, eds., *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 74 (Binghamton, N.Y., 1990), 48 and 50, where it is pointed out that Bede need not be referring to the *Apostolicae historiae* specifically, sections of which existed independently in Anglo-Saxon times. This seems to have been true of the two sections of the text that Bede cites: the *Passio Simonis et Iudae* (ibid., 61–62) and the *Passio Matthaei* (ibid., 58). It is noteworthy, however, that Bede considers them to be the work of a single author.

brother of James was also known as Thaddeus, and that, as the *Ecclesiastical History* states, he was sent to Abgar, the king of Osroena. Here, he confesses, he was following Jerome. When he checked the *Ecclesiastical History* itself, he discovered that the Thaddeus who was sent to cure the king was not Thaddeus the apostle, one of the twelve, but rather one of the seventy disciples. Surely, he says, he should not be faulted for simply accepting in good faith what he found in the works of great doctors of the Church.<sup>73</sup> It is his displeasure with Jerome, one of the four great doctors of the Latin Church, that provokes Bede's comment, not any shortcomings on Isidore's part. His final judgment on the matter is that Isidore's information is correct. Jerome, however, was clearly mistaken, and he led Bede into error. It was not a situation in which Bede liked to find himself.<sup>74</sup>

Bede does not criticize Isidore on the other occasion in the *Retractions* where he is identified by name either. Here the point at issue is the precise nature of the small boat (*scapha*) mentioned in Acts 27:16. In his *Expositio* he follows Isidore, explaining,

*Scapha siue catascopos est nauicula leuis ex uimine facta crudoque corio connecta; dicta autem Graece a contemplando, quod tali nautae uel piratae nauigio terras et litora praespicerent soleant.*

[A skiff or *catascopos* is a light boat constructed of withes and covered with untanned hide. In Greek it is called after the word for watching, because with such a vessel sailors or pirates are accustomed to look for the first sign of land and shores.]<sup>75</sup>

Both the definition and the Greek etymology are derived from Isidore, as is the reference to pirates. Isidore mentions German pirates specifically, claiming that they find this kind of boat useful in coastal or swampy areas because of its maneuverability.<sup>76</sup> When Bede returns to the issue in the

<sup>73</sup> Bede, *Retr.* 1.13 (CCL 121:107): "Scripsi in eodem opere, commentarium secutus Hieronimi, et de Iuda fratre Iacobi qui etiam Taddeus uocabatur, missum fuisse eum ad Abgarum regem Osroene, ut ecclesiastica traderet historia. Sed diligentius postmodum ipsam historiam ecclesiasticam inspiciens, repperi non ibi esse scriptum, quia Taddeus apostolus unus ex duodecim, sed Taddeus unus ex septuaginta discipulis ad sanandum regem memoratum fuerit destinatus. Non autem mihi imputandum errorem reor, ubi auctoritatem magnorum sequens doctorum, quae in illorum opusculis inueni, absque scrupulo suscipienda credidi." Cf. Eusebius, trans. Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.13.4 (ed. Schwartz and Mommsen, 85).

<sup>74</sup> On this passage of the *Retractions*, see Martin, *The Venerable Bede: Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, 23–24 nn. 8–9.

<sup>75</sup> Bede, *Expos.* 27.16–17 (CCL 121:94, trans. Martin, 188).

<sup>76</sup> Isidore, *Etym.* 19.1.18 and 21: "Scapha, qui et κατάσκοπος, navigium quod Latine speculatorium dicitur; σκοπεῖν enim Latine intendere dicitur. . . . Est enim scapha ex vimine facta, quae connecta crudo coreo genus navigi praebet; quales utuntur Germanorum piratae in Oceani litoribus vel paludibus ob agilitatem."

*Retractions*, it is to explain that he has done some additional reading and has discovered that small boats hollowed out of a single tree are also called *scaphae*. Rather than correcting Isidore by means of a suspect source, as Jones would have it,<sup>77</sup> Bede supplements Isidore by drawing on an acknowledged expert, although he does not appear to quote him directly.<sup>78</sup>

There is one other point in the *Retractions* where Bede does regret his earlier dependence on Isidore, although he does not identify him publicly. At this juncture he reviews what he had written about Acts 6:8:

Scripsi autem in praecedente libro Stephanum interpretari coronatum, nec longe est a uero quod scripsi; uerum sollertius ediscens inueni non coronatum Graece, sed coronam significare Stephanum—est enim hoc nomen generis masculini apud eos ideoque uiro conueniens—coronatum autem στεφανηφόρον appellari, quasi coronam ferentem. . . . Cuius mysterium nominis pulchre exponens Eusebius: *Statim, inquit, post ordinationem suam lapidatur ab his qui et dominum occiderunt, per quod et nominis sui stephano corona datur a Christo.*<sup>79</sup>

[In the preceding book I wrote that “Stephen” means “crowned”, nor is this very far from the truth. On studying the matter more carefully, however, I discovered that “Stephen” does not mean “crowned” in Greek but rather “crown.” Since the word is masculine in gender for the Greeks, it is suitable as a male name. “Crowned” would be rendered στεφανηφόρον, which means “bearing a crown.” . . . Beautifully explaining the mystery of this name, Eusebius states: “Immediately after his ordination he was stoned by those who slew the Lord. By this fact, and by the *stephanos* of his name, he was granted a crown by Christ.”]

<sup>77</sup> Jones, *Beda's Opera de temporibus*, 132: “he corrects Isidore by the suspect Vegetius, whom he may not even have known by name.” Cf. idem, “Bede and Vegetius,” *The Classical Review* 46 (1932): 248–49.

<sup>78</sup> Bede, *Retr.* 27.13.16 (CCL 121:162): “Scripsimus in libro primo Isidorum sequentes scapham esse nauiculam leuem ex uimine contextam crudoque corio tectam; uerum deinceps aliorum scripta percurrentes inuenimus *scaphas uocari nauiculas etiam una de arbore cauatas quas μονούλας* Graeci appellant.” Cf. Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris* 2.25 (ed. Carolus Lang [Leipzig, 1885], 60), where Vegetius explains how the legions used these small craft for bridge building: “Scafās quoque de singulis trabibus excauatas cum longissimis funibus et interdum etiam ferreis catenis secum legio portat, quatenus contextis isdem, sicut dicunt, monoxylis, superiectis etiam tabulatis, flumina sine pontibus, quae uadari nequeunt, tam a peditibus quam ab equitatu sine periculo transeantur.” See also 3.7 (ibid., 81: “. . . monoxylus, hoc est paulo latiores scafulas”) and 4.37 (ibid., 153–54). George Macdonald, “Bede and Vegetius,” *The Classical Review* 47 (1933): 124, suggests that Bede could have been using a glossary rather than Vegetius himself.

<sup>79</sup> Bede, *Retr.* 6.8 (CCL 121:130).

In his earlier treatment of this topic Isidore had been his guide. Isidore mentions both "crowned" and "crown" as possible meanings, in the latter case quoting Augustine. Although Bede in turn borrows five of Augustine's words from Isidore, for some reason it is the other meaning of Stephen that he adopts.<sup>80</sup> If, however, he is now required to correct his mistake, by his own admission the issue is a minor one. The mystical meaning of Stephen's name, originally borrowed from Isidore, remains the same, although now it is confirmed by Eusebius.<sup>81</sup>

Although it is still Rufinus's translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* that Bede quotes, scholars are undoubtedly correct in regarding this passage as an indication of his growing competence in Greek. When he wrote the *Expositio*, Bede's knowledge of Greek was still essentially passive, limited to what he could glean from a Greek interlinear text of Scripture or some Latin patristic source. By the time of the writing of the *Retractions* his command of Greek vocabulary and syntax had advanced enough to enable him to address a Greek text directly.<sup>82</sup> However, neither his newly acquired linguistic competence nor his increasingly confident and independent scholarly judgment led to any wholesale rejection of Isidore. It is uncertain whether at Acts 21:11 it is Isidore he follows on the heresy of Macedonius,<sup>83</sup> and it is also uncertain whether it is Isidore who provides

<sup>80</sup> Bede, *Expos.* 6.8 (CCL 121:32): "Stephanus Graece, Latine coronatus dicitur, qui pulcherrima ratione quod percepturus erat in re quodam praesagio praeoccuparat in nomine, *lapidatus humiliter sed sublimiter coronatus*. Hebraice autem interpretatur norma uestra. . . ." Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 7.11.3: "Martyrum primus in Novo Testamento Stephanus fuit, qui Hebraeo sermone interpretatur norma, quod prior fuerit in martyrio ad imitationem fidelium. Idem autem ex Graeco sermone in Latinum vertitur coronatus; et hoc propheticum ut, quod sequeretur in re, vaticinio quodam futuri prius in vocabulo resonaret. Passus est enim, et quod vocabatur accepit. Stephanus enim corona dicitur; humiliter lapidatus, sed sublimiter coronatus." Cf. also Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps.* 58.1.5 (ed. E. Dekkers and I. Fraipont, CCL 39 [Turnhout, 1956], 732): "Ibi primo Stephanus lapidatus est, et quod uocabatur accepit. Stephanus enim corona dicitur. Humiliter lapidatus, sed sublimiter coronatus."

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Eusebius, trans. Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 2.1.1 (ed. Schwartz and Mommsen, 103).

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Kevin M. Lynch, "The Venerable Bede's Knowledge of Greek," *Traditio* 39 (1983): 432–39, esp. 435; and Lawrence T. Martin, "Bede as a Linguistic Scholar," *The American Benedictine Review* 35 (1984): 204–17, esp. 214. For a contrary view, see W. F. Bolton, "An Aspect of Bede's Later Knowledge of Greek," *The Classical Review*, n.s., 13 (1963): 17–18.

<sup>83</sup> Bede, *Expos.* 21.11 (CCL 121:84): "spiritus sanctus, aeque ut pater et filius, dominus et deus est, nec eorum separari potest operatio quorum natura et uoluntas una est. . . . Haec diximus ne quis forte iuxta Macedonium spiritum sanctum esse creaturam aut minoris auctoritatis quam patrem uel filium credat." Isidore could have been Bede's source. See *Etym.* 8.5.44: "Macedoniani a Macedonio Constantinopolitano episcopo dicti sunt, negantes Deum esse Spiritum sanctum." However, in view of Bede's reference to the Holy Spirit being considered a creature, perhaps Augustine is likelier; cf. *Ep.* 185.11.48 (ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL 57 [Vienna, 1911], 42): "quis enim non loquitur aduersus spiritum sanctum et peccat in eum, siue qui nondum est Christianus siue qui est haereticus Arrianus aut Eunomianus aut Macedonianus, qui

the information at Acts 5:17 for Bede's etymology of "heresy" and for his characterization of the Saducees.<sup>84</sup> Even so, however, there are nine other places in his *Expositio* where he clearly does draw on Isidore, and not one of them occasions any second thoughts in the *Retractions*.

Isidore provides Bede with the meaning of *Christus* in Acts 4:26,<sup>85</sup> and with the definitions of *colonia* in Acts 16:12,<sup>86</sup> *theatrum* in Acts 19:29,<sup>87</sup> and *artemo* in Acts 27:40.<sup>88</sup> It is Isidore on whom he calls to elucidate the reference to the *Syrtes* in Acts 27:17,<sup>89</sup> and to explain why Paul calls him-

eum dicunt esse creaturam. . . ." Another possibility is Eusebius, trans. Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 10.26 (ed. Schwartz and Mommsen, *Eusebius Werke* 2.2 [Leipzig, 1908], 990). Eusebius refers to Macedonians "qui dicunt similem quidem filium per omnia patri, sanctum vero spiritum cum patre et filio nihil habere commune."

<sup>84</sup> Bede, *Expos.* 5.17 (CCL 121:30): "Heresis Graece ab electione uocatur, quia quisque sibi, spretis aliorum dictis, quod sequendum putauerit eligat. *Sadducaei* ergo qui *interpretantur iusti*—*uindicabant enim sibi quod non erant* sicut infra legimus—corporis omnino resurrectionem negantes animam perire cum carne dicebant. Sed ne *angelum* quidem spiritumue ullum esse credebant et *quinque tantum libros Moysi* recipientes *prophetarum* praeconia respuebant." Bede's source here could have been either Isidore or Jerome. For Isidore, see the following two texts: (1) *Etym.* 8.3.1–2: "Haeresis Graece ab electione vocatur, quod scilicet unusquisque id sibi eligat quod melius illi esse videtur. . . . Inde ergo haeresis, dicta Graeca voce, ex interpretatione electionis, qua quisque arbitrio suo ad instituenda, sive ad suscipienda quaelibet ipse sibi elegit"; (2) *Etym.* 8.4.4: "[*Sadducaei interpretantur iusti*. Vindicant enim sibi quod non sunt, corporis resurrectionem negant, et animam interire cum corpore praedicant. Hi quinque tantum libros Legis recipiunt, Prophetarum vaticinia respuunt.]" There are also two relevant texts of Jerome: (1) *In Epistolam ad Galatas* 3 (PL 26:417 [2d ed., 445]): "Αἵρεσις autem Graece, ab electione dicitur: quod scilicet eam sibi unusquisque eligat disciplinam, quam putat esse meliorem"; (2) *In Matheum* 3 (CCL 77:204–5): "*Sadducaei autem quod interpretantur iusti et ipsi uindicabant sibi quod non erant, prioribus [i.e. Phariseis] et corporis et animae resurrectionem credentibus confitentibusque et angelos et spiritum, sequentes iuxta Acta apostolorum omnia denegabant.*" See also *ibid.*, 206–7: "Supra diximus Sadducaeos nec angelum nec spiritum nec resurrectionem corporum confitentes animarum quoque interitum praedicasse. Hi quinque tantum libros Moysi recipiebant, prophetarum vaticinia respuentes." Bede's second sentence seems to follow Isidore more closely than Jerome. With his third sentence, however, the opposite is true. Decisive, perhaps, is Isidore's omission of any reference to the Saducees' disbelief in angels and spirits, although Acts 23:8 could easily have supplied Bede with the missing information.

<sup>85</sup> Bede, *Expos.* 4.27 (CCL 121:27): "Christus enim a chrismate, id est ab unctione, nomen accepit." Cf. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 16.38 (ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, CCL 48 [Turnhout, 1955], 544): "Christi nomen a chrismate est, id est ab unctione." However, Augustine's is an isolated remark, and it occurs in a discussion of a text in Genesis. Isidore's more extensive comments, like Bede's, arise in connection with Acts 4:27. See *Etym.* 7.2.2–3: "Christus namque a chrismate est appellatus, hoc est unctus. . . . Nam chrisma Graece, Latine unctio nuncupatur, quae etiam Domino nomen adcommodavit facta spiritalis, quia Spiritu unctus est a Deo Patre, sicut in Actibus (4, 27): 'Collecti sunt enim in hac civitate adversus sanctum Filium tuum, quem unxisti'; non utique oleo visibili, sed gratiae dono, quod visibili significatur unguento."

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Bede, *Expos.* 16.12 (CCL 121:69); and Isidore, *Etym.* 15.2.9.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Bede, *Expos.* 19.29 (CCL 121:80); and Isidore, *Etym.* 15.2.34–35.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Bede, *Expos.* 27.40 (CCL 121:95); and Isidore, *Etym.* 19.3.3.

<sup>89</sup> See Bede, *Expos.* 27.15 (CCL 121:94), where, after referring to the deployment of anchors to stabilize the ship, Bede explains, "Haec enim ad retardandum nauigium faciebant ne praepostero incursu *Syrtes* incideret, solo etiam auditu terribiles *quod omnia ad se* rapiant, unde

self a *munciceps* rather than a *civis* in Acts 21:39. In this latter case Bede garbles Isidore considerably.<sup>90</sup> Elsewhere, however, he is able to use him more profitably, and on a variety of subjects ranging from natural history to pagan mythology. Hence it is Isidore who provides the information about the *dammula* and the *caprea* that Bede needs to develop his allegory on Acts 9:36;<sup>91</sup> and it is once again Isidore who enables him to explain the reference to Mercury in Acts 14:11<sup>92</sup> and the allusion to Castor and Pollux in Acts 28:11.<sup>93</sup> None of this requires correction or emendation in the *Retractions*. In fact, he there draws on Isidore on at least one further occasion,<sup>94</sup> not what one would expect if in the meantime he had become more

*Sallustius illis nomen a tractu dicit impositum.*" Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 13.18.6: "Syrtes sunt harenosa in mari loca. Syrtes autem Sallustius a tractu vocari dicit, quod omnia ad se trahant, et adpropinqui vadoso mari haereant." Bede is clearly dependent on Isidore, from whom he also draws the reference to Sallust. There is nothing in Isidore's remarks to explain Bede's reference to the frightening sound of the *Syrtes*: "solo etiam auditu terribiles." Perhaps, however, he is thinking of the neighbouring passage (*Etym.* 13.18.4–5) on Scylla and Charybdis. See esp. *Etym.* 13.18.4: "Scyllam accolae saxum mari imminens appellant, simile celebratae formae procul visentibus. Unde et monstruosam speciem fabulae illi dederunt, quasi formam hominis capitibus caninis succinctam, quia conlisi ibi fluctus latratus videntur exprimere."

<sup>90</sup> Bede, *Expos.* 21.39 (CCL 121:87–88): "Non autem se ciuem sed municipem a municipio, id est territorio eiusdem ciuitatis in quo nutritus est, appellat. *Dictum autem municipium quod tantum munia, id est tributa debita uel munera, reddat; nam liberales et famosissimae causae et quae ex principe proficiscuntur ad dignitatem ciuitatum pertinent.*" Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 15.2.10: "Municipium est quo manente statu ciuitatis ius aliquod minoris aut maioris officii a principe inpetrat. Dictum autem municipium a muniis, id est officiis, quod tantum munia, id est tributa debita vel munera, reddant. Nam liberales et famosissimae causae, et quae ex principe proficiscuntur, ibi non aguntur. Haec enim ad dignitatem ciuitatum pertinent." Rather than being the domain or territory of a city, as Bede would have it, a *municipium* is a kind of city, a free city that has obtained from the prince the right to live under its own law. It is called a *municipium*, Isidore tells us, because of its independent offices (*munia*), and because of the public shows (*munera*) that are put on by its officials, not by the city itself. The most extravagant forms of such public entertainment, those commissioned by the prince, are not commissioned in or by such cities. If Bede thinks they are, it is because he has telescoped Isidore's third and fourth sentences into one, and taken the *haec* with which the fourth sentence begins to refer back to *causae*. Clearly, however, it is *municipia* that is to be understood here.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Bede, *Expos.* 9.36 (CCL 121:47); and Isidore, *Etym.* 12.1.15–16, 22 (see Jacques André, ed. and trans., *Isidore de Séville: Étymologies, Livre XII* [Paris, 1986], 47–49, 55).

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Bede, *Expos.* 14.12(11) (CCL 121:65); and Isidore, *Etym.* 8.11.45.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Bede, *Expos.* 28.11 (CCL 121:97); and Isidore, *Etym.* 15.1.40.

<sup>94</sup> The point at issue is the meaning of "Christus," which Bede now discusses in the context of Acts 2:36, where he had not raised the matter earlier; see *Retr.* 2.36 (CCL 121:117): "*Et dominum, inquit, eum et Christum deus fecit, hunc Iesum quem uos crucifixistis.* . . . Porro Christus regiae siue pontificalis appellatio dignitatis est; namque pontifices et reges per legem oleo sancto ungi et ob id Χριστοὶ nuncupari solebant, in figuram nimirum eius qui *oleo laetitiae*, id est, spiritu sancto *prae consortibus* suis a deo unctus [Ps 44:8] rex nobis et sacerdos magnus fieri dignatus est. . . ." Bede does not quote Isidore but seems clearly to follow him. Cf. *Etym.* 7.2.2–3: "Christus namque a chrismate est appellatus, hoc est unctus. Praeceptum enim fuerat Iudaeis ut sacrum conficerent unguentum, quo perungi possent hi qui vocabantur ad sacerdotium vel ad regnum: et sicut nunc regibus indumentum purpurae insigne est regiae dignitatis,

sceptical or guarded in his use of the bishop of Seville.

Hostility toward Isidore is equally as difficult to find in *De temporum ratione*, although Jones and others have maintained that it is particularly noticeable in chap. 35, the one remaining place of the three mentioned above where Bede identifies Isidore by name. Here he comments on the beginning of the seasons, and he does indeed advance a view which he distinguishes from Isidore's:

Horum autem principia temporum diuerse ponunt diuersi. Isidorus namque Hispaniensis episcopus hiemem viiii kl. Decembres, uer viii kl. Martias, aestatem viiii kl. Iunias, autumnum x kl. Septembres, habere dixit exortum. Graeci autem et Romani, quorum in huiusmodi disciplinis potius quam Hispanorum auctoritas sequi consuevit, hiemem vii id. Nouembres, uer vii id. Februarias, aestatem vii id. Maias, autumnum vii id. Augustas inchoara decernunt—hiemis uidelicet et aestatis initia uespertino uel matutino Vergiliarum ortu occasuque signantes; item ueris et autumnus, cum Pliades media fere die uel nocte oriuntur et occidunt, ponentes ingressum. Denique et in libris cosmographorum authenticis ac nobilissimis ita eadem tempora ad lineam distincta reperimus, adnotato etiam ortu Vergiliarum vii id. Maii, occasu quoque earundem vii id. Nouembri. Et Plinius Secundus in libro secundo Naturalis Historiae eodem modo distinguenda iudicauit.<sup>95</sup>

[Different people mark the beginnings of these seasons in different ways. Isidore, the Spanish bishop, says that winter begins on the ninth day before the Kalends of December (23 Nov.), spring on the eighth day before the Kalends of March (22 Feb.), summer on the ninth day before the Kalends of June (24 May), and autumn on the tenth day before the Kalends of September (23 Aug.). However, the Greeks and the Romans, whose authority more than that of the Spanish it is customary to follow in such matters, judge winter to begin on the seventh day before the Ides of November (7 Nov.), spring on the seventh day before the Ides of February (7 Feb.), summer on

sic illis unctio sacri unguenti nomen ac potestatem regiam conferebat; et inde Christi dicti a chrismate, quod est unctio. Nam chrisma Graece, Latine unctio nuncupatur. . . ."

By italicizing the text, Laistner suggests that Bede also draws on Isidore at *Retr.* 27.11 (CCL 121:161): "*Naucleros Graece dominus nauis uocatur.*" Cf. *Etym.* 19.1.3: "Nauclerus domnus [sic!] navis est, appellatus ita quod navis in sorte eius sit; *ναῦρος* enim Graece sors dicitur." At most, however, Bede has borrowed two words, *dominus navis*. This is insufficient to ensure dependence on Isidore. If it was not simply a product of his own improved knowledge of Greek, Bede could have obtained as much from a Greek/Latin dictionary, or from a glossary of exotic words. Cf. *The Epinal, Erfurt, Werden and Corpus Glossaries*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff et al., Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 22 (Copenhagen, 1988), which contains many comparable entries.

<sup>95</sup> Bede, *DTR* 35 (CCL 123B:393).

the seventh day before the Ides of May (9 May), and autumn on the seventh day before the Ides of August (7 Aug.). That is, they mark the beginning of winter and summer by the evening or morning rising and setting of the Pleiades, considering spring and autumn to begin when the Pleiades rise and set at about the middle of the day or the night. Accordingly, in the most authoritative and distinguished books of the cosmographers we find the seasons distinguished one from another in the same way, with the rise of the Pleiades also noted on the seventh day before the Ides of May (9 May) and their setting on the seventh day before the Ides of November (7 Nov.). In the second book of the *Natural History* Pliny the Elder has also decided that they are to be distinguished in the same manner.]

With one slight difference, the dates that Bede attributes to Isidore are accurate.<sup>96</sup> The ones that he endorses, however, are significantly different, and appear to be the same as those announced earlier in *De temporibus*.<sup>97</sup> Here he attributes them to the Greek and Roman tradition, and even appeals explicitly to Pliny, although only some of them are confirmed by the *Natural History*.<sup>98</sup>

Bede's reference to Isidore has been interpreted as criticism of the most trenchant kind. Jones regards it as an "unparalleled statement," while Meyvaert claims it "dismisses" Isidore "with scant notice."<sup>99</sup> However,

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Isidore, *DNR* 7.5 (ed. Fontaine, 203): "Quorum temporum haec sunt principia: uernus exoritur VIII kl. martias [22 Feb.], permanens diebus LXLI; aestas incipit VIII kl. iunias [24 May], diebus LXL; autumnus sumit principium X kl. septembris [23 Aug.], diebus LXLIII; hiemps inchoat VII kl. decembris [25 Nov.], diebus LXL. Unde fiunt anni uertentis dies CCCLXV."

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Bede, *DT* 8 (CCL 123C:591): "*Tempora sunt uices mutationum*, quibus sol accedendo uel recedendo anni temperat orbem. Hiems enim illo longius morante frigidus est et humidus; uer illo redeunte humidus et calidus; aestas illo superferuente calidus et siccus; autumnus illo decidente siccus et frigidus. Haec antiqui *sexto die ante idus Februarias* et *Maias* Augustasque et Novembres inchoabant, ut solstitia et aequinoctia in medio essent temporum." On the assumption that the formula Bede employs here (*sexto die ante* . . .) does not require inclusive reckoning, the four seasons begin on the seventh of November, February, May, and August as in *DTR*. In *DT* 7 (CCL 123C:590), Bede tells us that the equinoxes fall on 25 March and 24 September, the solstices on 24 June and 25 December. When these dates are combined with those for the beginning of the seasons, his comment about the solstices and equinoxes being *in medio temporum* makes sense. In Bede's scheme, the seasons are divided in half by the solstices and equinoxes. Jones, *Bedae Opera de temporibus*, 370, points out that this was the Irish method.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Pliny, *NH* 2.47.122–25 (ed. Rackham, 262–66). Pliny agrees that the rising and setting of the Pleiades mark the beginning of summer and winter respectively. On the assumption that his language does not require inclusive reckoning, he also confirms the specific dates Bede gives for the beginning of spring and summer. In Pliny's words, these are "dies sextus Februarias ante idus," or 7 February, and "sex diebus ante Maias idus," or 9 May. However, autumn begins with the autumnal equinox in late September, and winter follows approximately forty-four days later on 11 November: "post id aequinoctium diebus fere quattuor et quadraginta Vergiliarum occasus hiemem inchoat, quod tempus in III idus Novembres incidere consuevit."

<sup>99</sup> Jones, *Bedae Opera de temporibus*, 132; Meyvaert, "Bede the Scholar," 58. Cf. Ray, "Bede's *Vera Lex Historiae*," 16: "In two major works from the last decade of his life, Bede calls Isidore's name for the first times ever, and in each of these three instances it is to refute him,



Bede would have realized as well as Isidore that the dates assigned to the seasons are largely a matter of convention. The scheme that he associates with Isidore is indeed the one that Isidore chooses to highlight, but it is not the only one that he considers.<sup>100</sup> Isidore also suggests that the year can be divided on the dates of the solstices and the equinoxes.<sup>101</sup> Although he does not make a point of linking these dates with the beginnings of the seasons, he does observe that the solstice marks the arrival of summer, apparently taking the matter for granted.<sup>102</sup> He remarks as well that formerly the summer and winter solstices divided the year into only two seasons, implying that in a year with four seasons the arrival of spring and fall would be marked by the corresponding equinoxes.<sup>103</sup> It is possibly a third scheme that he introduces when he observes, as Bede does later, that the beginning of summer and winter are marked by the rising and setting of the Pleiades.<sup>104</sup> Whether or not this is the case, however, one point at least is evident from Isidore's account: there is not one uniquely correct set of dates marking the turning of the seasons.

It is clear from the manner in which he introduces the topic that Bede appreciates the point. Different people have approached this matter in different ways, he states. When he says that it is customary to follow the

once with some scorn"; in n. 74 he explains that it is in *DTR* 35 that "the scorn comes out."

<sup>100</sup> See Samsó, "Astronómica Isidoriana," 169–71.

<sup>101</sup> Isidore, *DNR* 8.1 (ed. Fontaine, 205); *Etym.* 5.34.2–3. The equinoxes are on 25 March and 24 September, the solstices on 24 June and 25 December.

<sup>102</sup> Isidore, *DNR* 8.2 (ed. Fontaine, 207): "Solstitium autem aestivum ideo lampada dicitur eo quod ex eo die lampada solis claritatem maiorem accipiat caloremque nimium aduenientis aestatis infundat."

<sup>103</sup> Isidore, *Etym.* 5.34.3: "Item duo sunt aequinoctia, unum vernale et aliud autumnale. . . . Sunt autem haec aequinoctia die VIII Kal. Apr. et VIII Kal. Oct., quia annus olim in duas tantum partes dividebatur, hoc est in aestivum et hiemale solstitium, et in duo hemisphaeria." Cf. *Etym.* 5.35.2–3: "Constat autem post factum mundum ex qualitate cursus solis tempora in ternos menses fuisse divisa. Quorum temporum talem veteres faciunt discretionem, ut primo mense ver novum dicatur, secundo adultum, tertio praeceps. Sic [et] aestas in suis tribus mensibus, nova, adulta et praeceps. Sic [et] autumnus, novus, adultus et praeceps. Item hiems, nova, adulta et praeceps sive extrema."

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Isidore, *DNR* 26.6 (ed. Fontaine, 269); *Etym.* 3.71.13. Samsó ("Astronómica Isidoriana," 170) argues that a third scheme is indeed at issue here. Summer is ushered in with the rise of the Pleiades in mid-May, winter with their setting in mid-November. He can find no comparable marker for the beginning of spring, but argues that in *Etym.* 3.71.9 Isidore associates the rise of Arcturus with the beginning of autumn: "Oritur autem autumnali tempore." Since the latter occurs at approximately the same time as the autumnal equinox, Samsó suggests that the date of the two equinoxes be taken to mark the beginnings of spring and fall. The result is an unbalanced year in which summer and winter are of four months duration each, while spring and summer are each reduced to two months. He goes on to give some possible sources for such an arrangement.

lead of the Greeks and the Romans, he is simply reporting the practice with which he is familiar. He clearly thinks it has much to recommend it, invoking as he does the imprimatur of cosmographical authority. However, this does not mean that Isidore's views have no legitimacy, any more than his subsequent comments represent a rejection of another major alternative. In Old Testament times, Bede goes on to say, the year was divided a little differently. He appeals to Protereus—"eruditissimus eorum anti-stes"—to corroborate the fact that the ancient Hebrew practice has been retained by the Egyptians. Protereus, as is clear from the passage he goes on to quote, considers spring to begin on the twelfth day before the Kalends of April (20 March).<sup>105</sup>

If, as Meyvaert argues, "much of Bede's *De Temporibus* and *De Temporum Ratione* was aimed at correcting statements of Isidore,"<sup>106</sup> clearer examples should be easy to find. Jones points to an additional four: at *de temporum ratione* [DTR] 11, 16, 25 and 34.<sup>107</sup> In chap. 11 Bede states that it is a major error to claim that the month is to be defined, or that it was so defined by the ancients, as the amount of time it takes the moon to complete its circle of the zodiac. This is its sidereal period, which is twenty-seven days and eight hours. The proper measure of the month is the moon's synodical period of twenty-nine days and twelve hours, the length of time it takes it to cycle through its phases.<sup>108</sup> Isidore does know how the month is to be defined, for Bede quotes him on the subject. He knows as well how the ancients defined it, and that they did so correctly.<sup>109</sup> Nonetheless, it is indeed Isidore's misstatement that is at issue here. In *De natura rerum* Isidore confuses synodical and sidereal periods, suggesting that in the case of the moon it is the latter that determines the length of the month.<sup>110</sup> It is a basic error, and Bede feels compelled to correct it. Isidore makes the same mistake further on in *De natura rerum*, stating

<sup>105</sup> Bede, DTR 35 (CCL 123B:394).

<sup>106</sup> Meyvaert, "Bede the Scholar," 58.

<sup>107</sup> Jones, *Bedae Opera de temporibus*, 132 and n. 2.

<sup>108</sup> Bede, DTR 11 (CCL 123B:316): "Notandum sane quod nimium falluntur qui mensem definiendum uel ab antiquis definitum autumant quamdiu luna zodiacum circulum peragit, quae nimirum, sicut diligentior inquisitio naturarum edocuit, zodiacum quidem xxvii diebus et viii horis, sui uero cursus ordinem xxviii diebus et xii horis, salua sui saltus ratione, conficit. Ideoque rectius ita definiendum quod mensis lunae sit luminis lunaris circuitus ac redintegratio de noua ad nouam."

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 5.33.1: "apud Hebraeos menses legitimi non ex solis circulo, sed ex lunae cursu enumerantur, quod est de noua ad nouam."

<sup>110</sup> Isidore, *DNR* 4.1 (ed. Fontaine, 185): "Mensis est luminis lunaris circuitus ac redintegratio: siue a noua ad nouam. Cuius figura plerumque huius uitae cursus intellegitur, quae suis incrementis quasi mensis peragitur, ac deminutionibus certissimis terminatur. Mensem autem antiqui definierunt: quamdiu luna zodiacum circulum perducit."

that, because of its closer proximity to the earth, the moon is able to complete in thirty days the cycle that the sun completes only in 365. Once again it draws Bede's attention. The correct number, as Bede points out, is not thirty days, but twenty-seven days and eight hours.<sup>111</sup>

There are two occasions, therefore, on which Bede clearly does correct Isidore's errors, although in each case one and the same error is at issue. In the other passages that Jones mentions, however, it is not clear what, if anything, is directed against Isidore. In *DTR* 25 Bede attacks those who maintain that they can predict the weather from the position of the horns of the new moon. If both horns are supine, they say, a stormy month lies ahead. If one of them is upright, fair weather is indicated. Bede regards this as nonsense. The moon is fixed in the heavens, he points out, and its appearance is due to its relationship with the sun. It is simply not believable that it could shift position to be prognostic of changeable earthly breezes. Whereas the weather is a localized phenomenon, the moon remains the same from all earthly vantage points.<sup>112</sup> It is noteworthy that this is a subject on which Bede seems to have changed his mind. In *De natura rerum* he reports that black spots on the horns of the crescent moon indicate rain at the beginning of the month. Spots in the middle mean fair weather at the time of the full moon.<sup>113</sup> If the moon cannot change its position on account of the weather, it should not be able to change its spots either. Both are to be distinguished from changes in colour, which can be produced by earthly phenomena, like clouds. In *De temporum ratione*, therefore, Bede continues to allow these changes in colour to have

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Isidore, *DNR* 19.1 (ed. Fontaine, 247): "Terris autem uicina luna breuiori orbe conuertitur, et iter quod sol in diebus CCCLXV peragit, ista per XXX dies percurrit"; and Bede, *DTR* 16 (CCL 123B:336–37): "sol cccxv diebus et vi horis, luna xxvii diebus et viii horis, zodiaci ambitum lustrant. . . . Errant ergo qui lunam tricenis diebus tantum spatii caelestis quantum tricenis sexaginta quinque solem percurrere dicunt, cum manifesta ueritas prodat quod, ut supra perstrinximus, lunam xxvii diebus et tertia diei parte tantum conficere cursum quantum cccxv diebus et quarta diei parte constat conficere solem."

<sup>112</sup> Bede, *DTR* 25 (CCL 123B:357): "Sunt qui auras explorare conati dicant lunam nouam quoties supino cornu utroque uidetur tempestuosum mensem, quoties erecto uno serenum portendere. Quod longe aliter esse naturalis ratio prodit. Quid enim? Numquid credibile est lunae statum, qui fixus in aethere permanet, pro subiacentium mutatione flabrorum uel nubium posse aliorum quam fuerat conuerti, et eam quasi futurae metu tempestatis aliquanto altius cornu quam naturae ordo poscebat attollere, maxime cum non omnibus in terris idem fluctuantium possit existere flatus aurarum? Lunae autem status idem eademque sit pro uariante solis digressu conuersio."

<sup>113</sup> See Bede, *DNR* 36 (CCL 123A:223), where he says of the moon, "*Si summo in corniculo maculis nigrescit, pluuium mensis exordium; si in medio, plenilunium, serenum.*"

meteorological significance while he refrains from his earlier comments on spots.<sup>114</sup>

Bede learned of the significance of black spots on the moon from Isidore's *De natura rerum*, although at the point where he discusses such matters Isidore simply reports the views of Nigidius. Isidore is certain that changes in the colour of the moon are not without significance, but for the reasons given above he is not prepared fully to endorse what Nigidius has to say about spots.<sup>115</sup> Since Bede clearly knew this text, however, and had used it already, perhaps it was the text he had in mind in *De temporum ratione* when he thought his way through the issue again. Possibly it is Isidore he wishes to criticize for thinking that the position of the horns of the crescent moon have some predictive power. On this matter, however, it is the views of Aratus that Isidore reports, not his own. He does not distance himself from Aratus quite as effectively as he does from Nigidius, but he certainly does not endorse what he says either. Moreover, while the views in question share a family resemblance with the opinions attacked by Bede, in detail they are quite different.<sup>116</sup> It is not likely, therefore, that Bede had Isidore specifically in mind. In all probability he was simply challenging a common superstition, one that, as Jones acknowledges, was very widespread in antiquity, and was endorsed by Pliny, among others.<sup>117</sup>

There is not much likelihood that it was Isidore that Bede had in mind in *DTR* 34 either, the one remaining passage mentioned by Jones. There Bede's subject is the five earthly climate zones: the torrid zone around the equator, the arctic and antarctic zones at either pole, and the two temperate zones in between. With regard to the latter he states,

<sup>114</sup> Bede, *DTR* 25 (CCL 123B:359): "Non ergo lunae conuersio, quae naturalis est et fixa, potest futuri mensis portendere statum. Sed qui curiosi sunt huiusmodi rerum, coloris uel eius uel solis, uel caeli ipsius, aut stellarum, siue nubium mutatione, uel aliis quibuslibet indiciiis saepe statum aeris qui sit futurus explorant."

<sup>115</sup> Isidore, *DNR* 38.2 (ed. Fontaine, 301): "Nigidius quoque ait: luna si summo in corniculo maculas nigras habuerit, in primis partibus mensis imbres ait fore; si in media, tunc cum plena sit, in eo corniculo serena. Certe si rubet quasi aurum, uentos ostendit. Fit enim uentus ex aeris densitate; densitate obducta sol et luna rubescunt. Item si cornua eius tecta fuerint nebula, tempestas futura est."

<sup>116</sup> Isidore, *DNR* 38.3 (ibid.): "Aratus autem dicit: si aquilonium cornum lunae sit correctius, Aquilonem imminere. Item si cornu australe sit erectius, Notum imminere."

<sup>117</sup> Jones, *Beda's Opera de temporibus*, 360. Cf. Pliny, *NH* 18.79.347 (ed. and trans. H. Rackham, *Pliny: Natural History*, vol. 5, Loeb Classical Library [London and Cambridge, Mass., 1950], 406). According to Laistner, "Library of the Venerable Bede," 243, and Jones, *Beda's Opera de temporibus*, 359, it is unlikely that Bede ever saw book 18 of the *Natural History*. However, cf. Peter Kitson, "Lapidary Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England: Part II, Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsis* and Related Works," *Anglo-Saxon England* 12 (1983): 73–123 at 88 n. 109.

... unam solummodo probare possunt habitatam, neque enim uel antipodarum ullatenus est fabulis accomodandus assensus, uel aliquis refert historicus uidisse uel audisse uel legisse se, qui meridianas in partes solem transierunt hibernum ita ut eo post tergum relicto, transgressis Aethiopum feruoribus, temperatas ultra eos hinc calore illinc rigore atque habitabiles mortalium repperint sedes. Denique solertissimus naturarum inquisitor Plinius, qui non negat terram *etsi sit figura pineae nucis, nihilominus undique incolî, uide quid de his scribens zonis dicat: Circa, inquit, duae tantum inter exustam et rigentes temperantur, eaeque ipsae inter se non peruiæ propter incendium sideris.*

[... only one of these can be proven to be inhabited. No credence whatever is to be given to popular tales about Antipodeans, nor does any historian say that he has seen or heard or read of anyone who, leaving the winter sun behind and travelling into the southern regions, has crossed the extreme heat of Ethiopia and found in the areas beyond regions tempered by heat on the one side and cold on the other and fit for human habitation. Pliny, the expert investigator of the facts of nature, does not deny that the earth, "although in the shape of a pine cone, is nonetheless inhabited all around." Note, however, what he says when writing of these zones: "There are only two temperate zones between the torrid one and the frozen ones, and these have no communication with each other because of the fiery heat of the heavenly body."] <sup>118</sup>

It is Pliny Bede criticizes here, not Isidore. Indeed, it is difficult to tell wherein Isidore could possibly have offended. Not only does he explicitly deny the existence of *antipodae*, but he does so largely on the same grounds that Bede suggests: that there is no empirical evidence for their existence, and that in its absence one must not give credence to what are only popular tales.<sup>119</sup> A more thorough consideration of this matter would reveal inconsistencies in Isidore's treatment that are more than a little puzzling.<sup>120</sup> However, nothing suggests that it was Isidore's shortcomings specifically that prompted Bede's comments. In this last instance, as in most of the other cases examined, the pointed criticism of Isidore that one expects to find does not materialize when the text is examined closely.

<sup>118</sup> Bede, *DTR* 34 (CCL 123B:390). Cf. Pliny, *NH* 2.64.161 and 2.68.172 (ed. Rackham, 296–97 and 306–7).

<sup>119</sup> Isidore, *Etym.* 9.2.133: "Iam vero hi qui Antipodae dicuntur, eo quod contrarii esse vestigiis nostris putantur, ut quasi sub terris positi aduersa pedibus nostris calcent vestigia, nulla ratione credendum est, quia nec soliditas patitur, nec centrum terrae; sed neque hoc ulla historiae cognitione firmatur, sed hoc poetae quasi ratiocinando coniectant" (see also Marc Reydellet, ed. and trans., *Isidore de Séville: Étymologies, Livre IX* [Paris, 1984], 117). Cf. also *Etym.* 14.5.17; and Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 16.9 (CCL 48:510).

<sup>120</sup> See, for example, *Etym.* 3.44.4 and 13.6.6, where Isidore refers to the inhabitants of the southern hemisphere. Cf. Isidore, *DNR* 10.2–3 (ed. Fontaine, 209–13).

Bede certainly did not consider Isidore immune from correction. Indeed, the foregoing discussion has pointed to several examples. It is the frequency and the tone of such correction that is at issue. Although he would not have considered him the equal of the great doctors of the Church, essentially Bede treated Isidore the same way he did his other authorities. Given the extensive use he made of Isidore's works, it is small wonder that on some matters Isidore's views required amendment. Neither the number nor the weight of his corrections, however, suggests that Bede viewed Isidore in a particularly negative light. Bede clearly surpassed Isidore in many respects, most obviously in his mature scientific work. For much of what *De temporum ratione* has to say, Isidore's views are simply irrelevant. However, Isidore is not singled out for special censure. There is no basis for thinking that, in going beyond Isidore, Bede came to regard him with contempt.

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## FREEDOM OF CHOICE IN BURIDAN'S MORAL PSYCHOLOGY

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IN his writings on human action,<sup>1</sup> John Buridan develops a complex theory of choice which, in his own words, attempts to find a “middle ground” between a pair of more extreme views. The first of these maintains that the will can, with everything else remaining the same, choose the lesser of two impossible goods presented to it by the intellect; the second counters that the will can never act directly against the intellect in choosing which goods it should pursue and/or evils it should avoid.<sup>2</sup> The first view is a consequence of the “voluntarist” position traditionally associated with Franciscan thinkers such as Duns Scotus and William of Ockham, for whom the will is an active power that is both superior to the

<sup>1</sup> I use the following editions of works by Buridan in this article, with the abbreviations indicated (citations are by book, question, and folio): QNE = *Questiones Ioannis Buridani super decem libros ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum* (Paris, 1513; rpt. Frankfurt, 1968); QPol = *Quaestiones super octo libros politicorum Aristotelis* (Paris, 1513; rpt. Frankfurt, 1969); QP = *Iohannis Buridani subtilissime questiones super octo phisicorum libros Aristotelis* (Paris, 1509; rpt. as *Kommentar zur Aristotelischen Physik*, Frankfurt, 1964); and QM = *In Metaphysicen Aristotelis quaestiones argutissimae magistri Ioannis Buridani* (Paris, 1588 [actually 1518]; rpt. as *Kommentar zur Aristotelischen Metaphysik*, Frankfurt, 1964). I have classicized spellings in the Latin passages quoted, and occasionally repunctuated them for clarity. All translations are my own.

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<sup>2</sup> The first view: “Dicunt quidem quod duobus bonis impossibilibus praesentatis per intellectum ipsi voluntati et stante iudicio rationis in universali et particulari quod unum est alio maius bonum, tamen voluntas tunc et pro tunc potest velle et acceptare minus bonum et dimittere maius bonum . . .” (QNE III.4: 43rb); the second view: “Item alii arguunt sic: sicut voluntas nihil potest velle absolute nisi sit apprehensum, ita nihil potest prosecui vel fugere nisi quod iudicatum fuerit esse prosequendum vel fugiendum, quia non solum voluntas vel appetitus sed etiam intellectus movet ad prosecutionem vel fugam: tertio De anima [3.10 (433a18)]. Modo intellectus nunquam iudicaret illud esse prosequendum quod scit esse minus bonum, et hoc dimittendo maius bonum . . .” (QNE III.4: 43va); Buridan’s preface to his own view: “Ideo, mediam opinionem tendendo, ponentur tres conclusiones” (ibid.: 44[“lxiii”]ra).

intellect and free.<sup>3</sup> The second describes what is often referred to as the “intellectualist” position of Thomas Aquinas and his followers.<sup>4</sup> According to this view, the intellect is the preeminent power in human beings, presenting the will with its ultimate object, as well as the means for achieving it. Although the intellectualist will is said to exercise free choice in selecting the means, it can only choose less-than-optimally through ignorance or impediment, since it is not possible for it to contravene the dictates of reason.

The “middle ground” Buridan seeks to occupy contends that although the will can choose only what has been presented to it as good, it retains the ability to *defer* its choice whenever the goodness of its object is in some way doubtful or uncertain. And since the goodness of a thing is hardly ever judged with certainty (at least in this life), the Buridanian will seems to enjoy a considerable amount of freedom in practice.<sup>5</sup>

But Buridan argues that in addition to freedom of choice (*libertas oppositionis*) human agents possess teleological freedom (*libertas finalis*

<sup>3</sup> The voluntarist will is thus said to belong not to the natural order, but to the order of liberty. For Scotus, see *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, qq.16–17 (in Felix Alluntis and Allan B. Wolter, *God and Creatures: The Quodlibetal Questions* [Princeton, 1975], 369–98); and *Quaestiones in Metaphysicam IX*, q.15 (in Allan B. Wolter, *Duns Scotus on the Will and Morality* [Washington, D.C., 1986], 144–73). For Ockham, see *Ordinatio I*, d.2, q.1 (in *Opera Theologica*, vol. 2, ed. S. Brown and G. Gál [St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1970], 34–36, 40–42); *Ordinatio I*, d.3, q.5 (ibid., 450–51); *Reportatio IV*, q.16 (in *Opera Theologica*, vol. 7, ed. R. Wood and G. Gál [St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1984], 350–61); *Quodlibeta septem I*, q.1 (in *Opera Theologica*, vol. 9, ed. J. C. Wey [St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1980], 7); *Quodlibeta septem I*, qq.16–17 (ibid., 87–93). For a brief history and overview, see J. B. Korolec, “Free Will and Free Choice,” in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg (New York, 1982), 629–41.

<sup>4</sup> Aquinas changed his views on the will during his lifetime in subtle but interesting ways which need not detain us here. A representative sampling: *In 2 Sent.* 24.1.2; *De veritate* 23.1, 24.6; *Summa Theologiae* 1.82.1–4, 1.83.1–4, 1–2.13.1–5; *Summa contra gentiles* 1.72, 1.95, 3.11, 3.73, 3.85. See also Korolec, “Free Will and Free Choice,” 635.

I follow most commentators in using the term “intellectualism” to describe the position defended by Aquinas on the will, though the term “naturalism” is also used (and better describes the deeper motivation of that position, I think). See, e.g., Marilyn McCord Adams, “William Ockham: Voluntarist or Naturalist?” in *Studies in Medieval Philosophy*, ed. John F. Wippel (Washington, D.C., 1987), 219: “Usually, in the secondary literature, voluntarism is set against naturalism. Both the voluntarist and the naturalist among medieval philosophers will believe in will and nature. But the former will tend to locate his baseline explanations of things in the will and its choices, whereas the latter will ground them in the natures of things.” The “nature” most relevant to the question of human freedom is, of course, the intellect.

<sup>5</sup> This point has been nicely made in connection with Buridan’s theory of *akrasia* by Risto Saarinen in “Moral Weakness and Human Action in John Buridan’s Ethics,” in *Faith, Will and Grammar*, vol. B 15, ed. Heikki Kirjavainen (Helsinki, 1986), 109–39; and, more recently, in “John Buridan and Donald Davidson on *Akrasia*,” *Synthese* 96 (1993): 133–53; and *Weakness of the Will in Medieval Thought: From Augustine to Buridan* (Leiden, 1994), 161–87.



*ordinationis*), which they exhibit when they act principally for their own sake, rather than for the sake of anything else.<sup>6</sup> This second variety of freedom is very much in the intellectualist tradition, for, like Aquinas, Buridan maintains that (1) the ultimate end of a human being is not a matter of choice but is naturally determined for it by God;<sup>7</sup> (2) freedom of choice is subordinate to teleological freedom in the sense that it has been ordained to assist the will in choosing the best means to its ultimate end;<sup>8</sup> and (3)

<sup>6</sup> Buridan excepts God here on the grounds that all human beings have God as their *ultimate* final end: "Uno modo dicitur agens libere agere libertate finalis ordinationis, alio modo libertate oppositionis. Libertate finalis ordinationis dicitur agens libere agere si agat sui ipsius gratia principali intentione, et serviliter si gratia alterius. Unde sic solus deus agit simpliciter et omnino libere. Omnia autem alia agentia in ordine ad ipsum deum agunt serviliter quia omnia quae sunt agunt gratia ipsius dei. . . . Et tamen hoc non obstante, agens particulare dicitur agere libere si agat sui ipsius gratia magis principaliter quam gratia alicuius alterius finis particularis qui non contineat ipsum finaliter secundum naturalem finium connexionem et ordinem. . . . Licet ergo agamus finaliter in ordine ad deum quia principalius propter ipsum quam propter nos, tamen simpliciter loquendo dicimur agere libere si principalius propter nos quam propter aliquid praeter deum qui finaliter continet nos" (QNE X.2: 205rb–va; cf. QPol VII.5: 98rb).

In translating *libertas finalis ordinationis* as "teleological freedom," I follow James J. Walsh, "Teleology in the Ethics of Buridan," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 18 (1980): 280.

<sup>7</sup> "Sed propter istas rationes non esse necessarium negare Thomam, posset enim eius opinio verum habere intellectum si dicamus quod duplex est finis in humanis actionibus: scilicet unus ultimus et principalis, alter medius et minus principalis et ad ulteriorem finem ordinatus. Igitur beatus Thomas concederet quod fines medii non sunt nobis naturaliter determinati. Sed iterum, finis principalis et ultimus, puta felicitas humana, potest dupliciter apprehendi: uno modo secundum eius communem rationem, scilicet secundum quod est quid optimum et delectabilissimum; alio modo secundum eius specialem rationem, scilicet considerando quae sit illa res quae dicitur felicitas, scilicet quae est optima et delectabilissima, an scilicet sit delectatio corporalis vel abundantia pecuniarum vel honorum vel opus virtutis aut aliud quodcumque. Et si hoc secundo modo consideretur humanus finis, adhuc non est nobis naturaliter determinatus sic quin saepe propter affectiones pravas sensuales erramus circa ipsum. Sed si consideretur primo modo, sic est nobis naturaliter determinatus, prout beatus Thomas dixit, sic intelligendo quod omnes, ex naturali inclinatione intellectus ad verum et appetitus ad bonum, iudicant [*ed. has* indicant] esse eligendam beatam vitam et delectabilissima, et se valde talem ducere confidenter. Hoc enim est necessarium concedere quoniam si deus et natura de plantis et brutis habent sollicitudinem dando eis principium per quod attingere valeant ad proprium bonum, multo magis est dicendum quod natura dedit hominibus principium per quod determinari possunt ad proprium bonum prosequendum et attingendum" (QNE VI.5: 121va; cf. Aquinas, *ST* 1.82.2, 1-2.9.1 and 6, 1-2.13.3).

<sup>8</sup> " . . . ego pono duas ultimas conclusiones: una scilicet quod libertas oppositionis ordinatur finaliter ad libertatem finalis ordinationis. . . . Libertas igitur oppositionis, ut dictum fuit in tertia quaestione tertii <libri>, non ideo est nobis data quod non acceptemus apparens bonum, nec ad hoc etiam quod deacceptemus apparens malum quod apparet, quia sic ad nostrum malum esset nobis data. . . . Ergo intellectus et voluntas sic agunt libere libertate oppositionis, quae data est nobis finaliter ut tam secundum intellectum quam secundum voluntatem agamus libere libertate finalis ordinationis, scilicet laudabiliter et bene ad nostram salutem et perfectionem. Et hoc volebamus probare. Item ad acceptationem finalis boni perfecte et firmiter ostensi sub ratione pure bonitatis non se habet voluntas libere libertate oppositionis . . . sed se habet ad eam libere libertate finalis ordinationis, ut praedictum est. Et tamen ad claram ostensionem illius finalis boni et ad ipsius sic acceptationem vel volitionem ordinantur finaliter omnes aliorum acceptationes et ostensiones et consilia et electiones circa quae habemus libertatem oppositionis. Ergo

the perfection of teleological freedom, or final human happiness, consists in an intellectual act, viz., “the perfect apprehension of God,” rather than in an act of volition, viz., “an act of willing, and consequently, of loving.”<sup>9</sup>

The primacy Buridan assigns to teleological freedom might suggest that his theory of volition falls most easily and obviously into the intellectualist camp. But things are not all that easy or obvious. Because of his peculiar, hybrid account of free choice, the question of how his theory ought to be classified has proved to be a thorny one in Buridan scholarship. A whole spectrum of views has been defended in recent decades. It has been argued that, despite the presence of certain voluntarist influences in his account of free choice, Buridan’s theory remains essentially intellectualist:

The necessity of the will to will the absolute good when presented with it as such, the will’s inability to choose the lesser good as such, the will’s final acceptance of the object in accordance with the judgment of the practical intellect, the subordination of the liberty of opposition to the liberty of final ordination, and the intellectual act in which beatitude consists: all these are clear marks of Buridan’s intellectualism.<sup>10</sup>

Conversely, it has been argued that although Buridan has an intellectualist view of teleological freedom, his account of free choice clearly favors voluntarism, yet in a more attenuated form than that defended by Scotus and Ockham:

manifestum est quod omnes actus nostri liberi libertate oppositionis, et ipsa libertas oppositionis, sunt gratia actus liberi libertate finalis ordinationis, scilicet ut sumus liberi” (QNE X.2: 207[“ccxv”]vb; cf. Aquinas, *ST* 1.83.4, 1-2.13.1 and 3).

<sup>9</sup> “. . . non restat nisi videre an felicitas consistit in illa perfecta dei apprehensione, vel in actu volendi et amandi consequente. Et melius placet mihi ponere quod in apprehensione sive intellectione perfecta ipsius dei consistit humana felicitas” (QNE X.5: 213rb; cf. QPol VII.5: 99rb–va; cf. also Aquinas, *SCG* 3.25–26, 37). Buridan does offer five arguments on behalf of this assumption, the most significant of which is based on the imperfection of volition vis-à-vis cognition, as evidenced by the absolute dependency of the former on the latter (QPol VII.5: 99rb–va). For example, to the objection that an old woman with a great love of God would be more pleasing to God than an important cleric with a great cognition of God, Buridan quickly replies, “vetula non prius diligit deum quam scit et credit eum esse diligendum, et per consequens hoc magis consistit in actu intellectus” (ibid.: 100rb; cf. QNE X.5: 214rb).

For further discussion, see Georg Wieland, “Happiness: The Perfection of Man,” in *Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, 683–86.

<sup>10</sup> Edward J. Monahan, “Human Liberty and Free Will According to John Buridan,” *Mediaeval Studies* 16 (1954): 84. Although Monahan argues specifically that “Buridan’s doctrine of human liberty of choice belongs to this intellectualist tradition,” his reasons appear to conflate Buridan’s account of free choice with his separate account of teleological freedom. But how does the intellectualist character of teleological freedom count as a reason for likewise classifying freedom of choice?

... Buridan examine, dans son commentaire, aussi bien le problème de la liberté de l'homme que celui de la liberté de choix. Et si, en traitant du premier de ces problèmes, il prend le parti de l'intellectualisme, il se prononce, en revanche, pour un volontarisme modéré quand il parle du second. Il semble ... que Buridan, en cherchant une double formule pour élucider le problème de la liberté de l'homme et en parlant de *libertas oppositionis* et de *libertas finalis ordinationis*, cherchait un compromis entre les partisans des deux orientations.<sup>11</sup>

Finally, Buridan's compromise between intellectualism and voluntarism has been located not in the abstract distinction between teleological freedom and freedom of choice but in the latter doctrine itself:

... for Buridan, uncertainty is the central concept which explains both free will and incontinence. If all judgments were firm, neither free will nor incontinence would exist. Buridan's psychology is thus based on the primacy of the intellect, but he sees human action as the result of an uncertain and ambiguous process in which the will is often free to choose its reason.<sup>12</sup>

Buridan's account is thus said to differ from "Aristotelianism and Thomism as well as from Franciscan voluntarism."<sup>13</sup>

My aim here is to show that Buridan has an intellectualist theory of volition, but not because he subordinates *libertas oppositionis* to *libertas finalis ordinationis*. Rather, focusing on his explanation of human free choice, I argue that Buridan is an intellectualist in the much stronger sense that the will is *never* free to act directly against the dictates of reason, not even when deferring its act of acceptance or rejection. Thus, contrary to what some commentators have supposed, Buridan's act of deferment does not represent a significant voluntarist departure from what would otherwise be

<sup>11</sup> Jerzy B. Korolec, "La Philosophie de la liberté de Jean Buridan," *Studia Mediewistyczne* 15 (1974): 126; cf. *ibid.*, 138–41, 149–51. See also *idem*, "Les principes de la philosophie morale de Jean Buridan," *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 21 (1975): 71–72.

<sup>12</sup> Saarinen, "Moral Weakness and Human Action in John Buridan's Ethics," 139. See also Saarinen, "John Buridan and Donald Davidson on *Akrasia*," 139–43.

<sup>13</sup> Saarinen, "Moral Weakness and Human Action in John Buridan's Ethics," 139.

The aforementioned views should be understood as ranging over commentators who have specifically addressed themselves to Buridan's account of free choice (*libertas oppositionis*). For discussion of Buridan's general theory of human freedom, see James J. Walsh, "Is Buridan a Sceptic about Free Will?" *Vivarium* 2 (1964): 50–61; "Nominalism and the Ethics: Some Remarks about Buridan's Commentary," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 4 (1966): 1–13 (on Buridan's moral naturalism); and "Teleology in the Ethics of Buridan," 265–86 (on Buridan's "distinctive" moral teleology). See also Gerhard Krieger, *Der Begriff der praktischen Vernunft nach Johannes Buridanus* (Münster/Westfalen, 1986), who, while mentioning the voluntarist/intellectualist dispute in passing (153–54 and 183–84 n. 115), prefers to consider the nature of freedom in Buridan's ethics from the standpoint of practical reason or prudence.

a straightforwardly intellectualist theory of volition. The reason is that, despite its novelty, the act of deferment does not make the will any more autonomous or free.

### I. WILLING, NILLING, AND DEFERRING

Buridan begins by arguing that the will, like the intellect, is both an active and a passive power:

And just as I will say with respect to the act of willing that when the soul has been informed by some prior act, e.g., either by a judgment about the goodness or badness of something willable, or by a certain agreement or disagreement, . . . it can move itself to an act of willing, so then, the same thing, viz., the soul, is called "passive will" insofar as it can receive an act of willing, and "active will" insofar as it can produce this act—but this is to the extent that it has been informed by the aforementioned prior act.<sup>14</sup>

Buridan insists that the will (like the intellect) cannot act without being informed by some prior act because he does not believe that there is anything "sufficiently active and sufficiently passive in the substance of our soul" for volition (or intellection) to occur spontaneously. In both cases, the soul must be primed by an object: something willable in the case of volition; something intelligible in the case of intellection.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> "Et ita quantum ad actum volendi, dicam quod ipsa anima informata aliquo actu priori, puta vel iudicio de bonitate aut malitia volibilis vel quadam complacentia vel displicentia . . . potest se movere ad actum volendi, sicut ergo eadem res, scilicet anima, dicitur voluntas passiva secundum quod potest actum volendi recipere, et dicitur voluntas activa secundum quod potest actum ipsum producere. Hoc autem est secundum quod informata est actu priori praedicto" (QNE III.2: 41rb).

<sup>15</sup> "In substantia enim animae nostrae non est sufficiens activum et sufficiens passivum intellectionis et volitionis, cum ad primos actus requiratur obiectum, et ad posteriores actus requirantur actus primi necessario" (QNE III.2: 41va). Buridan argues that it is their dependency upon prior intellectual and sensitive cognitions that separates both intellectual appetite (properly called "volition" or "will") and sensitive appetite, respectively, from "natural" appetites, such as the tendency unsupported heavy bodies have to fall: "Nondum est quod appetitus sensitivus et appetitus intellectivus, qui dicitur voluntas, vocantur appetitus cognoscitivi non quia cognoscant secundum quod est communis ratio appetitus, sed quia actus ipsorum consequuntur necessario cognitionem praeviam obiectorum suorum. Appetitus enim sensitivus et appetitus intellectivus in hoc distinguuntur contra appetitum naturalem: quia appetitus naturalis fertur in obiectum absque ipsius obiecti praevia cognitione. Qui igitur ponunt quod appetitus sensitivus aut voluntas ferri possit in incognitum negant propriam rationem ipsorum secundum quam distinguuntur ab appetitu naturali" (QNE III.5: 44["lxiii"]va; cf. *ibid.* I.4: 5rb; QPol VII.12: 106va). This dependency is expressed early and often in Buridan's writings in terms of the principle, "the will is not brought to an uncognized object [*voluntas non fertur in incognitum*]" (QM XII.1: 65rb; cf. QNE III.5: 44["lxiii"]va; *ibid.* III.9: 47rb; QPol VI.1: 86vb; *ibid.* VII.5: 98ra; 99ra); see also Buridan's *Quaestiones in libros Aristotelis De anima secundum tertiam sive ultimam lectionem* (Liber III) q.15 (in J. A. Zupko, "John Buridan's Philosophy of Mind: An Edition and Translation of Book

The intellect supplies the will with something willable whenever it passes judgment on the goodness or badness of an object, thereby causing it to appear to the will as good (*sub ratione boni*), as bad (*sub ratione mali*), or under both aspects at the same time. This in turn causes the will's primary, receptive act, in which it feels a certain agreement (*complacentia*), or disagreement (*displacentia*), or both, depending upon which aspect(s) the willable object has:

So judgment, or the soul informed by judgment about the goodness or badness of an object, first produces in the will a certain agreement or disagreement in relation to the object, by the mediation of which the will can accept or reject the object. Indeed, the acceptance or rejection is now an actual inclination of the will upon which motion follows, if there has been no impediment. . . . Now then, it would be said that if an object has been presented to the will as good, then immediately the aforementioned act of agreement will be caused by necessity in the will. And if it has been presented to it as bad, an act of disagreement will be caused. And if it is presented as good and as bad simultaneously, both acts will be caused in it simultaneously, viz., an [act of] agreement and disagreement based on that object.<sup>16</sup>

Since the agreement or disagreement is produced by necessity, Buridan readily concedes that "the will is not free or master of its own first act," so that perhaps "one should say that the simple act of agreement or disagreement is not properly an act of willing or nilling" at all.<sup>17</sup> The proper activity

III of his 'Questions on Aristotle's *De anima*' [Third Redaction], with Commentary and Critical and Interpretative Essays" [Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1989], 167, ll. 198–99). From this principle (Buridan's "volitional transparency thesis"), it follows that as far as the operations of the Buridanian will are concerned, nothing is hidden. It would, for example, be impossible for the will to interfere in the operations of our intellect without our being aware of it.

<sup>16</sup> "Ita iudicium, vel anima informata iudicio de bonitate vel malitia obiecti, primo generat in ipsa voluntate complacentiam quandam in obiecto vel displacentiam in obiecto, mediantibus quibus ipsa voluntas acceptare potest obiectum vel refutare, quae quidem acceptatio vel refutatio sunt iam actuales inclinationes voluntatis ad quas motus consequitur, si non fuerit impedimentum. . . . Modo ergo diceretur quod si obiectum fuerit voluntati praesentatum sub ratione boni, tunc statim causabitur necessario in ipsa voluntate dictus actus complacentiae. Et si fuerit sibi praesentatum sub ratione mali, causabitur actus displacentiae. Et si praesentetur simul sub ratione boni et mali, causabuntur in ea simul utrique actus, scilicet complacentia ex obiecto illo et displacentia" (QNE III.3: 42["lxii"]rb). Buridan evidently thinks this point important enough to refer to it again later in book VII, in his discussion of *akrasia*: "Illa etiam conclusio probatur sicut in tertia quaestione tertii libri probatur quod in apparente bono voluntas necessario habeat complacentiam" (ibid. VII.8: 145rb).

<sup>17</sup> "... voluntas non sit libera sive domina sui primi actus. . . . sed mihi videtur dicendum . . . quod actus simplicis complacentiae vel displacentiae non est actus volendi aut nolendi proprie . . ." (QNE III.3: 43ra; cf. QPol VII.5: 98va; 99ra). In fact, moral praise/blame is properly ascribed to an agent only when the agent overcomes/succumbs to temptations arising from the first act of the will: "Modo videtur quod in complacentia vel displacentia praedictis nec mereamur nec peccemus sed in obiecti totius acceptance aut refutatione. . . . Nam si petatur a con-

of the will, and hence its freedom in choosing, must reside elsewhere.

Freedom of choice properly resides in the second act of the will, in which the will freely produces—on the basis of its primary receptive act of agreement, or disagreement, or both—an act of acceptance (*acceptatio*), rejection (*refutatio*), or deferment (*differre*). Unlike its first act, the modes of the will's second act are *impossible*:

But because acceptance and rejection are impulses towards an act of pursuit or avoidance, and those motions, viz., the pursuit or avoidance, are, on account of [their] contrariety, impossible in the same thing, so for the same reason, an acceptance and rejection of this sort cannot be produced in the will simultaneously. But the will can freely accept the act without rejection, or reject it without acceptance, or even neither reject nor accept but defer it, as it seems to me any man can experience in himself.<sup>18</sup>

The relation between the will's first and second acts is that the primary act of agreement (or disagreement) is a causally necessary, but not sufficient, condition for its consequent act of acceptance (or rejection). The will's first act cannot be causally sufficient for the second because then the will would not be free, but determined either to accept or to reject whatever seems agreeable or disagreeable to it.

For Buridan, freedom of choice stems from the epistemic consideration that appearances often conflict.<sup>19</sup> Thus, the same object will seem both agreeable and disagreeable to the will if the intellect presents it under both aspects at once. Likewise, two or more distinct but impossible objects might produce two or more agreeable appearances in the will. Buridan contends that under such circumstances the will is free to (1) positively will or accept one such object as good; or (2) positively nill or reject it as bad;<sup>20</sup> or (3) defer its choice by not positively accepting or rejecting

tinente viro, 'Vis tu cognoscere talem mulierem?', non respondebit, 'Volo,' sed dicet, 'Vellem, si non esset inhonestum vel peccatum' " (QNE III.3: 43ra–rb).

Although the best literal translation of *nolle* would be "will against," I like to use the term "nill" or "nilling," which has the advantage of preserving the obvious parallelism between *velle* and *nolle*.

<sup>18</sup> "Sed quia acceptatio et refutatio sunt impetus ad actum prosequendum vel fugiendum, et isti motus, scilicet prosecutio vel fuga, propter contrarietatem sunt impossibiles in eodem, ideo etiam non possunt simul in voluntate fieri huiusmodi acceptatio et refutatio. Sed voluntas libere potest acceptare opus illud sine refutatione, vel refutare sine acceptatione, vel etiam nec refutare nec acceptare sed differre, ut videtur mihi quod quasi quilibet homo experiri potest in seipso" (QNE III.3: 42["lxii"]va; cf. QPol VII.5: 98va).

<sup>19</sup> See Saarinen, "John Buridan and Donald Davidson on *Akasia*," 139–43.

<sup>20</sup> That the act of acceptance is to be identified with willing [*velle*], and rejection with nilling [*nolle*], is made clear on several occasions, e.g., "Diceretur igitur quod obiectum praesentatum animae imprimit in ea similitudinem suam, mediante qua anima cognoscit ipsum. Hac autem impressione mediante potest anima, quae est idem quod voluntas, in actum volendi et nolendi, acceptandi vel refutandi, cum ante non posset" (QNE III.3: 42["lxii"]va; cf. *ibid.* III.2: 38ra;

either course of action. It is in this third and final mode of the will's second act that Buridan appears to diverge from the intellectualist tradition: there is nothing like an act of deferment in Aquinas's theory of volition.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, it provides Buridan's theory with at least some structural similarity to the supposedly undiluted voluntarism of Ockham, who also ascribes to the will a threefold option when confronted with its final end, such that "... the will can absolutely either will it, or not will it, or nill it."<sup>22</sup>

## II. *CONTRA* VOLUNTARISM

When considering limitations on willing and nilling Buridan comes down firmly on the side of intellectualism.<sup>23</sup> Still, he says, it is not the case that the will is *determined* to will what appears good, or to nill what appears bad, "for otherwise, it would not be master of its own act."<sup>24</sup> One reason the will is not determined by such appearances is that it has the power to defer willing/nilling an object that the intellect has judged to be in some way good/bad:

... the will can defer an act of willing to produce an inquiry in advance [of it to determine] if there was some bad consequence or condition accompanying the apparent goodness. And it can not will it on account of the accompanying difficulty or effort. And in the same way, it must be said that the will can not nill what the intellect judges to be bad.<sup>25</sup>

III.3: 43ra-rb; III.5: 44["lxiii"]vb; III.7: 45["lv"]vb; VII.7: 144va).

<sup>21</sup> For discussion, see Korolec, "La Philosophie de la liberté de Jean Buridan," 140–52.

<sup>22</sup> "... potest absolute voluntas eum velle vel non velle vel nolle" (Ockham, *Ordinatio* I, d.1, q.6, in *Opera Theologica*, vol. 1, ed. G. Gál and S. Brown [St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1967], 506, ll. 23–24). For evidence that Ockham's voluntarism is less undiluted than many commentators have thought, see Adams, "William Ockham: Voluntarist or Naturalist?" 219–47.

For a modern account which treats deferment as "the source of all liberty," see John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* 2.21.47–48.

<sup>23</sup> The primary discussion can be found in QNE III.4: 43rb–44["lxiii"]rb ("Utrum propositis duobus bonis per rationem, maiori bono et minori bono, impossibilibus, voluntas dimisso maiori bono possit velle minus bonum") and III.5: 44["lxiii"]rb–45["lv"]ra ("Utrum voluntas possit velle contra vel praeter iudicium rationis").

<sup>24</sup> "... voluntas potest illud non velle quod per intellectum iudicatur esse bonum, aliter enim non esset domina sui actus" (QNE III.5: 44["lxiii"]vb; cf. ibid. III.4: 44["lxiii"]ra).

<sup>25</sup> "... voluntas potest differre actum volendi ut antea fiat inquisitio si bonitati apparenti fuerit aliqua malitia consequens vel annexa. Potest etiam illud non velle propter annexam tristitiam vel laborem. Et eodemmodo, dicendum est quod voluntas potest non nolle quod intellectus iudicat esse malum" (QNE III.5: 44["lxiii"]vb; cf. ibid. III.4: 44["lxiii"]ra). This passage might suggest that there are five modes of activity proper to the Buridanian will: willing (*velle* or *acceptatio*), nilling (*nolle* or *refutatio*), deferring (*differre*), not willing (*non velle*), and not nilling (*non nolle*). But this assumption is not consistent with Buridan's insistence elsewhere that the will is active in the first three modes only (ibid. III.3: 42["lxii"]va—quoted at n. 18 above). By mentioning not willing (*non velle*) and not nilling (*non nolle*) in this context, Buridan is specifying

Buridan's second argument, however, leavens this with the standard intellectualist point that the will cannot will what the intellect has not judged to be good in some way or other:

... the will cannot will that with respect to which no aspect of goodness is apparent to the intellect, because such a thing would have in no way been presented to the intellect or will under a willable aspect. And in the same way, it must be said that the will cannot will—although it could not will—that with respect to which no aspect of badness is apparent to the intellect, because such a thing has in no way been presented to the intellect under an avoidable or rejectable aspect.<sup>26</sup>

Finally, Buridan's third argument explains how the first two fit together: how a will capable of willing only what appears to it as good is not determined to will *whatever* appears to it as good. The determinism fails here because the will can will against a part, though not the whole, of an intellectual judgment:

... the will can will that which has been judged to be bad in some way, and will that which has been judged to be good in some way: e.g., if an adultery has appeared [both] dishonorable and pleasurable, the will can, the dishonor notwithstanding, will the adultery by means of the pleasure, or it can not will it by means of the dishonor. And it is likewise for the man who throws his goods into the sea during a storm [Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1 (1110a8–12)]. ... So then, it is obvious that the will can will against part of the judgment, but not against the whole, or in addition to the whole.<sup>27</sup>

what kind of state the deferring will must be in relative to the other two modes, viz., that of *not* willing what appears good on account of some bad accompanying circumstance, or *not* willing what appears good on account of some good accompanying circumstance, since neither willing nor nilling is compossible with deferring. See n. 53 below.

Notice also that not willing (*non velle*) is not equivalent to the positive act of nilling (*nolle*), just as not nilling (*non nolle*) is not equivalent to the positive act of willing (*velle*). For more on this point, see Monahan, "Human Liberty and Free Will According to John Buridan," 80 n. 49.

<sup>26</sup> "... voluntas non potest velle illud in quo intellectui nulla apparet bonitatis ratio, quoniam tale nullomodo esset praesentatum intellectui seu voluntati sub ratione volibilis. Et eodemmodo dicendum est quod voluntas non potest nolle, licet possit non velle, illud in quo nulla apparet intellectui ratio malitiae, quia tale nullomodo est praesentatum intellectui sub ratione fugibilis vel refutabilis" (QNE III.5: 44["lxiii"]vb; cf. ibid. III.4: 44["lxiii"]ra; QPol VII.5: 98vb–99ra; 100rb; 100va).

<sup>27</sup> "... voluntas potest velle illud quod aliquo modo iudicatum est esse malum, et nolle illud quod aliquo modo iudicatum est esse bonum, sicut si adulterium apparuerit inhonestum et delectabile, voluntas non obstante inhonestate potest velle adulterium ratione delectationis vel potest non velle ratione inhonestatis. Et ita est de illo qui tempore tempestatis proicit merces in mare. ... Sic igitur patet quod voluntas potest velle contra partem iudicii, sed non contra totum vel praeter totum" (QNE III.5: 44["lxiii"]vb; cf. ibid.: 45["lv"]ra; III.4: 44["lxiii"]ra; VII.7: 144ra; VII.8: 145rb). Although Buridan suggests here only that the will can not will (*potest non velle*) the adultery on the basis of its dishonesty, he elsewhere makes the stronger claim that the will can positively reject (*refutare*) the entire act for the same reason, and that the individual who



In these arguments and their surrounding discussion, Buridan plainly subscribes to the intellectualist principles (1) the will can never act against the counsel of reason *as such*, since it cannot will (or nill) what reason presents to it as bad (or good); and therefore that (2) if the will does choose a lesser good, it acts against reason only indirectly.<sup>28</sup>

How is it possible for the will to act *indirectly* against the counsel of reason? Buridan mentions two ways. First, the will can act out of ignorance, which in turn can be either culpable or non-culpable. It is non-culpable "if the intellect's judgment was erroneous on account of the invincible ignorance of some circumstance."<sup>29</sup> Ignorance is invincible when "someone with every diligence of which he is capable—or held capable—cannot know the thing."<sup>30</sup> Thus, Buridan notes that it is possible for a judge to act well and meritoriously in hanging an innocent man, provided witnesses and other evidence make it sufficiently apparent to him that the man is a murderer.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, ignorance is said to be culpable if

does so is worthy of praise. Indeed, the ability to positively nill (*nolle*) the adultery, despite its pleasurable appearance, is the mark of the continent person (QNE III.3: 43ra—quoted in n. 17 above).

<sup>28</sup> As Buridan remarks elsewhere, "Sed ex sua libertate, non potest habere quod posset velle minus bonum, probatur quia illa libertas oppositionis quam habet voluntas non est sibi data, sive a deo sive a natura, propter suum malum, sed propter suum bonum, cum illa sit conditio pertineans ad nobilitatem et excellentiam, ut omnes concedunt" (QNE III.4: 43vb). Thus, "Prima conclusio est quod voluntas, stante casu posito, non potest tunc et pro tunc velle minus bonum" (ibid.: 44["lxiii"]ra); "Tertia conclusio: si voluntas debeat eligere, ipsa necessario eliget maius bonum, quia aut maius bonum aut minus, sed non potest minus pro tunc. Igitur oportet quod maius." (ibid.: 44["lxiii"]ra–rb). For acceptance, rejection, and deferment as the will's elicited acts, see n. 51 below.

<sup>29</sup> "... si iudicium intellectus fuerit erroneum propter circumstantiae alicuius invincibilem ignorantiam, non erit peccatum sequi iudicium rationis" (QNE III.3: 43ra).

<sup>30</sup> "... quando quis, per omnem diligentiam quam potest vel quam tenetur apponere, non potest rem scire" (QNE III.9: 47rb). "Et istius ignorantiae," adds Buridan, "nos non sumus causa neque domini, neque ista nobis imputatur" (ibid.). The distinction is also found in Buridan's *Questions on Aristotle's "Politics,"* in connection with ignorance of the law: "... ignorantia iuris est duplex: quaedam est vincibilis, alia est invincibilis. Invincibilis est si aliquis toto suo nisu laboret scire ordinem iuris, et tamen illum non posset scire. Alia est ignorantia crassa et supina, quae scilicet vincibilis est" (QPol VIII.5: 113vb; cf. ibid III.17: 43ra). On invincible vs. culpable ignorance, cf. Ockham, *Quaestiones variae*, q.8 (in *Opera Theologica*, vol. 8, ed. G. I. Etzkorn, F. E. Kelley, and J. C. Wey [St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1984], 428–29).

<sup>31</sup> "Immo est adhuc alia debilior evidentia quae sufficit ad bene agendum moraliter, scilicet quando visis et inquisitis omnibus circumstantiis factis quas homo cum diligentia potest inquirere, si iudicet secundum exigentiam huiusmodi circumstantiarum, illud iudicium erit evidens evidentia sufficiente ad bene agendum moraliter, etiam licet iudicium sit falsum propter invincibilem ignorantiam alicuius circumstantiae. Verbi gratia, possibile esset quod praepositus bene et meritorie ageret suspendendo unum sanctum hominem, quia per testes et alia documenta secundum iura sufficienter apparet ipsi quod ille bonus homo esset malus homicida" (QM II.1: 9ra). For remarks on the different epistemic considerations Buridan applies to moral and scientific judgments, see Jack Zupko, "Buridan and Skepticism," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 31 (1993): 191–221 (esp. 205 n. 32). See also n. 45 below.

the will fails to keep its epistemic house in order, e.g., by deliberately blinding itself to some morally relevant aspect(s) of its object, or by engaging in activities that impede the use of reason. As an example of the former, Buridan mentions the ordinary phenomenon of asking someone not to tell you about something because you do not want to know.<sup>32</sup> The latter form of ignorance can arise in three ways:

... first, when an impediment to the use of reason follows upon some action we intend: e.g., from too much drinking there follows a drunkenness which obliterates the use of reason. In a second way, when we intend to exercise some other operation which, although it does not obliterate the use of reason, prevents it from taking into consideration what we ought to know: e.g., if someone wants to play when he ought to hear the rules of the master. In the third way, e.g., if it is our intention, while in a state of inactivity, to be idle and to do no work, upon which there follows (out of negligence) a failure to take into consideration what we are held to and can easily know.<sup>33</sup>

It is also possible for the will to act indirectly against reason through impediment, or operational deficiency. Like cases of ignorance, an impediment can be either culpable or non-culpable: non-culpable if naturally produced, in the way that defects in the material dispositions through which the soul operates might adversely affect its power to choose rightly;<sup>34</sup> cul-

<sup>32</sup> "... quando dicimus non dicas mihi aliquid de tali facto quia nihil volo scire de eo" (QNE III.9: 47ra). Buridan calls actions which result from such deliberate ignorance "formally voluntary [*voluntaria formaliter*]." It is in this sense that he claims that it is "... in potestate voluntatis imperare intellectui ut desistat a consideratione illius boni maioris, et tunc poterit acceptare minus" (ibid. III.4: 44["lxiii"]ra).

<sup>33</sup> "... primo quidem quando volumus aliquod opus ad quod sequitur impedimentum usus rationis, ut ex nimia potatione sequitur ebrietas quae tollit usum rationis. Secundo modo quando volumus aliquam aliam operationem exercere quae, licet non tollat usum rationis, tamen impedit a consideratione eius quod debemus scire, ut si quis vult ludere dum debet audire praecepta domini. Tertio modo, ut si desides existentes, volumus esse otiosi et nihil laborare, ad quod ex negligentia sequitur non considerare circa illud ad quod tenemur et faciliter possumus scire" (QNE III.9: 47ra–rb; cf. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 7.3 [1147a10–24; b9–18]). This form of ignorance is said to issue in actions that are "virtually voluntary (*voluntaria virtualiter*). Cf. an act arising from invincible ignorance, which, Buridan says, "... non est voluntaria virtualiter, cum non sequatur ad aliquid voluntarium, nec formaliter ..." (QNE III.9: 47rb).

<sup>34</sup> "... aliquando est materia male disposita in suis qualitatibus et non bene oboediens naturae agentis, ut si materia sit nimis sicca non est bene extensibilis ..." (QP II.12: 38vb). Cf. *Quaestiones in libros Aristotelis De anima*, Liber III, q.19: "... nulla natura agens sine cognitione agit aliquid frustra vel superfluum, vel aliquid defectuosum secundum propriam eius speciem, nisi hoc proveniat ex defectu vel ineptitudine suarum instrumentalium dispositionum, vel ex inepta dispositione materiae, aut ex concursu aliorum agentium vel impedimentorum extrinsecorum" (in Zupko, "John Buridan's Philosophy of Mind," 212, ll. 102–7).

pable if the agent is himself responsible for skewing the operation of his will. Buridan concedes here that even though the will has been "naturally suited to obey reason" and "to rule over sensitive appetite freely," it has also been "naturally suited to feel a certain agreement towards sensitive appetite, and to be sympathetic to it," perhaps as a source of objects required for its operation, viz., appearances with willable and nillable aspects.<sup>35</sup> But the effect of indiscriminately pursuing objects that look good to sensitive appetite is to generate "some habit in the will inclining it against the judgment of reason."<sup>36</sup> And if a sufficient number of such ill-considered choices are deliberately made, the will can become sinful, and "a sinful will is naturally suited to pervert the judgment of reason."<sup>37</sup> Buridan does allow that an incontinent person might know that he is choosing wrongly when pursuing pleasure, although not with an "actual, particular, and perfect" knowledge, since that would mean that his will would be acting directly against reason—something it cannot do. Rather, when pursuing pleasure, either the incontinent will "does not permit the intellect to judge that the pleasurable thing is not to be pursued" or else it somehow "observes or suspends that decree."<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> "... potest apparere quod tam voluntas quam appetitus sensitivus potest dici irrationalis, quia non habet in se rationem formaliter. Potest tamen dici utrumque rationale secundum quod utrumque natum est oboedire et exaudire quod ratio dictat" (QNE I.21: 20rb); "Voluntas innata est principari appetitui sensitivo libere, sicut prius dictum fuit. Modo, sicut dicitur primo Politicæ [cf. *Pol.* 1.6 (1255b12–14)], expediens est amicitia servo et domino quod ad invicem hiis qui natura tales sunt. Ideo voluntas innata est habere quandam complacentiam appetitui sensitivo et compati sibi, propter quod cum appetitus sensitivus fuerit fortiter inclinatus ad aliquid voluptuosum aut ad aliquid præter iudicium rationis, voluntas trahitur ad idem, recedens a iudicio rectæ rationis" (QNE I.22: 21ra).

<sup>36</sup> "Et istae rationes, sicut dixi de appetitu sensitivo, cum aliis rationibus quae postea ponentur, demonstrant insolubiliter apud me quod in voluntate oportet aliquem habitum generari inclinantem ipsam versus iudicium rationis, ad hoc quod homo efficiatur virtuosus" (QNE I.22: 21ra–rb; cf. QPol VII.12: 106va–vb).

<sup>37</sup> "Cum enim voluntas prava sit innata pervertere iudicium intellectus ... si ipsa sic inclinata fuerit ad delectabile prosequendum quod ex ipsa delectabilis ostensione prosequatur ipsum videtur quod ipsa, nisi seipsam ad huiusmodi inclinatione retinuerit, non permittit intellectum iudicare quod illud delectabile non sit prosequendum. Si enim sensus tractus ad passionem trahit ad se rationem, quomodo voluntas impetum habens et in impetu manens permitteret contra se iudicare?" (QNE VII.7: 144vb). Buridan elsewhere concludes that virtue is an acquired habit which helps curb sensitive appetite by tempering and ordering sensual pleasures so that they appear less enticing to the rational agent (QNE II.9: 29va; *ibid.* II.14: 32["xxxiii"]vb–33ra; QPol VI.1: 86vb). For the claim that the will can accustom itself to the opposite of an inclination to act badly (a "bad habit"), see QPol VII.12: 106vb.

<sup>38</sup> "Nona conclusio est quod incontinens dum incontinenter agit scit aliquomodo in actu in universali vel etiam in particulari, non tamen directe vel non perfecta scientia, quoniam prave agit. ... Decima conclusio est quod nullus incontinens dum incontinenter agit scit, quoniam prave agit, scientia actuali particulari et perfecta ... " (QNE VII.7: 144rb); "Et specialiter non videtur bene possibile, si eadem anima realiter sit intellectus et voluntas, quod ipsa prosequatur actu illud quod ipsamet tunc decreverit non esse prosequendum, neque apparet quomodo habi-

But even if the will's natural impulse in willing and nilling is to seek the good, and even if it cannot operate in either mode unless it receives objects under some willable or nillable aspect, there is still the act of deferment. Is the Buridanian will any more free because it has the power to defer its choice? I believe that the answer to this question is "no," for two reasons: the first of which appeals to the role played by deferment in the teleological structure of the will, and the second of which looks to the actual mechanism of deferment in acts of free choice.

According to Buridan, the freedom of choice "has been given to us ultimately so that, in the intellect and will alike, we act freely with teleological freedom, viz., in a praiseworthy and proper way with respect to our well-being and perfection."<sup>39</sup> Deferment contributes to this end by better enabling rational yet fallible creatures to find the means to their ultimate good, the intellectual act of apprehending God perfectly.<sup>40</sup> What deferment does in particular is assist practical reason in making sound judgments about the normative status of what appears to it in the natural order of things:

... it should be known that the freedom according to which the will can not accept what has been presented to it as good, or not reject what is presented to it as bad, is of great benefit to us in the direction of our lives—so much so because in many things in which some *prima facie* aspects of goodness are apparent, thousands of evils often lie hidden, either as adjoined to them or as consequences of them. For this reason, accepting what appeared good would be inappropriate and detrimental to us. And so also, what seems *prima facie* bad sometimes has hidden goodness, on account of which it would be bad for us to have rejected it.<sup>41</sup>

tualis inclinatio possit trahere voluntatem in id quod actu decretum est esse malum et non faciendum, nisi primitus obnubilet illud decretum vel suspendat" (ibid.: 144vb); see also n. 37 above.

<sup>39</sup> See n. 8 above. Cf. QNE I.10: 10vb, where Buridan argues that "virtue is for our ultimate benefit [*finaliter virtus prodest nobis*]" because it harmonizes our actions with right reason. Monahan (see n. 10 above) seems to regard teleological considerations of this sort as decisive in his intellectualist reading of Buridan's theory of volition.

Buridan also views freedom of choice as necessary for moral responsibility. To refute those who would deny free choice, he says, "... parvas rationes habemus, nisi ex fide nostra catholica, et quia si essemus in omnibus actibus nostris necessario praedeterminati, illi non essent nobis imputabiles ad meritum vel demeritum, quod non solum fidei nostrae, sed etiam scientiis et principiis moralibus repugnat" (QNE X.2: 207["ccxv"]ra).

<sup>40</sup> See n. 9 above.

<sup>41</sup> "Ad cuius evidentiam est sciendum quod libertas secundum quam voluntas potest non acceptare quod sibi praesentatum fuerit sub ratione boni, vel non refutare quod praesentatum est sub ratione mali, prodest valde nobis ad vitae directionem, pro tanto quia in multis in quibus *prima facie* sunt aliquae rationes bonitatis apparentes, latent saepe mille malitiae vel annexae vel consequentes. Propter quod acceptare illud quod apparebat bonum esset nobis inconveniens et damnosum, et sic etiam, quod *prima facie* videtur esse malum habet aliquando bonitatem

As we have seen, the Buridianian will is constrained by appearances: it cannot act without being informed by some prior cognition of its object as good or bad. Buridan's idea is that if such a power is not to be driven, *willy-nilly*, by whatever our fallible intellect presents to it as good (or bad), it must be capable of suspending its act of acceptance or rejection in order to command the intellect to consider that *prima facie* good (or bad) object more fully.<sup>42</sup> The role of deferment within the natural order of things is thus to make morally responsible choice possible for rational creatures whose epistemic situation is poor, but improvable—given enough time and effort.<sup>43</sup> Without it, the intellect would be unable to perfect the conclusions of its practical judgments beyond the level of *prima facie* appearances. Thus, “the freedom of opposition,” Buridan says, “has not been given to us for accepting everything that appears good or for rejecting everything that appears evil, but . . . so that if a judgment is not good, we can draw away and suspend the act of willing or nilling until we know that a more considered judgment has been made firm by intellectual habit.”<sup>44</sup> In this way, deferment has been ordained not to oppose reason,

latentem, propter quam refutasse illud esset nobis malum” (QNE III.3: 42[“lxii”]va).

<sup>42</sup> Buridan is adamant, however, that the will has no role to play in the investigative process itself, beyond prompting it: “. . . voluntatis non est discernere si obiectum apparens bonum simpliciter sit bonum aut non bonum” (QNE III.3: 42[“lxii”]vb); cf. QPol VII.5: 98vb: “Ad tertiam probationem et auctoritatem quod voluntas praecipit intellectui, negatur hoc. Et dicitur ulterius quod si praecipiat, hoc est ut speculetur et ordinetur in speculationem.” Only the intellect can inquire into the status of an object as good or bad, i.e., as willable or not. See nn. 15 and 26 above; see also the following: “. . . voluntas nihil vult nisi sit praediudicatum esse bonum per intellectum” (QPol VII.5: 100rb); “. . . sicut igitur hoc iudicat intellectus esse bonum, ita hoc vult voluntas” (QNE III.5: 44[“lxiii”]va).

<sup>43</sup> For the connection between epistemic and moral responsibility, see nn. 30–31 above. Cf. QNE III.3: 43ra: “. . . si iudicium intellectus fuerit erroneum propter circumstantiae alicuius invincibilem ignorantiam, non erit peccatum sequi iudicium rationis. Sed si fuerit in nostra potestate tale iudicium corrigere per diligentem ratiocinationem et inquisitionem, peccatum erit non in sola complacentia, sed si quo ita disiuudicatum est sine inquisitione ulteriori acceptemus”; and cf. *ibid.* III.9: 47rb; QM II.1: 9ra. Buridan sees deferment playing a key role in human moral life, as a means whereby we can “avoid almost every depravity”: “Appetitus autem liber, scilicet voluntas, ex sua libertate oppositionis . . . potest differre ut antea fiat inquisitio si apprehenso bono sit aliqua annexa vel consequens malitia, et quanta per quam dilationem et praevidiam inquisitionem potest homo quasi omnem evitare pravitatem” (QNE III.4: 44[“lxiii”]ra).

<sup>44</sup> “. . . libertas oppositionis non est nobis data ad acceptandum omne illud quod apparet bonum, vel refutandum omne illud quod apparet malum, sed est nobis data ut si iudicium non est bonum, possumus distrahere et suspendere actum volendi vel nolendi quousque sciamus quod iudicium fit magis exquisitum firmiter per intellectum habitum” (QPol VII.5: 98va). Cf. *ibid.*: 98va (“. . . data nobis est voluntas ut differatur actus donec intellectus habeat veritatem ut sciat”) and QP VIII.2: 110vb (“Ultima obiectio non valet de agentibus liberis, quamvis enim omnia sit opposita quae sufficiunt ad formam talem actum volendi, dico ‘omnia praeter illum actum.’ Tamen non oportet transire in illum actum sed possum differre, et nunquam formare illum actum”). Buridan adds that, with respect to its end, the freedom of opposition resembles teleological freedom: “. . . notandum est quod secundum veritatem, libertas oppositionis in

but to assist it in making informed and reliable practical judgments:

... the power of not accepting an apparent good, or of not rejecting an apparent evil, is for our ultimate benefit not so that we might stand firm in this mode of non-acceptance or non-rejection, but so that, before accepting or rejecting an object, we might inquire into every goodness or evil which follows upon that object, or is annexed to it, so that at last we would accept what is absolutely good and reject what is absolutely bad. Therefore, once a full inquiry has been made, [viz.,] so that the judgment is a judgment perfectly believed, with all fear [of error] removed, a power of not accepting would be of no further benefit [to us], but would only hinder [us], since we could be frustrated by it in [attaining] our good, even when [this good is] manifestly shown to us.<sup>45</sup>

The first point, then, is that the purpose of deferment is to permit the intellect to enhance its judgments in conditions of uncertainty. Buridan mentions no conative role for it to play beyond that.<sup>46</sup>

But although Buridan's concern with the purpose of deferment has all the marks of an intellectualist's interest in the teleological structure of volition, it does not follow from it that the power of deferment could not

*finem ordinatur tanquam libertatem quae est sui ipsius gratia*" (QPol VII.5: 98va; cf. nn. 7–8 above).

<sup>45</sup> "... potestas enim non acceptandi bonum apparens vel non refutandi malum apparens non prodest nobis finaliter ut in huiusmodi non acceptatione vel non refutatione sistamus, sed ut ante obiecti acceptationem vel refutationem inquiramus de omni bonitate vel malitia quae illud obiectum consequitur vel ei annectitur, ut tandem quod est simpliciter melius acceptemus et quod est simpliciter peius refutemus. Ergo inquisitione facta plenarie, sic quod iudicium sit iudicium sit perfecte creditum omni sublata formidine, nihil ultra prodest potestas non acceptandi, sed obest quia per eam possumus frustrari bono nostro, etiam nobis manifeste ostenso" (QNE VII.8: 145va; cf. *ibid.* III.3: 42["lxii"]vb; III.4: 44["lxiii"]ra; III.5: 44["lxiii"]vb).

For the same reason, the further inquiry which the will occasions in its act of deferment cannot be unending, since the goal of certainty is virtually unattainable for empirical creatures, at least in practical matters. Buridan seems to think that the will's capacity to act at any time upon the agreement it feels in some apparent good (or disagreement in some apparent evil) is enough to short-circuit any misguided attempt to reach certainty through deferment: "Haec aliter utilitas auferetur tota, si voluntas in apparenti bono nullam haberet complacentiam vel in apparenti malo displicentiam. Ad quid enim ipsa imperaret de ampliori inquisitione circa tale obiectum, manifestum est quod totus noster impetus auferetur ad consiliandum de acceptandis aut refutandis, quod esset nobis damnosum valde" (*ibid.* III.3: 42["lxii"]vb). Accordingly, Buridan uses the term "certain judgment" in practical contexts to mean "a judgment that is firmly believed to the exclusion of all fear [of error]": "Et non intelligo hic per 'certum iudicium' idem quod 'iudicium verum vel scientificum,' sed idem quod 'firmiter creditum omni exclusa formidine,' sic enim contingit opinionem veram vel etiam falsam esse certam" (*ibid.* VII.8: 145rb).

<sup>46</sup> There is, accordingly, nothing in Buridan's discussion of the overall design of deferment to suggest that it could act spontaneously, or contrary to the dictates of reason.

be exercised directly against an intellectual judgment. First, what is there to guarantee that a particular power will be used for the good purpose for which it has been designed? If a genuinely free agent "can, with everything else disposed in the same way, freely determine himself to each [of two] opposites,"<sup>47</sup> then it should be possible for him to act non-optimally, e.g., by failing to defer even when that seems to be the best option. Second, global teleological considerations do not speak to the question of free choice, which is concerned with the range of the will's activity when confronted with *particular* conclusions of practical reason, not with the much broader question of what it has been designed to do. Here, Buridan agrees with Aristotle that the will is not moved by speculative reason, nor even by practical reasoning about universals, but only by practical reason "descending to singulars."<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless (and this brings us to our second point), the teleological structure of deferment turns out to be local as well as global, since it is never possible for the Buridanian will to defer for no reason at all, i.e., without the judgment that to defer its choice with regard to a particular object would be a greater good than either willing it or nilling it.<sup>49</sup> In other words, deferment cannot occur unless the intellect has judged that the reason for the deferment is good, and has so presented it to the will. This is a conclusion which, I should point out, Buridan nowhere specifically endorses. Although he often asserts that we have the power of deferment, and that this power contributes to our freedom as rational agents, he is uncharacteristically vague about the actual mechanism of deferment in situations of free choice. But it does follow from what he says, for reasons to which I will now turn.

<sup>47</sup> Indeed, Buridan sees this as the *definitional* difference between voluntary and non-voluntary agents: "Haec enim est differentia agentis voluntarii et non voluntarii: quia agens voluntarium potest se libere ad utrumque oppositorum determinare, ceteris omnibus eodem modo se habentibus" (QNE III.1: 37va).

<sup>48</sup> "Deinde etiam quando homo movetur secundum rationem et intellectum, Aristoteles ostendit quae ratio movet et quae non, dicens quod ratio speculativa non movet, quia non concludit aliquid esse faciendum vel non faciendum, prosequendum vel fugiendum [cf. *De an.* 3.10 (433a13–25)]. Deinde etiam ratio universalis practica non movet, ut si arguatur quod semper bene agendum est cum aptitudo affuerit; iuste autem agere est bene agere; ergo iuste est agendum. Ego per illam rationem non moveor. Sed ratio practica descendens ad singularia est quae movet, ut si arguo febricitas sitiens debet potare tisanam; sed ego sum febricitas sitiens, et hoc est tisana; <ergo> statim movebor ad potandum, si non sit impedimentum [cf. *De an.* 3.11 (434a16–21)]" (*Quaestiones in libros Aristotelis De anima*, Liber III, q.20, in Zupko, "John Buridan's Philosophy of Mind," 220, ll. 129–41; cf. QNE VII.8: 145rb).

<sup>49</sup> Assuming, of course, that the will's choice is unaffected by either ignorance or impediment.

Like most scholastics, Buridan distinguishes in the will between elicited acts, which the will brings about in itself, and commanded acts, which follow upon the will's elicited acts and which it brings about externally.<sup>50</sup> Buridan's account of free choice posits three elicited acts of the will—acceptance (or willing), rejection (or nilling), and deferment<sup>51</sup>—each of which is said to be an “impulse” (*impetus*), upon which certain motions, or commanded acts, follow, as long as there is no impediment.<sup>52</sup> Corresponding to these elicited acts, there are also three commanded acts of the will:<sup>53</sup> pursuit in the case of acceptance; avoidance in the case of rejection; and what is variously described as deliberation, consideration, and further inquiry in the case of deferment.<sup>54</sup>

We have already seen that Buridan does not think that the will can nill something good as such, “because such a thing has in no way been presented to the intellect under an avoidable or rejectable aspect”; likewise,

<sup>50</sup> “. . . notandum est quod dupliciter actus potest esse in nostra potestate. Uno modo quia est immediate et secundum se in nostra potestate, et talis actus vocatur elicited. Alius est actus solum in nostra potestate consecutive et secundum quod, et talis actus vocatur actus imperatus, quia consequitur actum imperantem, scilicet qui immediate et secundum se est in potestate nostra. Et talis actus in comparatione veri actus eliciti sequitur. Et ideo dicitur quod actus exteriores non addunt aliquam malitiam actibus interioribus” (QPol VII.5: 98rb).

<sup>51</sup> See n. 25 above. See also the following: “Sed tamen omnibus positus praeter actum volendi, voluntas est sufficiens ad producendum actum volendi ire ad dexteram sine alio determinante, et similiter est sufficiens ad producendum actum volendi ire ad sinistram, et est etiam sufficiens ad eliciendum quod neutrum actum producat, sed differat” (QM VI.5: 36vb). Acceptance, rejection, and deferment are thus the will's three primary options.

<sup>52</sup> See n. 18 above. In QNE III.3: 42[“lxii”]vb (quoted in n. 45 above), the act of deferment is likewise described as an “impulse” (*impetus*) giving rise to deliberation. Buridan also describes acceptance and rejection as “actual inclinations” (*actuales inclinationes*) of the will (ibid.: 42[“lxii”]rb—quoted in n. 16 above).

<sup>53</sup> Indeed, it is from the impossibility of these motions that Buridan infers the impossibility of the elicited acts which give rise to them. See n. 18 above. Cf. QNE III.13: 50vb: “Sed electio tendit in opus simpliciter ad prosequendum vel fugiendum. Eligimus autem hoc operari vel hoc taliter operari, et ita electio immediatius se habet ad operationem quam opinio, propter quod et electio in appetitu ponenda est, non in ratione.” Likewise, deferment tends to an act “by which it is able to command the intellect to inquire about that object”: “. . . per quam ipsa sit potens imperare intellectui de inquisitione circa illud obiectum . . .” (ibid. III.3: 41vb).

<sup>54</sup> In these contexts, Buridan uses the verbs “to deliberate” (*consiliare*), “to consider” (*considerare*), and “to inquire” (*inquirere*) almost interchangeably (we also find “to investigate” [*investigare*] used in a preliminary argument in QNE III.4: 43rb). See, e.g., the passages quoted at nn. 60–61 below.

Although it might look as if deferment has a twofold commanded act, viz., moving the will to consider its object further, and suspending or blocking the act of either pursuing or avoiding it, the latter is merely the consequence of its impossibility with either of the two alternative modes of action, not something the will actually does. That is, the will's non-acceptance or non-rejection of an object is an incidental effect of its deferment, since the deliberation it commands is in Buridan's view impossible with actually pursuing or avoiding that object: “Potest enim voluntas differre actum volendi, et ita prohibere transitum ad opus” (QNE III.5: 45[“lv”]ra).



he rejects the notion that it can will something bad as such, "because such a thing would have in no way been presented to the intellect or will under a willable aspect."<sup>55</sup> For this reason, the will is said to be "able to pursue and avoid nothing except what has been judged to be worthy of pursuing or avoiding."<sup>56</sup> But what about the elicited act of deferment and its commanded act of deliberation? Is that exempt from the general requirement in Buridan's theory of volition that "we will nothing except what has been judged to be good by the intellect," and that "if the will must choose, it chooses the greater good by necessity"?<sup>57</sup> It would appear not. Again, acts of deferment have a purpose, which is "to produce an inquiry" in the intellect concerning the object of volition.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, provided the will does not "stand firm" in deferment,<sup>59</sup> such inquiries always have the beneficial effect of informing subsequent choice by revealing good or bad aspects of a choice not initially evident to the will. Thus, if the will is faced with conflicting appearances concerning its object (i.e., if it feels both agreement and disagreement in it), the act of deferring in order to consider the matter further will appear to it as good. This occurs, for example, when the will is confused about which means it should adopt in seeking some chosen end:

... the will moves the intellect to consider in order to find an effective means of attaining the willed end. But this cannot be unless the fact that there is deliberation in order to find such a means has been presented to [the will] by the intellect under the aspect of goodness.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>55</sup> See n. 26 above.

<sup>56</sup> "... sicut voluntas nihil potest velle absolute nisi sit apprehensum, ita nihil potest prosecute vel fugere nisi quod iudicatum fuerit esse prosequendum vel fugiendum" (QNE III.4: 43va). The point is actually part of an objection, but Buridan lets it stand in his reply, perhaps because he clearly assumes it elsewhere: "... etiam dicendum est quod intellectus simul iudicat idem esse delectabile et turpe, appetitus autem ob hoc statim innatus est habere circa illud complacentiam ratione delectationis, et displicentiam ratione turpitudinis, isto enim modo complacentia et displicentia non sunt oppositae. Sed sicut intellectus non potest simul iudicare quod illud totum sit prosequendum et fugiendum, ita nec appetitus potest simul illud totum acceptare et refutare" (ibid. VII.6: 143va); and see the text quoted in n. 38 above, "Et ... suspendat" (ibid. VII.7: 144vb).

<sup>57</sup> "... cum dicitur quod secundum voluntatem sumus domini operationum nostrarum, dicitur quod non. Immo principalius secundum intellectum, quia nihil volumus nisi iudicatum sit esse bonum per intellectum, et sic intellectus sentire habet respectu voluntatis" (QPol VII.5: 98vb; see also the passages quoted in n. 42 above). For the second requirement, see n. 28 above.

<sup>58</sup> "... voluntas potest differre actum volendi ut antea fiat inquisitio si bonitati apparenti fuerit aliqua malitia consequens vel annexa" (QNE III.5: 44["lxiii"]vb; see also nn. 41–45 above).

<sup>59</sup> See n. 45 above.

<sup>60</sup> "Solutio: dicendum est quod ipsa voluntas movet intellectum ad considerandum ut inveniat medium valens ad attingendum finem volitum. Hoc autem non posset esse nisi per intellectum sibi praesentatum sub ratione boni hoc quod est consilium ad tale medium inveniendum.

So the prospect of deliberation, the commanded act of deferment, is no different from other volitional objects in being subject to evaluation in terms of its goodness or badness. And the judgment that it would be good (or bad) to deliberate is due to the intellect, not the will:

... I say that the will never moves the intellect to deliberate unless the intellect has already made the judgment that to consider that object is good. Nor is it inconsistent that the act of the intellect should cognize some object under one aspect and have doubts about it under another, and that in that case, it would judge it to be good to consider the matter further.<sup>61</sup>

Since there is no reason to believe that the good of further consideration is incommensurable with any other good motivating the will's act of acceptance or rejection, the activity of the will in deferring must conform to its activity in willing and nilling.<sup>62</sup> Typically, this will mean that if the will is to defer in a particular case, further consideration will appear to it as a greater good than either pursuit or avoidance, although the same considerations which govern the will's ability to choose the lesser good in acceptance or rejection would apply as well to deferment. From this it follows that the deferment does not provide the will with some new *kind* of freedom beyond what it already possesses as a result of exercising its more characteristic modes of choice.<sup>63</sup>

Sicut igitur hoc iudicat intellectus esse bonum, ita hoc vult voluntas" (QNE III.5: 44["lxiii"]va).

<sup>61</sup> "... dico quod voluntas nunquam movet intellectum ad consiliandum nisi intellectus praeiudicaverit quod considerare illud obiectum est bonum. Nec est inconveniens quod intellectus actus cognoscat aliquod obiectum sub una ratione, et dubitet de eo sub alia, et quod tunc iudicet bonum esse considerare ulterius circa ipsum" (QNE III.5: 44["lxiii"]vb). See also a remark in book X: "Antequam enim voluntas velit quod speculemur, intellectus praesentiat quod speculandum est, et postea voluntas secundum illam sententiam vult et acceptat. Est ergo illa sententia primum praeceptum, et volitio quod fiat est secundum praeceptum, et primum praeceptum determinat secundum, sic quod necesse est velle secundum illam sententiam vel nihil velle" (ibid. X.5: 213vb).

<sup>62</sup> That is, there is nothing in the texts to suggest that Buridan regards the normative status of deliberation as *sui generis*, such that it would be futile to try to evaluate it relative to other goods motivating the will. We could, of course, choose to defer in a situation of uncertainty if deferment seems no less reasonable to us than either willing or nilling (i.e., if deferment is tied with willing and/or nilling with respect to goodness), but then that would not go against the requirement that the will must choose the greater good. Ties are possible when fallible intellects are doing the evaluating.

<sup>63</sup> This consequence of Buridan's theory can be shown by means of the following argument, the premises of which are based on the passages referred to above:

P1 The will can accept only what appears to it under the aspect of goodness, and reject only what appears to it under the aspect of badness, or evil.

P2 Nevertheless, the will is not *compelled* to choose optimally, since it can (i) choose some other object under the aspect of goodness, or (ii) choose to defer its act in order to consider its object further, even if the intellect has judged the object of that act to be prima

## III. CONCLUSION

How "Scotistic" is Buridan's theory of free choice? Based on the above considerations, I believe that the answer to this question is "not very." Although voluntarist-sounding terminology regularly appears in his writings on human action, nothing in Buridan's remarks supports the conclusion that the will is free in the sense that its act is capable of *transcending* an agent's natural tendencies, including his/her intellectual tendencies. Rather, what we find is that when Buridan uses Scotistic vocabulary, he does so in a different sense—one that is in keeping with his own, more naturalistic, conception of the will as intellectual appetite.<sup>64</sup> His application of Scotus's celebrated distinction between the natural and the volun-

facie good.

P3 If (i), then the will must be acting on the basis of only part of the corresponding intellectual judgment, since it can never will against the judgment as a whole, i.e., taking everything into account.

C1 But such less-than-optimal choices are attributable to *ignorance* (i.e., incomplete knowledge, where "something remains unknown, unconsidered, or unjudged"), or *impediment* (i.e., where the process of reasoning has somehow been obscured, e.g., by passion or sensitive appetite).

P4 If (ii), then the choice of the will is likewise consonant with intellectual judgment, since in order to have been chosen, the act of deliberation to which deferment gives rise must have appeared to the will under the aspect of goodness.

P5 But that deliberation must have appeared to the will as either (a) the optimal good or (b) some less-than-optimal good. If (a), then the will was simply acting in accordance with intellectual judgment. If (b), then the will's choice must at some point be attributable to ignorance or impediment; otherwise, there would be an infinite regress (see P2[i] above).

C2 Deferment is *not* a case of the will acting directly against the intellect. The idea that the ability to defer somehow purchases greater autonomy for the will is an illusion.

<sup>64</sup> In fact, "will" and "intellectual appetite" are treated as synonyms by Buridan: "Ad hoc respondetur quod actus appetitus intellectivi, scilicet voluntatis . . ." (QNE II.14: 32["xxxiii"]vb); "Tertia conclusio: appetitus intellectivus, qui est voluntas . . ." (QPol VII.12: 106vb; see also QNE III.5: 44["lxiii"]va, quoted at n. 15 above). Likewise, Buridan does not see the intellect and will as distinct from each other, or from the substance of the soul. The distinctions we notice are due to their differing activities: "Et ut exrema quid opinor, notandum est ut puto quod intellectus et voluntas non sunt diversae res ab invicem, nec ab ipsa substantia animae, sed anima ipsa in ordine ad actum intelligendi dicitur 'intellectus,' et in ordine ad actum volendi dicitur 'voluntas' . . ." (QNE III.2: 41ra); "... posuerimus quod intellectus et voluntas non distinguuntur ab anima neque ab invicem realiter, sed quod ipsa anima dicitur 'intellectus' in ordine ad actum cognoscendi, et dicitur 'voluntas' in ordine ad actum appetendi" (ibid. III.3: 42["lxii"]va); "... anima, quae est idem quod voluntas in actum volendi et nolendi, acceptandi vel refutandi . . ." (ibid.).

tary is a case in point.<sup>65</sup> Although he seems aware of how Scotus used the distinction,<sup>66</sup> Buridan understands free choice as an expression of our intellectual nature, not as something belonging to an order incommensurable with it. That is why his account places the will on a continuum with other appetitive powers, distinct from them not because it is free but because it is *cognitive*:

... the sensitive appetite and the intellective appetite (which is called "will") are called cognitive appetites not because they cognize in keeping with the common nature of appetite, but because their acts follow upon prior cognition of their objects of necessity. For sensitive appetite and intellective appetite are distinct from natural appetite in this: natural appetite is brought to an object without prior cognition of that object. Therefore, those who suppose that sensitive appetite or will could be brought to an unrecognized object are denying their proper nature, according to which they are distinct from natural appetite.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Duns Scotus: "Tunc dico quod sic est de voluntate, quia voluntas naturalis non est voluntas nec velle naturale est velle, sed ly naturalis distrahit ab utroque et nihil est nisi relatio consequens potentiam respectu propriae perfectionis. Unde eadem potentia dicitur naturalis voluntas cum respectu tali necessario consequente ipsam ad perfectionem, et dicitur libera secundum relationem propriam et intrinsecam, quae est voluntas specificae" (*Ordinatio* III, d.17 [Codex A: 160ra–rb], in Wolter, *Duns Scotus on the Will and Morality*, 182–83; cf. *Quodlibet* 16.39, 16.43, in Alluntis and Wolter, *God and Creatures: The Quodlibetal Questions*, 382–85). Cf. also *Ordinatio* IV, suppl. d.49, qq.9–10: "... istud appetere [voluntatis] non est actus sequens cognitionem, quia tunc non esset naturalis sed liber" (Wolter, *Duns Scotus on the Will and Morality*, 186).

For an insightful discussion of this issue, see John Boler's recently published trilogy on Scotus on the will: (1) "Transcending the Natural: Duns Scotus on the Two Affections of the Will," *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 67 (1993): 109–26; (2) "The Moral Psychology of Duns Scotus: Some Preliminary Questions," *Franciscan Studies* 50 (1990): 31–56; and (3) "An Image for the Unity of the Will in Duns Scotus," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 32 (1994): 23–44.

<sup>66</sup> This becomes clear, for example, when Buridan reports the opinions of others (who are not further identified, in this case): "Sed de prima videntur opiniones contrariae. ... Sed est differentia inter passum naturale et voluntarium, quoniam passum naturale necessitatur ab agente ita quod agente praesente necessario recipit actum eius, si non fuerit impedimentum extrinsecum. Sed passum voluntarium non necessitatur ab agente ita quod agente praesente non necessario recipit actum eius, sed praeexigitur quod ipsum passivum determinet libere ad patiendum ab hoc obiecto vel ab illo, vel ab eodem obiecto secundum unam rationem vel aliam. Aliter enim libertas non salvaretur" (QNE III.3: 41vb–42["lxi"]ra; cf. *ibid.* II.1: 22va; QP I.4: 6va). Cf. also Buridan's discussion of common arguments raised in connection with Article 151 of the Condemnation of 1277. To an argument concluding that a sufficiently disposed patient is bound to be acted upon by an agent proximate to it, he notes, "respondetur quod maior est vera de agente naturali, non de voluntario" (QNE III.1: 36vb; cf. *ibid.*: 37vb; and see n. 75 below).

<sup>67</sup> QNE III.5: 44(["lxiii"]va—text quoted at n. 15 above. Buridan's account of the virtues likewise seeks to assimilate them to "other natural forms which perfect their matter" (= the will, in the case of the virtues): "Et ideo videtur esse dicendum de virtutibus in nobis sicut de aliis formis naturalibus perficientibus suam materiam ... et per consequens, habens inclinationes

Buridan sees the distinction between natural and non-natural appetite in terms of the distinction between animate and inanimate agency, so that the relevant difference between the tendency of an unsupported heavy body to fall and of a will (or even a sensitive appetite) to seek the good is that the latter, unlike the former, can operate only by means of a prior cognition of its object.<sup>68</sup> The fact that the will is free is not mentioned in this context.

Buridan's naturalistic approach to explaining human action is also evident in the way he characterizes the will's freedom. Even if a voluntary agent "can, with everything else disposed in the same way, freely determine himself to each [of two] opposites," Buridan insists that this "is the natural property of a voluntary agent, just as the ability to laugh belongs to man."<sup>69</sup> Likewise, he describes freedom as "a noble condition," which "has

naturaliter ad eas suscipiendas, sicut materia inclinatur ad formam, et perfectibile ad suam perfectionem recipiendam" (ibid. II.1: 22va).

<sup>68</sup> Buridan is willing to say that rational agents have a certain inclination to understand or will that is "in keeping with natural appetite," but no actual understanding or willing can occur without prior cognition: "Unde si quis dixerit quod anima rationalis ante actum intelligendi aut volendi inclinatur in huiusmodi actus intelligendi et volendi, eo quod unumquodque inclinatur ad opus proprium, dicemus nos quod hoc est verum. Sed talis inclinatio est secundum appetitum naturalem. Anima namque in tales actus ignotos inclinatur non secundum quod ipsa dicitur voluntas, sed secundum quod ipsa est quaedam forma naturalis" (QNE III.5: 44["lxiii"]ja; cf. ibid. III.4: 43vb–44["lxiii"]ja).

It is also worth pointing out that Scotus would not have classed the intellectual and sensitive appetites together as non-natural appetites, since the actions of brute animals (which possess only sensitive appetite) simply follow upon their sensory cognitions, and are hence unfree: "Secundum autem affectionem commodi nihil potest velle nisi in ordine ad se, et hanc haberet si praecise esset appetitus intellectivus sine libertate sequens cognitionem intellectivam, sicut appetitus sensitivus sequitur cognitionem sensitivam" (*Ordinatio* III, suppl. d.26, in Wolter, *Duns Scotus on the Will and Morality*, 178; cf. *Ordinatio* II, d.6, q.2, ibid., 466–71).

<sup>69</sup> See the passage quoted at n. 47 above. Although this remark is prefaced with the suggestion that it gives us the difference between voluntary and non-voluntary agents, Buridan makes clear that he does not understand this in any Scotistic sense by adding, "ista est enim proprietas naturalis agentis voluntarii, sicut posse ridere hominis" (QNE III.1: 37va).

It is also worth noting here that, as far as the powers of voluntary agents capable of exhibiting this property are concerned, Buridan does not regard freedom as proper to the will. He also attributes it to the intellect: "... ex duobus conceptibus simplicibus potest intellectus formare tertium simplicem formando propositionem. Habitis enim in intellectu conceptibus A et B simplicibus, intellectus libere potest formare istam propositionem, 'A est B,' vel istam, 'A non est B'" (QP I.4: 5va); "Et ego dico quod intellectus, actuatus per primas et simplices apprehensiones plures, potest iam cum illis phantasmatis manentibus complectere alios conceptus, aut affirmative aut negative. Quo facto, potest iterum plures illarum propositionum congregare et ordinare in syllogismo et inferre conclusiones alias sequentes. Et potest libere se transferre de una consideratione in aliam, et hanc dimittere et illam prosequi, in quibus fuerit praehabituatus..." (*Quaestiones in libros Aristotelis De anima*, Liber III, q.15, in Zupko, "John Buridan's Philosophy of Mind," 170–71, ll. 270–77).

been naturally, indeed divinely, occasioned in the will.”<sup>70</sup> As for the alleged incompatibility of the natural and the voluntary, he distinguishes six different senses of the term “natural,” only the last of which is opposed to “voluntary.”<sup>71</sup> Thus, it is possible for a property such as freedom of choice to be voluntary and yet natural in five senses: it does not owe its existence to (1) supernatural influx, (2) action(s) contrary to the common course of nature, (3) chance, (4) human artifice, or (5) deficiency or superfluousness in the operations of nature.<sup>72</sup> Buridan concedes that in another sense (6) “natural” is opposed to “voluntary,” but since voluntary action originates in the will, this opposition accords with his assumption that the will differs from other appetites and specifically from natural appetites in its inability to act without prior cognition of its object.<sup>73</sup> The Scotistic idea that the will must be capable of acting “nonmaximally upon natural inclinations, precisely in virtue of the possibility of transcending a purely natural appetite,”<sup>74</sup> plays no role in Buridan’s account, and would, I think, have struck him as farfetched.

All of which leaves us with a puzzle: why did Buridan feel it necessary to appropriate voluntarist terminology in his theory of the will? One clue

<sup>70</sup> “. . . libertas sit nobilis conditio et naturaliter, immo divinitus, indita voluntati” (QNE III.3: 42[“lxii”]va). Later, he appears to hedge on this slightly: “illa libertas oppositionis quam habet voluntas non est sibi data, sive a deo sive a natura, propter suum malum, sed propter suum bonum, cum illa sit conditio pertinsens ad nobilitatem et excellentiam, ut omnes concedunt” (ibid. III.4: 43vb).

<sup>71</sup> “. . . naturale dicitur multipliciter: uno modo prout dicitur contra supernaturale, secundo modo prout dicitur contra violentum, tertio modo prout dicitur contra casuale [*ed. has causale*], quarto modo prout distinguitur contra artificiale, quinto prout dicitur contra disconveniens, sexto prout distinguitur contra voluntarium” (QPol VII.12: 106ra; cf. QNE II.2: 23ra, which orders the list differently, and substitutes “accidentale” for “artificiale”).

<sup>72</sup> This would appear to resolve the concerns raised by James J. Walsh (“Is Buridan a Sceptic about Free Will?” 60) that Buridan’s “distinction between voluntary and natural agents seems to imply that a voluntary agent is a non-natural one,” and that “Buridan does not explain in what sense a non-natural agent can be said to have a natural property.”

<sup>73</sup> For Buridan, the absolute dependency of the will on the intellect is further reflected in the way its operations are patterned after the operations of the intellect: “Potest ergo dici quod ipsa anima est activa et receptiva omnis intellectionis et omnis volitionis, sed forte quod hoc non est totaliter secundum idem. Immo substantia gravis secundum seipsam est in potentia ad movere deorsum, et potest agere illum motum secundum quem informat actum gravitatis. Ita anima secundum seipsam potest intellectionem et volitionem recipere, sed agere eam non potest nisi secundum quod aliquo priori actu informata. . . . Videtur ergo mihi quod anima informata <ipsa> intelligibili ab obiecto, potest in se formare actum intelligendi, et ipsa simplicibus intellectionibus informata, potest in se formare actum ponendi, et postea actum dividendi, saltem quoad principia per se nota, et postea actum discurrendi, et sic consequenter. Et ita quantum ad actum volendi, dicam quod ipsa anima informata aliquo actu priori, puta vel iudicio de bonitate aut malitia volibilis, vel quadam complacentia vel displicentia, sicut dicitur post, potest se movere ad actu <m> volendi” (QNE III.2: 41ra–rb).

<sup>74</sup> See Boler, “An Image for the Unity of the Will in Duns Scotus,” 42 n. 58.

might be found in the moderation and restraint with which he expresses his own views—a reflection, perhaps, of his sense of propriety, knowing that similar ideas had been proscribed in the Condemnation of 1277. Another might be found in the respect he shows for the views of his predecessors in the intellectualist tradition, even when arguing that his own conclusions about the relation between the intellect and will do not have the same heterodox consequences. In discussing Articles 166 and 169 of the Condemnation, for example, he says that “since many of the most devout doctors have held those conclusions, perhaps they should not be abandoned,” especially when neither side has demonstrative, but only “readily believable” arguments in its favor.<sup>75</sup> What this suggests is that Buridan’s way of cleaving to the “middle ground” in this debate was to provide a doctrinally acceptable defense of intellectualist principles, rather than to invent some kind of compromise position between intellectualism and voluntarism.

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<sup>75</sup> “... quia tamen plurimi doctores solemnissimi tenuerunt illas conclusiones, forte non oportet eas abiicere, quoniam etsi ratio superius adducta non demonstret, tamen cum eius probabilitate videtur aliud etiam esse probabile” (QNE VII.7: 144vb). I follow the numbering of the articles of condemnation given in Pierre Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'Averroïsme latin au XIII<sup>me</sup> siècle, II<sup>me</sup> partie: Textes inédits*, 2d ed. (Louvain, 1908): 175–91. Article 166 condemns the view that right reason is sufficient for right volition, which the authors of the Condemnation associate with Pelagianism: “Quod, si ratio recta, et voluntas recta. —Error; quia contra glossam Augustini super illud psalmi: ‘Concupivit anima mea desiderare’, etc., et quia secundum hoc, ad rectitudinem voluntatis non esset necessaria gratia, sed scientia solum, quod est error Pelagii” (188). Article 169, which is at least partly directed against Aquinas, condemns the view, “Quod voluntas manente passione et scientia particulari in actu non potest agere contra eam” (ibid.). Buridan’s wording of Article 169 differs slightly, and perhaps significantly, from the original (though one cannot rule out scribal error here): “Quod stante scientia in universali et in particolare in actu quod voluntas non possit in oppositum—error” (QNE VII.7: 144vb).

## MARIAN DEVOTION IN A CARMELITE SERMON COLLECTION OF THE LATE MIDDLE AGES\*

Valerie Edden

SOME time around the turn of the fifteenth century, the monks of the Cathedral Priory at Worcester bound together two manuscripts into a single volume, now Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. F. inf. 1.3 (SC 2747). Fol. 1r is inscribed "Iste liber constat monasterio Wygornensis." Posterity has shown interest in this volume, not so much because of the two manuscripts involved but because the bindings contained some fragments of a Latin *cantionale* with music, which have since been removed. The second of the two manuscripts (fol. 97 to the end) is from the twelfth century and contains Palladius, *De re rustica*. The first (fols. 1–96) is written in a single hand of the late fourteenth century and ends on fols. 93r–96r with a detailed index of the preceding works, on fols. 44v–93r. This index was compiled by a Carmelite friar, John Staunch.<sup>1</sup> Since the index, which is in the same hand as the rest of the first manuscript, refers in detail to the marginal numeration and internal sections in the texts, it seems possible that Staunch was the scribe of the manuscript as well as the compiler of the index. The scribe, whoever he was, was almost certainly a Carmelite. The hand is very similar in style to that of another Carmelite scribe, Roger Albon, who wrote a number of surviving manuscripts, including London, British Library Harley 3138, which is dated 1424,<sup>2</sup> and also Stowe 8, Stowe 38, Harley 211, and Oxford, Bodleian Library E Museo 86, the famous *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, which can be dated 1439.<sup>3</sup> It seems likely that we have here a Carmelite house-style. Possibly Auct. F. inf. 1.3 was written by

\* I acknowledge the help of Ruth Taylor and Suzanne Reynolds, both colleagues in the University of Birmingham, on a number of points in this article.

<sup>1</sup> "Composita a fratre Johanne Staunch de ordine fratrum Carmelitarum." Nothing is known of Staunch. He is not listed in the extensive (but unpublished) list of English Carmelite friars compiled by Richard Copsey, O.Carm.

<sup>2</sup> Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700–1600 in The Department of Manuscripts, The British Library*, 2 vols. (London, 1979), no. 730 and pl. 374.

<sup>3</sup> For *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, see James Crompton, "Fasciculi Zizaniorum," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 12 (1961): 35–45 and 155–66. I am grateful to A. I. Doyle for the information about Albon, given in a private communication.



a Carmelite scribe for the Worcester priory. We can only speculate about whether a Benedictine foundation would commission a compilation containing so much material of mendicant origin and interest; it seems more likely that it was written for use in a Carmelite house and somehow found its way to Worcester.

The manuscript is important for a number of reasons in addition to what it may tell us about Carmelite book production. I shall argue that the sermons contained within it are Carmelite in origin; they thus help to fill a real gap in the history of mendicant preaching, since very little is known about Carmelite preaching in the Middle Ages and almost nothing about Carmelite preaching in England, though we have evidence of the importance of Carmelite preachers there.<sup>4</sup> Most importantly, the sermons throw considerable light on the spiritual and intellectual life of the order in late medieval England. Devotion to Mary is the dominant theme; she is celebrated as a powerful patron, mediatrix of divine grace, a mother imploring her son on behalf of suppliants, who sustains and nourishes with spiritual benefits all those who call on her.

The manuscript contains the following:

- 1r–6v Eight numbered *lectiones*, beginning “Hoc nomen Maria quinque habet litteras”: the *Lectiones in Lucam* of Franciscus Galuani de Ianua, O.P. (fl. 1348).<sup>5</sup>
- 6v–32r Collations on various topics: natural history, ethics, scriptural texts, beginning “auis rapax.” The marginal annotation, *Collatio I*, occurs one paragraph later on fol. 7r.
- 32v–35r An index to the two preceding works.

<sup>4</sup> For the importance of Carmelite preachers, see Bruce P. Flood, Jr., “The Carmelite Friars in Medieval English Universities and Society, 1299–1430,” *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 55 (1988): 164, 167. For the dearth of material on Carmelite preaching, see Paul Chandler, “The Lamentation of the Virgin: A *Planctus Mariae* Sermon by Michael Aiguani of Bologna, O.Carm.,” in *The Land of Carmel*, ed. Paul Chandler and Keith J. Egan (Rome, 1991), 209. The Carmelites barely figure in the two most recent accounts of medieval preaching, those of Jean Longère, *La prédication médiévale*, Études Augustiniennes (Paris, 1983), and D. L. d’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985). Joachim Smet does not discuss preaching in his study of the history and intellectual life of the Carmelite order, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, vol. 1, *Ca. 1200 A.D. until the Council of Trent* (Rome, 1975). There is only one Carmelite sermon recorded by Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, 9 vols., Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 43 (Münster/Westfalen, 1969–80), 3:432. One other English Carmelite sermon-cycle survives, that of John Paschal; I have an article forthcoming on this.

<sup>5</sup> See *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, ed. Thomas Kaeppeli, vol. 1 (Rome, 1970), 387–88. Kaeppeli lists four manuscripts containing this text, but he does not include this one.

35v–40r Observations on natural history, beginning “Due sunt species ancipitris, domesticus et silvestris.”

40r–44r Extracts from Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*.<sup>6</sup>

This is followed on fol. 44v by what the Bodley catalogue describes both as sermons and also as a *tractatus*. Both descriptions are to be found in the manuscript itself. The individual pieces (or at least some of them) are numbered *sermo* 2<sup>us</sup>, etc., in the margin, but at fol. 81v we read *Explicit tractatus de Ave Maria*. After the second *tractatus* there follows the index, already mentioned.

There is some relationship between this manuscript and Worcester, Cathedral Library Q.56. They are written in very similar hands and contain material in common. Both begin with the *Lectiones in Lucam* and the collations, followed by the observations on natural history. This last text is more extensive in the Worcester manuscript than in Auct. F. inf. 1.3; the material on fols. 57r–68v of the Worcester manuscript is not found in the Oxford manuscript. Therefore the Worcester manuscript could not have been copied from the Oxford manuscript, which is likely to be earlier, though they may both have had the same archetype. Both contain the same index to the first two texts; in the Worcester manuscript this is attributed in a later hand to John Staunch, “de ordine fratrum Carmelitarum.” One cannot know whether this attribution is based on knowledge or on a misunderstanding by someone who handled both manuscripts and confused the two indexes.

H. G. Pfander writes, “The Latin sermons in MS Auct F. Infra I.3, Ff. 44–93, are probably of Carmelite origin. They are popular in tone and obviously made into a book of reference, for they are lettered and numbered into sections.”<sup>7</sup> The audience will be discussed later, but these texts can hardly have been popular and, if we describe them as sermons, we must do so with due acknowledgement of the wide range of writings so described.<sup>8</sup> Each provides a formal exposition of a short scriptural text,

<sup>6</sup> PG 56:611–946. These extracts are generally free paraphrases.

<sup>7</sup> Homer G. Pfander, *The Popular Sermon of the Medieval Friar in England* (New York, 1937), 51 n. 11.

<sup>8</sup> See David d’Avray’s discussion about the meaning of “homily” and “sermon” in medieval and modern terminology at the Eighth Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium at Louvain-la-Neuve in July 1992: “As for *sermo*, this could be used as a hold-all word for any kind of actual or theoretically oral religious discourse” (*Medieval Sermon Studies Newsletter* 30 [1992]: 60).

usually a single phrase. Sermon 5, on the Assumption, seems to be written for delivery on that feastday, and several others would be suitable for particular Marian feasts.<sup>9</sup> Nonetheless they do not have the structure of a University sermon, but are rather like formal *lectiones*. It is difficult to judge whether or not they were intended for oral delivery in a liturgical context; after the opening of the first sermon, with its address to “karissimi,” there is no further reference to an audience.

There are four sermons on Romans 16:6, *Salutate Mariam*:

Sermons 1–4	fols. 44v–48v;
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twenty-seven sermons on the angelic salutations:

Sermons 5–11 <i>Ave Maria</i>	fols. 48v–57v
Sermons 12–14 <i>Ave Maria gratia plena</i>	fols. 57v–61r
Sermons 15–17 <i>Dominus tecum</i>	fols. 61r–64r
Sermons 18–22 <i>Benedicta tu in mulieribus</i>	fols. 64r–72r
Sermons 23–27 <i>Benedictus fructus ventris tui</i>	fols. 72r–76r
Sermons 28–31 <i>Ecce concipies et paries filium</i>	fols. 76r–81v;

and eleven sermons on the name of Jesus:

Sermons 32–42 <i>Vocabis nomen eius Ihesum</i>	fols. 81v–93r.
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Sermon 31 finishes on fol. 81v with the rubric already mentioned, *Explicit tractatus de Ave Maria*, followed by the rubric, *Incipit de nominis Ihesu excellentia*, written in a formal hand. Whereas the first thirty-one sermons are all Marian in subject matter (except Sermon 30 which celebrates the blessedness of Christ), Sermons 32–42 commend devotion to the name of Christ. Fols. 93r–96r contain the index, a detailed, alphabetical table of contents referring to all forty-two sermons and covering both people and places along with themes and ideas. Thus, for example, a lengthy discussion about the orator Demosthenes, which is allegorized so that Demosthenes becomes a type of Christ, is indexed simply as “Demosthenes est Christus.” It stands in contrast to the index on fols. 32v–35r, which simply refers to the number of the *lectio* or collation and at times adds a brief subject heading. The provision of alphabetically arranged reference material

<sup>9</sup> For details of Marian feasts in the Carmelite calendar in the late fourteenth century, see Paschalis Kallenberg, *Fontes liturgiae Carmelitanae* (Rome, 1962), 74–75. The calendar in Oxford University College 9, an English breviary and missal of the late fourteenth century, records the following Marian feasts: the Purification, the Annunciation, the Solemn Commemoration (16 July), the Assumption (15 August), the Nativity (8 September), the Conception (8 December).

was one of the achievements of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>10</sup>

There is no clear evidence for authorship, but it seems almost certain that both these groups of sermons are the work of a single author. Material from early in the series is repeated later, and the same authorities—sacred and secular—keep recurring. Although individual sermons vary considerably in length (at one extreme, Sermon 1 covers five and a half folios in double columns; at the other, Sermons 41 and 42 offer the barest outline only), they are all remarkably similar in style, structure, and subject matter. Each follows the biblical text with a number of descriptive phrases, which are then slightly expanded each in turn. Very often the phrases are rhetorically ornate; for example, several of them are made up of rhyming sequences. In the main body of the sermon each of these phrases is expanded in numbered clauses. For example, Sermon 9:

Ave Maria ubi prius. Maria enim fuit celi ianua, spei anchora, fumi virgula, Christi hospita; et ideo propter ista benedicta fuit designata per stellam veneris, per lanam velleris, per archum yridis, per archam federis (fol. 55r).

(Hail Mary, as before. Mary was the doorway of heaven, anchor of hope, rod of smoke, hostess of Christ; and so she was described as blessed because of these things, through the star of Venus, through the wool of fleece, through the arc of the rainbow, through the Ark of the Covenant.)

Each of these descriptions of Mary is then more fully discussed and illustrated with scriptural quotations. The second section (“spei anchora”) will serve as a typical example: it explains that just as an anchor holds a boat safe and firm, so Mary provides security for those who seek shelter from the rocks: “ad tenendam propositam spem, quam ut anchoram habemus tutam ac firmam” (fol. 55v; Hebr 6:18–19). When a storm blows we can avoid the rocks by looking at the star; that is, we can call upon Mary, who includes among her titles *stella maris* (a title used repeatedly throughout these sermons, though not explicitly in this one). She is described as

<sup>10</sup> See Louis-Jacques Bataillon, “Intermédiaires entre les traités de morale pratique et les sermons: Les *Distinctiones* bibliques alphabétiques,” in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales*, Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve 25–27 mai 1981, Publications de l’Institut d’Études Médiévales, 2<sup>e</sup> série: Textes, Études, Congrès, vol. 5 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982), 213–26. See also H. G. Pfander, “The Mediaeval Friars and Some Alphabetical Reference-Books for Sermons,” *Medium Aevum* 3 (1934): 19–29, which does not mention this manuscript; and Jean-Claude Schmitt, “Recueils franciscains d’*exempla* et perfectionnement des techniques intellectuelles du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* 135 (1977): 5–21.

blessed because of the wool of the fleece. The story of Gideon's fleece is then recounted from Judges 6. When the Israelites were suffering defeat and humiliation at the hands of the Midianites, Gideon follows God's instructions and pulls down the altar of Baal. God subsequently revealed himself to Gideon by drenching a fleece of wool with dew while the ground on which it was placed remained dry and then by preserving it from the dew while the ground around it was drenched. In the sermon the interpretation of the story has two layers: the traditional one, which takes the story to illustrate the purity of Mary (here exemplified not by the Virgin Birth but by the Immaculate Conception), and a second layer, in which the liberation of the people of Israel from oppression signifies the liberation of mankind from the devil; the dew signifies the abundance of grace and the dry land that which cannot produce salvation.

The Latin style is sophisticated, full of rhetorical niceties. Pfander, as I have already noted, spoke of these as "popular" sermons, but it needs to be said that we have here a polished literary product. Sermon 37, praising the name of Jesus, has its basis in grammar; his name is dative because it is the name given to man by which he may be saved, ablative because it bears away our guilt, and so on through the cases.<sup>11</sup> If these are sermons at all, they are Latin sermons and not merely Latin *reportationes* of sermons actually delivered in the vernacular.<sup>12</sup> We have, therefore, a clerical author writing for a clerical audience. From some of the material in the texts, which stress contemplation and silence, we may posit an audience of religious.

It is certain that the author is a cleric; whether he is a Carmelite is not certain, though there are several indications that this is the case, apart from the Carmelite associations of the manuscript. He takes his stand firmly on a number of the controversial issues of his day. In the dispute between seculars and mendicants about poverty, one of the issues debated was the poverty of Christ. The contemporary Langland, a secular cleric (or so we may assume), is anxious to refute the belief that Christ lived in poverty and speaks of Christ's birth in a "burgeis hous."<sup>13</sup> Here, in Sermon 16, however, our author writes of the darkness and dirt of the stable and

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of this sort of grammatical metaphor, see John A. Alford, "The Grammatical Metaphor: A Survey of Its Use in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 57 (1982): 728–60.

<sup>12</sup> The relationship between sermons and *reportationes* is the subject of a volume of essays: *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 3 (1989); see especially the article by M. B. Parkes, "Tachygraphy in the Middle Ages: Writing Techniques Employed for *Reportationes* of Lectures and Sermons," 159–69, and especially his comments on 165.

<sup>13</sup> *Piers Plowman by William Langland: An Edition of the C-Text*, XIV, 91, ed. Derek Pearsall (London, 1978), 238.

the poverty of Mary, whose garments were scarcely adequate to cover her. Sermon 36 speaks of Christ living “tam humiliter in conversando quam pauperter in possidendo,” quoting Matthew 8:20: “Vulpes foveas habent, et volucres celi nidos; filius autem hominis non habet [ubi caput reclinet]” (fol. 86r). In his death he was a pauper, taken down from the cross and buried through the kindness of Joseph of Aramathea.

The author’s position is clear on another controversial topic: the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin is a recurrent subject, which we have already met in our discussion of Sermon 9. This doctrine was vigorously promoted in the late fourteenth century, particularly by the Franciscans and the Carmelites.<sup>14</sup> The feast was introduced into the Carmelite Calendar as early as 1306. The first sermon is unequivocal: “Beata virgo dicitur omnipotentis filia que tanquam de aere fuit in utero matris sue concepta spiritus sancti gratia pura et immaculata ab originali culpa” (fol. 44v [“The blessed Virgin is said to be daughter of the Almighty because she was in her mother’s womb as if she had come from the air, conceived through the Holy Spirit, pure and free from original sin”]). This doctrine is most frequently discussed by reference to or quotations from Pseudo-Augustine on the Assumption.<sup>15</sup> This eleventh-century treatise, probably from the milieu of Anselm, argues for the bodily assumption of the Virgin Mary on the grounds that she was free from the curse of Adam (the mortality which resulted from original sin) and the curse of Eve (the pangs of childbirth). She who was not corrupt in conception or in childbirth did not suffer corruption in the grave.

A third indication of the Carmelite origin of these texts lies in their stress on Mary’s life of silence, discussed for example in Sermon 3, which comments that she kept silent until the time of the Apostles, quoting “conservabat omnia verba hec in corde suo” (Lc 2:51), for she knew the wisdom offered by Jesus, son of Sirach: “homo sapiens tacebit usque ad tempus” (fol. 48r; Eccli 20:7). This is a further development of Bernard of Clairvaux’s observation that Mary is recorded as speaking only four times in the gospels. Carmelite writers argued that their way of life was modelled on the life of the Virgin and that one of their most distinguishing features,

<sup>14</sup> See Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, 2d ed. (London, 1985), 305; Ignatius Brady, “The Development of the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in the Fourteenth Century after Aureoli,” *Franciscan Studies* 15 (1955): 175–202. Volume 2 (1955) of *Carmelus* is devoted to the history of the doctrine within the Carmelite order; see especially Gabriel P. Bueno Couto, “Doctrina Ioannis Baconthorpe de Immaculata Conceptione,” 54–84.

<sup>15</sup> PL 40:1141–48. See Giuseppe Quadrio, *Il trattato “De Assumptione Beatae Mariae Virginis” dello Pseudo-Agostino e il suo influsso nella Teologia Assunzionistica Latina* (Rome, 1951).

the great silence, was in honour of her continued silence.<sup>16</sup> This evidence would support the view that we have here a Carmelite author as well as a Carmelite indexer, though there is Franciscan influence on his thought. The nature of the Marian devotion found in these texts is discussed more fully below.

The author drew on a wide range of authors, some of whom are quoted extensively: Augustine, Isidore (*Etymologiae*), Bonaventure (sermons),<sup>17</sup> Anselm, and Valerius Maximus recur repeatedly. Other authors cited include Ambrose, Jerome, Cassiodorus-Epiphanius (*Historia tripartita*), Gregory, Bede, Eusebius (*Chronicle*), Pseudo-Chrysostom (*On Matthew*), Orosius, Bernard (*Super Cantica* and other works), Alexander Neckham (*De naturis rerum* and *Super Cantica*), Innocent III (*De miseria humane conditionis*), Bartholomaeus Anglicus (*De proprietatibus rerum*), and Helinandus amongst Christian writers, and Cicero, Terence (*Eunuchus*), Ovid (*Metamorphoses*), Virgil (*Aeneid*), Juvenal (*Satires*), Pliny, Solinus (*Collectanea rerum memorabilium*), Vegetius (*Epitoma rei militaris*), Justinus (epitome of Pompeius Trogus) amongst pagan writers. Legendary material is drawn not only from Valerius Maximus but also from a life of Alexander, *De vita et ortu Alexandri*, which I have not been able to identify,<sup>18</sup> and a collection of Celtic legends, *Gesta Britonum*, i.e., Nennius.<sup>19</sup> Such a list argues that our author had access to a considerable library. He may have drawn on *florilegia* but since it is his habit to cite chapter and verse and to quote verbatim and sometimes at length, these quotations are most likely to have been drawn from the works cited. Our knowledge of medieval library holdings is largely confined to surviving catalogues and thus rather limited. The remarkable library of the Austin friars at York contained all but one of these texts (the exception is Neckham's *Super Cantica*), but this could not have been the only sizeable

<sup>16</sup> For the Carmelite silence, see *The Rule of Saint Albert* (Aylesford and Kensington, 1973), 90; and see the discussion in Carlo Cicconetti, *La Regola del Carmelo: Origine, Natura, Significato* (Rome, 1973), 414–18. See also John Baconthorpe's *Tractatus super Regulam Ordinis Carmelitanum*, ed. Adrianus Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage: Early Reflections on the Nature of the Order* (Rome, 1989), 196, for a discussion of Mary's silence.

<sup>17</sup> The standard edition of the works of Bonaventure includes the sermons under the heading *dubia opuscula* (Bonaventure, *Opera omnia*, 10 vols. [Quaracchi, 1882–1902], 10:2; the sermons are in vol. 9). Our author does not himself doubt their authenticity and they are cited here simply as if by Bonaventure.

<sup>18</sup> There are numerous medieval Latin versions of the Alexander legends (see D. J. A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature* [London, 1963]), but I have not been able to identify this particular version.

<sup>19</sup> Nennius, *British History and the Welsh Annals*, ed. and trans. John Morris (London and Chichester, 1980).

library available; the Carmelite library at London where the Studium Generale was located must have had more than the sixty-seven volumes actually listed by Leland.<sup>20</sup> Neither is there any reason to suppose that our texts were necessarily composed in England.

What do these texts tell us of the mental habits of a fourteenth-century Carmelite? We may begin by considering our author's approach to the interpretation of scriptural and other texts. The appropriation of classical material for sacred purposes by fourteenth-century friars has been well discussed by Beryl Smalley and Judson Boyce Allen.<sup>21</sup> The great Carmelite scholar John Baconthorpe frowned on the use of fables and pagan writers in Christian writing,<sup>22</sup> but, with the dearth of surviving Carmelite sermons and the scarcity of Carmelite scriptural commentary, it is difficult to know whether the use of pagan material was generally disapproved within the order. The author of these texts clearly felt no inhibition about using pagan material. The sermons in our collection are remarkable both in their range of classical learning and also in the way in which this material is handled. Repeatedly, stories from classical authors are told to make points in the argument, and figures (fictional and historical) are used to make comparisons with Mary or Christ, much as Old Testament characters are used in figural typology. This is a striking use of pagan texts for religious ends. So, for example, Vesta is introduced as a comparison in a discussion of the purity of Mary (Sermon 1, fol. 45r); Hortensia figures in a discussion of Mary as an advocate for debtors;<sup>23</sup> Mary as a walled city (i.e., in her virginity) is compared first to Zion and then to Babylon restored by Semiramis,<sup>24</sup> the virginal conception of Christ is compared to Queen Olympias's

<sup>20</sup> For lists of books in the libraries of Carmelite houses, see *The Friars' Libraries*, ed. K. W. Humphreys (London, 1990).

<sup>21</sup> See Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960); Judson Boyce Allen, *The Friar as Critic* (Nashville, 1971).

<sup>22</sup> See Beryl Smalley, "John Baconthorpe's Postill on St Matthew," in *Studies in Medieval Thought and Learning from Abelard to Wyclif* (London, 1981), 307–10.

<sup>23</sup> The story of Hortensia is told in detail in Sermon 6, fol. 51r, followed by "Moraliter: matrone romane sunt anime Christiane proprie per fidem copulate, que . . . onerantur tributo; quoniam peccant in patrem per infirmitatem, in filium per maliciam, in spiritum sanctum per obstinationis duriciam, tribus personis constituunt se debitores pene quas offendunt transgressionem culpe, quibus si tam grave fuerit quod nemo virorum celestium civium pro ipsis advocando et deo supplicando ausus fuerit accommodare patrocinium, pie matris et virginis non deerit auxilium. Ipsa enim tanquam altera Hortensia valida advocata, tam feliciter et constanter orabit pro nobis coram iudice" (fol. 51v).

<sup>24</sup> "Principaliter erat beata Maria civitas circumvallata, unde 'ex omnibus edificatis civitatibus sanctificasti tibi Syon civitatem unam' [4 Esd 5:25]. Moraliter: Syon speculum interpretatur et virgo Maria totius sanctitatis et vite honestatis speculum. . . . Erat altera Babilonia . . . erat a Nenroth gygante fundata et a Semiramide postea reparata. . . . Moraliter: sic hec virgo benedicta civitas electa ab illo Nenroth gygante dei filio olim erat fundata" (Sermon 8, fol. 54r).



miraculous conception of Alexander the Great;<sup>25</sup> and Tarquin, presented by Valerius Maximus as a type of pride,<sup>26</sup> is said to be a type of the devil.<sup>27</sup>

Another use of classical material is the allegorical interpretation of classical narratives. Sermon 30 allegorizes the story of the cynic philosopher Diogenes in his tub, free from worldly desires (from Valerius Maximus);<sup>28</sup> Jesus is a second Diogenes, most rich yet poor, taking human form in the virgin's womb.<sup>29</sup>

Classical literature is not the only source of non-scriptural material. Sermon 39 combines a figurative reading of Scripture, with an elaborate interpretation of a secular story. Illustrating the Pauline description of Christ as the cornerstone of the building, our author first cites the parable of the wise man building his house on stone so that it stands firm against wind and the rain (Matthew 7), then spells out its significance (the raging winds are the temptations of the flesh), and then goes on to relate a story found in Nennius's *Historia Britonum*.<sup>30</sup> The story in Nennius is quite complex and our author relates only its gist: Vertigern wishes to construct a citadel, but every time the building material is gathered together, it is removed at night. Merlin (replacing Nennius's magicians) reveals that there are dragons (replacing Nennius's snakes) under the foundations and indeed, upon investigation, two dragons appear, one white and one red, locked in conflict. Nennius explains that the red snake signifies a red dragon, which may be interpreted as the Britons; the white snake signifies a white dragon, signifying the Anglo-Saxons. Our author explains that the citadel being built for our defence is our anxious care (*sollicitudo*) as we strive to live well. The poisonous dragons impeding the building are interpreted: the white dragon signifies the glory of the world which the builder loves, and the red one signifies carnal desire, whose heat inflames him (fol. 90r). This provides another example of the careful multilayered allegorizing of a non-biblical text.

<sup>25</sup> "Moraliter: Olimpias imperatrix concipiens Alexandrum fuit virgo Maria concipiens deum, in cuius conceptione mirifica apparuit quidam formosus" (Sermon 29, fol. 77r).

<sup>26</sup> Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem* 5.6 (ed. C. Halm [Leipzig, 1865], 253).

<sup>27</sup> "Moraliter: sic tanquam alter Tarquinius diabolus propter eius superbiam deiecit[us] de imperio in quo, quasi Tarquinius a torquendo dictus, diabolus genus torquebat humanum" (Sermon 30, fol. 80r).

<sup>28</sup> Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem* 4.3 ext. 4 (ed. Halm, 187); see also Juvenal, *Satire* 14.308–14.

<sup>29</sup> "Moraliter: sic dei filius tanquam alter Diogenes de deo genitus velut in dolio sedere cupit, scilicet virginis utero fervide caritatis ad humanum genus" (fol. 80r).

<sup>30</sup> Nennius, *British History and the Welsh Annals*, 70–71.

The tenth sermon presents Mary as “honor dignitatis, . . . decor castitatis et continentie, splendor scientie et intelligentie, rigor austeritatis et penitentie” (fol. 56r). Each of these qualities is illustrated by a classical example. Proserpine is the type of honour, Vesta of chastity, Minerva of wisdom, and Isis of cultivation (that is, Mary resembles her because of her role in the cultivation of penitence in the heart). Here these figures of classical mythology function in a way similar to Old Testament types or prefigurations of Mary.

Generally the author relates his classical material accurately, but there is one striking exception where he reshapes a story to suit his own purposes. In the first sermon, while relating the story of Atalanta (from Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.560 ff.), he refers the story not to Atalanta but to an unnamed daughter of Jupiter. Moreover, in this version there are balls, not apples, and there are twelve of them, not three. The story is thus interpreted as referring to Mary, the daughter of almighty God; the twelve balls which are thrown in her path are the prayers of suppliants. Why twelve? The number recurs throughout this, the longest sermon. Its central image is the woman with a crown of twelve stars (Revelation 12:1). There are twelve clauses in the sermon; each star signifies a virtue and is illustrated by one of the precious stones, which are drawn from the description of the heavenly city in Revelation 21 and in the interpretation of the jewels material is drawn from Isidore’s *Etymologiae*.

There is also extended use of classical material in Sermon 7, where a picture of Mary is constructed almost entirely on the basis of classical figures. She is greeted as one who graciously brings about reparation for an ancient crime (a second Sybil), who is generous to the human race, and who offers mediation, placating anger, abundantly spreading her goods, since she is “copiosa propagatrix, . . . copiam proferans bonorum” (fol. 51v).

Extensive as the material drawn from classical literature is, the main source of material is the Bible, interpreted through typology and other figurative interpretations. The author’s practice is to quote or paraphrase a passage and then follow it with an interpretation preceded by the word “moraliter.” The common meaning of this designation as one of the four traditional senses of Scripture need not be intended here; in these sermons “moral” appears to mean little more than “figurative.” Mary is repeatedly prefigured by Old Testament figures. Sermon 18, on the text *Benedicta tu in mulieribus*, considers the merits of the Virgin in comparison with ten women whose virtues are commended in the Scriptures; she has the virtues of all ten and surpasses them each in turn. She is more

faithful than Sara in belief; more beautiful than Rebecca in appearance; more fertile than Leah; more lovable than Rachel in her acceptance of God; more clever than Deborah in judgement; stronger than Jael in the fight; more humble than Esther in subjection; purer than Judith, being without defilement; more compassionate than Ruth in her kindness and devotion to duty; more prompt than Abigail in generosity.<sup>31</sup> Some of the same women recur in Sermon 20 (expounding the same biblical text), but with different emphases; Mary is compared with Judith, who brought a siege to an end and saved Israel; with Esther, who mollified the anger of a king; with Jael, who destroyed the Canaanite Sisera when the Israelites sought to break free from Canaanite oppression; with Bathsheba, who interceded on behalf of her son (fol. 67v). Whilst comparisons between Mary and various Old Testament women are to be found in Bonaventure, there is nothing there as extended or as systematic as this. We will return later to the significance of these comparisons.

Some biblical narratives are analyzed systematically, through an allegorical method in which each detail is expounded to illustrate an aspect of Mary's role in the redemptive process and in the life of the individual. Sermon 13 (on the text *Ave Maria gratia plena*) lists amongst Mary's graces the grace of a virtuous way of life ("conversatio"). Mary is another Tabitha, devoting her life to good deeds and almsgiving (Acts 9:36). Then she is compared to the tree of which Nebuchadnezzar dreamt (Daniel 4:7–9): "ipsa est arbor illa quam in sompno vidit Nabug[odonosar]: 'videbam' inquit 'ecce arbor in medio terre et altitudo eius nimia. Et magna arbor et fortis proceritas eius celum contingens: aspectus illius erat usque ad terminos universe terre. Folia eius pulcherrima et fructus eius nimius: et esca universorum in ea'" (fol. 60r). The tree is interpreted as the Virgin; the fruit she bears is the redemption of mankind. As the tree is said to be placed in the centre of the earth, so Mary is placed centrally, bringing her aid to every part of the circumference. The great height of the tree signifies her preeminence. Just as the tree was big and strong, with its top reaching the sky, so Mary's intercessions reach the heavens. She includes the whole world in her gaze to the earth's farthest corners and provides shelter for all who seek refuge with her, offering spiritual food and refreshment for all who thirst (fol. 60r).

<sup>31</sup> "Virgo Maria fuit Sarra fidelior in credendo, Rebecca speciosior in intuendo, Lya fecundior in prolis successione, Rachel amabilior in dei acceptione, Delbora subtilior in cognitione, Iael virilior in expugnatione, Hester humilior in subiectione, Iudith purior sine corruptione, Ruth clemencior ex pietate, Abigail promptior ex liberalitate" (fol. 64r).

Sermon 16 similarly includes a detailed allegorization of an Old Testament narrative. The text is *Dominus tecum* and begins by considering five occasions when Christ was with Mary: in the chastity of her marriage bed; in the poverty of the stable; in her charity at the marriage feast at Cana; in truth in the finding in the temple; and in the punishment on the cross. The first point refers not to the chaste marriage of Mary and Joseph but is built on that complex set of images which derives from envisaging Christ simultaneously as the son of Mary and also as her bridegroom, as foreshadowed in the Song of Songs. Mary is not only the mother of God but also the beloved Shulamite woman (Song of Songs 6:12, 7:1).<sup>32</sup> Her womb was at once the place where Christ was conceived and brought to full humanity but also the marriage bed in her mystical union with him. We are referred to Bonaventure's fourth sermon on the Annunciation, which speaks of the creator reposing in the tabernacle of the virginal womb and making there for himself a nuptial chamber.<sup>33</sup>

The chastity of Mary's marriage bed is then illustrated by a discussion of the unpleasant story recounted in Genesis 30, concerning the infertile Rachel's jealousy of her fertile elder sister, Leah. The Old Testament story is difficult, since two narratives are interwoven and then reshaped by a later redactor.<sup>34</sup> Rachel asks if she may have some mandrakes which Reuben has found and brought home for his mother. Leah's unsurprisingly hurt response is to complain that, not content with taking her husband, Rachel now proposes to take her mandrakes also. Mandrakes were almost certainly felt to have aphrodisiac powers and to confer fertility. Rachel replies by bartering a night in Jacob's bed for them. As a result of this exchange, God heard Leah's prayers and she conceived Issachar. Subsequently God listens to Rachel and she bears Joseph and finally Benjamin; it is implied that the mandrakes help to bring about this conception. In the interpretation of this story the sterile sister is said to signify all nature, which lacked the fruits of merits. The mandrake signifies heavenly grace, on account of which all human nature rejoiced and was transformed from sterility to fertility. The quality of the mandrake is attested by the Song of Songs, "mandragore dederunt odorem in portis nostris" (Cant 7:13), and is said to give strength for the Christian journey: "rationali anime odorem suavissimum sive fragrantissimum dederunt mandragore

<sup>32</sup> For a discussion of this, see Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 3d ed. (London, 1990), chap. 8.

<sup>33</sup> Bonaventure, *Opera omnia* 9:672.

<sup>34</sup> See Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12–36: A Commentary*, trans. John J. Scullion (London, 1985), 469–77.

(dicere gracie) ut in earum odorem expedite curramus in dei preceptorum itinere" (fol. 62v). Here the allegory is complex, not to say confused. The problem arises because there are two separate strands in the allegory, one in which Rachel becomes fertile as a result of eating mandrakes—that is, her spiritual sterility is cured by heavenly grace; in the second, Leah sleeping with Jacob and conceiving Issachar signifies Christ's entry into the womb/marriage bed. The literal family relationships here serve to heighten the complex doctrinal paradox being made: that the Son of God who is conceived in his mother's womb by the power of the Holy Spirit is also the chaste bridegroom whose mystical marriage is to be consummated in the (mystical) chaste marriage bed of the same virginal womb.

The same sermon links the miracle of the marriage feast at Cana to God's arrangements with Noah, when he instructed him to provide adequate food for all those on the ark, thus ensuring that those who sheltered in it would be saved from the flood. In the same way God arranges it so that men are able to taste the sweetness of Christ, which brings them salvation.

New Testament narratives are also interpreted figuratively. Thus, in Sermon 39 the story of the two disciples on the road to Emmaus is allegorized in a passage which commends Jesus as a sociable companion for a journey. The two disciples signify two aspects of the same man, reason and understanding (*sensus*), by which he makes sense of what happens in his life.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, in Sermon 32 the woman with the hemorrhage (Luke 8:43–48), patiently suffering her ailment, signifies whoever is patiently waiting for his/her soul to gain benediction. The story is related in detail and indeed details are added to dramatize it. The point of the story is not Jesus' miraculous healing but the efficacy of patiently waiting and calling upon Jesus for help. The same sermon discusses the pronouncement of the blind man, whose healing is recounted in John 9: "Ipse enim homo qui dicitur Ihesus lutum fecit ex sputo et linivit oculos meos et modo video" (fol. 82r; the text combines John 9:11 and John 9:6). Here the saliva is made through the warmth of love; the mud is human nature; the spittle paste takes away the blindness of ignorance and sin caused by the sin of man's first parents and leads to the illumination of the knowledge of the Catholic faith.

So far we have considered the manner in which these texts proceed and the way in which they utilize pagan and scriptural material for their own

<sup>35</sup> "Moraliter: duo discipuli Christi euntes in Emaus sunt in eodem homine duo appetitus, scilicet ratio et sensus" (fol. 91r).

purposes. In the first *tractatus*—Sermons 1–31—these purposes are clear enough: to promote devotion to the Virgin.

England had a long history of Marian piety which was further fuelled in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the influence of the Cistercians and Franciscans.<sup>36</sup> A comparison of these sermons with contemporary Marian literature, however, indicates clearly the distinctive nature of their piety and reveals their characteristically Carmelite emphases.

Devotion to the Virgin was enjoined on the faithful at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215; this affirmed (rather than introduced) devotional practices which were already flourishing in England. Mary was extolled as the Virgin Mother of God, honoured for her part in the story of redemption; she was honoured as Queen of Heaven; her bodily assumption into heaven was celebrated as a major feastday. Rosemary Woolf and David Jeffrey both illustrate the way in which, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there grew a new emphasis on the humanity of Mary and new affective piety. The motherhood of Mary became less a source of wonder and awe, more a focus of empathy and a means of evoking compassion for her son. Mary's role evoked sympathy and invited involvement in the drama of the Passion, as she first nurses a baby destined for suffering, then stands weeping at the foot of the cross, and finally cradles her dead son in her arms. This derives from a sacramental theology, centred on the Passion. Contemplation of Mary's suffering prompts an awareness of the Son's agony; tears of compassion prompt tears of contrition. The sequence *Stabat Mater* is a notable expression of this piety. Mary plays an effective part in penitential literature as she no doubt did in the practice of penance.

It is within such a context that we must view these sermons. To do this is to recognize almost immediately the Carmelite emphases within them. Honour of Mary is central to Carmelite spirituality; imitation of her was seen as the key to the Carmelites' religious life. This is inscribed in their title, "fratres ordinis beatae Mariae de Monte Carmeli," conferred officially by Pope Innocent IV in a papal bull of 1252, though its general usage may predate this. It was also believed that the order was founded in

<sup>36</sup> The role of the Virgin in Western Christian thought and culture has been the subject of a number of studies, most notably those of Hilda Graef and Marina Warner, already mentioned. The influence of Franciscan spirituality on English writing has been studied by David L. Jeffrey, *The Early English Lyric and Franciscan Spirituality* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1975); a full study of Marian devotion in English lyrical poetry is found in Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), chaps. 4, 7, and 8.

honour of Mary.<sup>37</sup> When their habit was changed from the distinctive striped mantle to a white one, this change was said to be in honour of the purity of the Virgin. The number of Marian feasts celebrated by the order increased substantially during the fourteenth century;<sup>38</sup> the culmination of Marian devotion in the order could be said to be the legends surrounding the appearance of the Virgin to Simon Stock, promoting the wearing of the brown scapular,<sup>39</sup> but there is no reference to this in these texts, which predate this cult.

Carmelite devotion to Mary is somewhat different in nature from the Cistercian and Franciscan inspired piety. The main emphasis is on Mary as patron of the order, a powerful mediatrix, the feudal *domina loci*, beseeching her Lord on behalf of her followers. By the fourteenth century she is also honoured as *virgo purissima*, model of chastity, lady of the Apocalypse.<sup>40</sup>

The texts in Auct. F. inf. 1.3 treat Mary primarily as a powerful patron. The theology underlying the presentation of Mary in these sermons is one which envisages the life of the individual Christian not as a journey but as a constant battle between the forces of good and evil, one which sometimes seems to be weighted in favour of the forces of darkness because of the human inclination to sin inherited from man's first parents. Mary is at once a powerful patron interceding on behalf of her followers to the heavenly king against whom sinners have offended, but also a powerful aid in the quotidian battle against the devil. Mary is presented not just as a powerful queen but actually as a warrior; she is *debellatrix* (she who conquers) and *expugnatrix* (she who storms to victory), no mild maiden but a conquering heroine.

This role is conveyed clearly by a number of Old Testament women who are presented as prefiguring Mary. In Sermons 18 and 20 she is compared to Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite in the time of the prophetess Deborah. In the war between the Israelite Baruk and the Canaanite Jabin, Sisera, the leader of Jabin's forces, sought refuge with Jael, once his army had been routed, since the Canaanites and the Kenites were allies. Jael offered him a drink, covered him snugly with a blanket in her tent, and when he was sound asleep drove a tent-peg through his temple (Judges 4).

<sup>37</sup> See the letter of Pierre de Millau, in which this is first claimed (ed. Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 46–47).

<sup>38</sup> See Kallenberg, *Fontes liturgiae Carmelitanae*, 74–75.

<sup>39</sup> B. F. M. Xiberta, *De visione sancti Simonis Stock* (Rome, 1950).

<sup>40</sup> See Ludovico Saggi, "Santa Maria del Monte Carmelo," in *Santi del Carmelo: Biografie da vari dizionari*, ed. L. Saggi (Rome, 1972), 109–35; Valerio Hoppenbrouwers, "Come l'ordine carmelitano ha veduto e come vede la Madonna," *Carmelus* 15 (1968): 209–21.

In Sermon 18, Mary is described as bolder than Jael, *virilior*, an adjective whose etymology shows the prime meaning to be “manly, worthy of a man,” and *strenua*, “vigorous” (fol. 64r). The tent-peg is Mary’s faith when she believed the angel at the Annunciation, since in accepting her role as Mother of God she effectively struck a mallet-blow on the serpent’s head, as God promised in Genesis 3 (fol. 65v).

When the same story is used in Sermon 20, the leader of the demons with his satellites is described as besieging the human soul; to defeat him it is necessary only to have faith in Mary, who will fight on the behalf of those who call on her. In this treatment of the story, though Mary’s aid in battle is emphasized, there is a paradox in her powers since the tent-peg with which she metaphorically defeats Satan is the tent-peg of humility. Sermon 19 similarly speaks of Mary as *expugnatrix demonum* (fol. 66v).

Sermon 20 uses another warrior figure as a type of Mary: Judith freed the Israelites when they were besieged by the Assyrians during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. She charmed her way into Holophernes’ tent, using her most feminine wiles, and then chopped off his head with his own sword. With remarkable *sangfroid*, she then contrived to have it taken out of the camp by placing it in a bag in which her maid was carrying food and giving it to her to carry out (Judith 8–15). Just as Judith made confusion in the house of Nebuchadnezzar and routed the enemies of the Israelites, so Mary is able to rout the demons that besiege men’s souls.<sup>41</sup>

Mary is able to offer strength to the believer, for the fruit of her womb may be compared to the strongest elephant which served in times of war, carrying a wooden tower on its back. So the fruit of Mary’s womb is the Christian’s greatest strength in the fight against the devil; in his tower he carries all the faithful into battle, armed with virtue and grace and thus ensuring triumph.<sup>42</sup>

Elsewhere Mary’s strength is presented more in terms of feudal power than in this bellicose fashion. Mary’s strength is the strength of a great

<sup>41</sup> “Judith prudenter ingressa est tentorium Olofernus et abscidit caput eius et sic liberavit civitatem per eum obsessam, quod factum est toti populo in magnum gaudium et leticiam. Moraliter: sic virgo ista benedicta tanquam altera Iudith deum glorificans sicut nomen interpretetur, videns civitatem anime nostre rationalis obsessam a demonibus” (fol. 68r).

<sup>42</sup> “[Elephas] inter omnia animalia maxime est virtutis et adiutorii (Ys[idorus] ubi prius) quod est animal aptum in rebus bellicis; in hiis (inquit) [anim]alibus ligneis turribus collocatis medie et aperte tanquam de muro iaculis demicant; acies armatas non timet. Moraliter: Maria, sic: fructus ventris tui maxime erat roboris et virtutis contra diabolum ad bellum procedens et ipsum devincens, qui more elephantis tante est fortitudinis quod tocus militantis ecclesie magicam turrin in bello contra ipsum semper deportat in qua omnes fideles stantes armati virtutibus et gratia ipsum expugnare possunt secure” (Sermon 23, fol. 72v); cf. Isidore, *Etymologiae* 12.2.13–15 (ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1911]).



lady, able to strengthen the weak, to offer comfort to the afflicted, to provide solace, and to enable the humble Christian to overcome the powers of the devil. A recurrent image is of the *regina coeli*, the Queen of Heaven, assumed bodily into heaven and crowned in triumph beside her son. She is the woman clothed with the sun of Revelation 12, the moon beneath her feet, and wearing a crown of twelve stars.<sup>43</sup> The first sermon, as we have already seen, is an extended exposition of this image, with each of the twelve points of the crown decorated with a different jewel, each signifying a different virtue. These virtues include her strength in the assault—she is “fortissima in expugnatione.” This virtue is symbolized by the sardius which affords protection to those who wear it, just as Mary offers protection to those who call upon her. As her role is to crush the serpent’s head, so she helps her followers in their fight against the malice of the devil (fol. 46v). She is seated in heaven “in celo empireo . . . in regali solio” (fol. 46r), a “mansueta domina,” giving help to all who call on her. Once again our author seems to take his clue from Bonaventure, whose third sermon on the Assumption allegorizes the twelve stars of Revelation 12, but Bonaventure’s interpretations are quite different.

The titles afforded Mary in Sermon 6 all emphasize her strength and her power as a feudal patron and mistress. She is *imperatrix gloriosa*, *mediatrix graciosa*, *aduocatrix* and *expugnatrix vigorosa*. Through the Assumption, Christ makes his mother a glorious queen of heaven. It is she who dispenses grace, whose help can be invoked on the Day of Judgement, who intercedes on behalf of those in purgatory and fights vigorously against the power of infernal evils. The meaning of her name is discussed: it is said to be Syriac for *domina* and Hebrew for *stella maris*. This information is derived from Isidore’s misquoting of Jerome, who had actually derived her name (*Miriam* rather than the Latin *Maria*) from *stillia maris* (“drop of the sea”).<sup>44</sup> In Latin the name is said to derive from *amara* (“bitter”), “ut sic expugnatrix demonum malignorum quoad infernum valde enim amara est contra diabolum” (fol. 50v [possibly: “as in this way she is one who fights off evil demons right as far as hell, for she is bitter against the devil”]). Much of this is repeated in Sermon 11, which is also indebted to Bonaventure, extolling Mary as *domina gloriosa*, Mother of God, Queen of Heaven, to be greeted as one preeminent and unique amongst women.

Mary’s strength enables her to protect the weak. In Sermon 19 she is presented as striving after every virtue and as a strengthener of the weak

<sup>43</sup> For a fuller discussion of this image, see Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 93.

<sup>44</sup> Isidore, *Etymologiae* 7.10.1; and Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* (ed. P. de Lagarde, CCL 72 [Turnhout, 1959], 137).

(*confortatrix debiliū*); she is likened to Rebecca bringing her water-pot to the well, and to the wife of the emperor Theodosius (Xenodochia, though she is not named here) who, according to Cassiodorus, assisted the poor, preparing food with her own hands and even washing pots and pans.<sup>45</sup> Her protective care of humankind is illustrated in the image of the hen gathering her chicks under her wings, taken from Matthew 23:37, where it is spoken by Jesus, grieving over Jerusalem: “quotiens volui congregare filios tuos quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas et noluisti.” Our author has the Virgin defending her followers against those wiles insidiously put in their way by the devil, so that they may taste the food of eternal life (Sermon 20, fol. 69r).

She has also the generosity characteristic of a feudal lady. The twelfth point of her crown in the first sermon is her generosity in sharing. She is merciful and responds quickly to entreaties. The twelfth jewel is enydros, whose property is that it is always melting with everlasting droplets but never dissolves. So Mary in her generosity dispenses her bounty as from a spring, freely flowing and never drying up.<sup>46</sup>

Even when her motherhood is invoked, what is stressed is not maternal tenderness or the suffering endured by the mother of Christ, but the power of mothers to mediate and intercede. There is repeated emphasis on her power of entreaty, her ability to sway her son and intercede on behalf of her followers. The mother who interceded with her son at the marriage feast at Cana to save the embarrassment of the host will surely intercede on behalf of sinners who call upon her (Sermon 1, fol. 45v). The power of a mother’s entreaties are exemplified also by Bathsheba, pleading with David to allow her son Solomon to succeed him (1 Kings 1:15 ff.; Sermon 1, fol. 47r). As Bathsheba interceded on behalf of her son, so Mary intercedes on behalf of sinners to her son. She is like the eagle which, high in the sky, swoops to pick up its booty from the lower regions

<sup>45</sup> Cassiodorus-Epiphanius, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* 9.31 (ed. W. Jacob and R. Hanslik, CSEL 71 [Vienna, 1952], 546–47).

<sup>46</sup> “Salutemus Mariam tanquam liberalissimam in communicacione . . . omnibus sinum aperuit ut de plenitudine eius accipiant universi captivi redemptionem, et eger curam, tristis consolationem, iustus gratiam, angustus [i.e. anxius] leticiam. . . . Pro sua communicacione liberali ponatur duodecimus lapis in eius corona nomine enydros, cuius natura est quod perpetuis guttis distillat nec [umquam] liquescit omnino nec efficitur aliquomodo minor; unde dicitur in lapidario perpetui fletus lacrimis distilla[t] enydros qui velut ex pleni fontis scaturigine manat et sicut dicitur ibidem difficile est istius reddere rationem. Morali ter: sic benedicta virgo Maria ex sua liberalitate maximam beneficiorum exhibitionem nobis indesinenter distillat nec umquam fessa aut fastidiata nec liberalitatis virtute minorata; videlicet cuius beneficia nobis impensa velut ex pleni fontis scaturigine semper manant tam beneficia gratie quam glorie ad quam nos perducatur Christus qui vivit et regnat” (Sermon 1, fol. 47r).

and rises upwards with it; lifted high in the heavens at her assumption, she sees and desires the soul which is devoted to glory and offers it assistance, raising it up when it seems likely to sink to hell (Sermon 20, fol. 69r). Another example of the power of entreaty is given in the story of the widow of Tekoah who intercedes with David on behalf of the erring Absalom (2 Samuel 14; Sermon 20, fol. 67v). Mary mediates on man's behalf: "nostra pia mediatrix virgo, ipsius genitrix que tanquam misericordie suppliciter et efficaciter salutis nostre negotia pertractabit" (Sermon 17, fol. 64r [possibly: "our holy mediatrix, virgin and his mother, who, so to speak, through her mercy by humble supplication effectively occupied herself with the business of our salvation"]]). She it is who will be the advocate of sinners and their safe refuge at the Last Judgement (Sermon 7, fol. 52v). As we have seen, she is compared to Hortensia, who (according to Valerius Maximus)<sup>47</sup> pleaded with the triumvirate on behalf of the Roman matrons and obtained for them a remission in their taxes (Sermon 6, fol. 51v). Much of this material shows the influence of Bonaventure's sixth sermon on the Assumption.<sup>48</sup>

As she mediates between her son and those sinners who call upon her, Mary helps to bring about their reconciliation; she is the rainbow which is the sign of the covenant made between God and man.<sup>49</sup> Thus Mary plays her role in the redemption of mankind; she is compassionate, merciful, and able to intercede on behalf of sinners. By acquiescing in the will of God and receiving Christ in her womb (just as Martha received him as a guest in her house) she became the means of redemption. On a number of occasions she is described as the *baiula salutatis*, literally, "the bearer of salvation" (for example, Sermon 19, fols. 66v and 67r).

Mary's maternal role also includes her capacity to nurture and sustain. The food she dispenses is spiritual food, for even here her function is one of mediation, providing a channel of grace between God and man. She is repeatedly presented as a loving mother, nurturing her children, both the divine infant and also all who are her children because she is the Mother of God and therefore all his children are her children too. Mary's nurture of the Holy Child is the subject of Sermon 17 on the text *Dominus tecum*.

<sup>47</sup> Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem* 8.3.3 (ed. Halm, 385).

<sup>48</sup> Bonaventure, *Opera omnia* 9:700–706.

<sup>49</sup> "Gen. 9: 'archum meum ponam in nubibus celi et erit federis signum inter me et terram; cum obduxero nubibus celum, apparebit archus meus in nubibus et recordabor federis mei quod pepigi vobiscum et cum omni anima vivente.' Moraliter: ipsa enim Maria in signum federis humane reconsiliacionis ponitur tanquam archus in celi nubibus" (Sermon 9, fol. 55v).

There is a fourfold division; one is said to be with

- 1) the person with whom one lodges;
- 2) the person with whom one feasts;
- 3) the person by whom one is kept safe;
- 4) the person by whom one is clothed.

Mary provided all this care for her son. He lodged in her womb, which was prepared as zealously as Martha's house was prepared for Jesus' visit, and kept as spotlessly clean as a room would be kept for an honoured guest. Second, she suckled him at her breasts, thus offering human food for her divine son. She offers milk to her followers, too. In Sermon 17, in a passage influenced by Bernard,<sup>50</sup> she is shown presenting angelic food to all who hunger: "festinata et cibata cibo angelorum qui est ipsius visio clara et fruicio; ipsa enim cibus reficiens et potus inebrians qui dicit Ecc. 34 [Eccli 24:29], 'qui edunt me adhuc esurient etcetera.'" These words are attributed to Mary, whose gifts of grace make men desire yet more spiritual riches (Sermon 17, fol. 64r). Third, three instances are given of Mary's keeping Jesus safe: on the flight into Egypt, during his childhood in Nazareth, and when she found him in the temple. Fourth, she clothed the Son of God in her womb in the garment of flesh (fol. 64r).

In the first sermon the image of bread is used to express Mary's role in the process of redemption, in a sequence of ideas which suggest that all will be blessed because of the plenitude of the grace which flows through her. The listeners are exhorted to match the abundance of her bounty with the fulness of their gratitude, and to greet her as often as there are atoms in one body, crumbs in a loaf of bread, stars in the sky, drops of water in the sea, or leaves in a wood. The image of bread is further explored in an extended figure. In a passage which begins by paraphrasing John 6:48 and 51, "Hic est enim panis vite qui de coelo descendit," the bread of life is said to be formed by the Holy Spirit, cooked in Mary's womb/oven, born/taken out in Bethlehem, and then distributed in grains to the whole world. This bread is thus the body of Christ, who was conceived, born, lived, and crucified in human flesh, and this is given to all in the sacrament of the eucharist. The crumbs are also said to be the various gifts of grace, offered in little grains to those unworthy to accept the bread whole (Sermon 1, fol. 46r).<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Sermo 9 super Cantica Canticorum* 4.5–6 (ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, *S. Bernardi Opera*, vol. 1 [Rome, 1957], 45–46).

<sup>51</sup> For a fuller discussion of this image, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), 145–47.

Mary's womb is presented not only as an oven for preparing food but also as a tree; hers is a *fructiferus uterus*. The attributes of this tree are examined at length, in a passage which gathers together a number of biblical texts: the mighty tree in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, whose top reached the sky (Daniel 4:8); Joel's fruitful tree (Joel 2:22); the fig tree used throughout Scriptures as a type of useful fruitfulness; the tree known by its fruit (Luke 6:44); and so on. Mary, the fruitful tree, bore the fruit of her son, Jesus, whose life and death are inextricably linked with other trees, for he grew to maturity on the temporal tree of life and died on the tree of victory (Sermon 24, fols. 72v–74r). To honour Mary's maternity is to honour her (metaphorical) fecundity. The aim is to expound doctrine rather than bring the listener to his knees; they are primarily intellectual in approach. Insofar as they evoke emotion at all, it is awe and admiration rather than compassion or contrition. She brings about (spiritual) renewal and fruitfulness because she is a stream, flowing with abundant grace, a fountain of life.<sup>52</sup> Her fecundity is reinforced by a comparison with Leah; whereas Eve bore us in sin, Mary became our mother, bearing us in and into grace.<sup>53</sup>

She is similarly the fruitful vine, whose fruit was her son, Jesus. Since the fruit of the vine is a grape, this leads on to reflections on Christ as man's spiritual sustenance, through the eucharist. This idea draws on Bonaventure's third sermon on the Annunciation. The fruit of Mary's vine is, however, also interpreted allegorically; the sweet grapes are drops of divine grace available to quench the thirst of the penitent sinner. Mary is a vineyard of grace. The sweetness of the fruit is stressed, along with its abundance; words spoken by the bride about her bridegroom in the Song of Songs 1:13 are referred to Mary: "*Botrus cypri dilectus meus in vineis Engeddi*" (Sermon 23, fol. 72r); so are words spoken about the bride by the bridegroom in Song of Songs 7:2: "*Venter tuus sicut acervus tritici vallatus liliis*" (Sermon 23, fol. 72v). The seed of the Word, sown in Mary's fertile womb produces grains of wheat a hundredfold and the faithful Christian is invited to fill his heart with grains (of grace) taken from the top of the sack, as Joseph invited his brothers to share the sacks of grain he had filled for them (Genesis 44:1). The eucharistic connotations are obvious. Mary's womb provides the fertile ground from which the harvest

<sup>52</sup> "[Ave Maria]: rivus irrigata gratiarum plenitudine" (Sermon 8, fol. 53r); "fons vite qui ex ore altissimi prodiit de ventre suo exilivit" (ibid., fol. 53v).

<sup>53</sup> "Fuit Maria Lya fecundior in prolis successione de qua patet Gen. 29, nam virgo Maria nos quos Eva peperit in culpa post partum filii sui benedicti peperit in gratia" (Sermon 18, fol. 65r).

of grain will come; the oven in which the wheaten flour is baked for daily distribution to all mankind; the vineyard in which the wine-giving grape is grown (Sermon 23, fol. 72v).

Sermon 24 presents us with Mary who is at once a vine, a fig tree, and a bee, and draws on Isidore to elucidate these identifications. Whilst our parents ate some grapes which set their children's teeth on edge (Jeremiah 31:29), Mary is said to be the vine whose fruit is sweet and pleasant to taste, her son turning the sour wine of the Old Covenant into the sweet juice of the New. He is the bunch of grapes cut at the wadi Escol, suspended from a pole and carried by the men sent by Moses to explore the land of Canaan (Numbers 13:24–25). This passage was usually interpreted as signifying Christ, hanging from the wood at the Crucifixion; its eucharistic connotations are also clear. The qualities of the fig tree are its fertility, its ability to strengthen those who eat its fruit, and its ability to calm and pacify bulls.<sup>54</sup> The fruit of Mary's womb strengthens the weak and pacifies the wrath of God the Father against man's sin.

The bee is tiny but a source of great riches; honey is used as a sweetener and for cleansing and preserving. Its powers are well illustrated by the story of Jonathan being refreshed by the taste of honey during the wars with the Philistines (1 Samuel 14). Mary, too, is glorious and excellent, though apparently humble. The fruit of her womb, like honey, sweetens bitterness, preserves man for the hope of eternal salvation and cleanses us from the infection of sin (Sermon 26, fol. 74v).

We have mentioned briefly that Mary is compared to a number of pagan goddesses. In these comparisons it is Mary's motherhood which is celebrated and, as with the comparison with Leah, it is her fecundity which is the point. This fertility is threefold: like the Church, in her motherhood she is mother to all mankind; she is a fertile mother because she participates in the creative activities of God; and she brings about a fruitful harvest because she is a fountain of grace bringing about spiritual riches. Sermon 10 presents her as Isis, the Egyptian goddess, whose name is said to mean "earth" and who taught mankind the art of cultivation, according to Isidore.<sup>55</sup> Sermon 7 also draws on the same passage from Isidore. Mary's involvement in the creative act and in the redemption are stressed; God is "pater rerum creatarum," whereas she is "mater rerum recreatarum"; God is "pater constitutionis," and she is "mater restitutionis" (fol. 52r). She is

<sup>54</sup> For Isidore's discussion of the qualities of the fig tree, see *Etym.* 17.7.17.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* 8.11.84.

described as a second Ceres<sup>56</sup> throughout this sermon and described in detail, drawing on Isidore's picture of Ceres,<sup>57</sup> which identifies her with Proserpine, Vesta, and Tellus. She is *magna mater*, depicted as turreted (like Cybele/Demeter), with a key, and accompanied by a tympanum and the noise of cymbals. She is drawn in a chariot; those who attend her carry drawn swords. Mary's crown is the crown of Revelation 12; the tympanum symbolizes the orb of the earth and also the comfort of food she provides. Those who attend Ceres carry drawn swords because many fight for her sake; Mary's attendants assist her in her fight against the devil. Whereas Ceres carries a key to unlock the earth after it has been locked by winter, Mary has a key because she is the keybearer of heaven, opening the doorway for the innocent. Ceres is drawn in a chariot because the earth hangs in the air and rotates; the chariot in which Mary is seated in the world is the human heart, where she is enthroned through love. The pagan goddess is the great earth mother, goddess of fertility and growth, making the earth fertile and providing food for the animals. Now it is not simply that these roles are transferred to Mary; strictly they are not. When this iconography is transferred to Mary it becomes metaphorical. Mary is said to nourish (*alere*), but this nourishment is clearly of supersubstantial bread; her nurture is spiritual. Whereas the Father's role as creator is as creator of this material world, Mary's role of recreation and restitution signifies her involvement not so much in creation as in the work of redemption.

It is important to acknowledge that these are texts addressed to men and not women. The Virgin is extolled as a distant object of veneration, not as a role model. Her virtues may be worthy of imitation but this is not why they are enumerated so frequently in these texts. It is her preeminence amongst her fellow human beings which is stressed, not her shared humanity with them—her power, not her human frailty. This is in contrast to many other late medieval Marian texts which stress her suffering as a human mother and offer her as a model of Christian behaviour. It contrasts with another Carmelite treatise which clearly sets her up as a model to be imitated. John Baconthorpe's *Tractatus* combines a devotion to Mary with an exposition of the main points of the Carmelite Rule. Here the basic structure is determined by the Rule, which in turn determines which of Mary's virtues are discussed. Thus Mary demonstrates obedience in her

<sup>56</sup> Actually "Sereres" throughout; our author is clearly familiar only with oblique forms of this name.

<sup>57</sup> Isidore, *Etym.* 8.11.59–68.

submission to the divine command “*Ecce ancilla domini*”;<sup>58</sup> poverty, since she is included amongst the earliest group of apostles recorded as meeting in prayer in Acts 1:14 and is thus not excluded from the apostolic rule of holding all things in common (Acts 2:44);<sup>59</sup> chastity, since she is fulfilling the prophecy “*Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium*” (Is 7:14).<sup>60</sup> The Rule requires each brother to live in his own cell; Mary too had her own individual dwelling place, for the angel is recorded as finding her alone in a separate room at the Annunciation.<sup>61</sup> Legendary material about Mary’s infancy is adduced to relate how Mary lived in the temple amongst other young virgins, just as the Carmelite brothers meet for communal prayer.<sup>62</sup> Baconthorpe’s principle of selection is clear, as is the purpose of his devotion to Mary, who is the pattern of the Carmelite life.

These sermons in Auct. F. inf. 1.3 promote a devotion to Mary who in her maternal love nourishes her children and in her fecundity proffers them the spiritual food which will bring about their redemption. Her motherhood necessarily involves pain as well as joy, suffering as well as creation. Sermon 11 presents us with a more traditional picture of Mary standing at the foot of the cross. Even here, the approach is intellectual, not affective. This sermon is one of several that celebrate the paradox of Mary’s virgin motherhood. It is one of the few which breaks off to address Mary directly, asking her aid in his struggle against impurity: “*Quia virgo es et casta, te saluto et peto ut meam refrigeres concupiscentiam*” (fol. 57r [“Because you are a virgin and chaste, I greet you and beseech you to cool my concupiscence”]). She is *virgo puderosa*, *enixa pue[r]pera* (most modest maiden and a woman who has brought forth in childbirth), *stella maris* (star of the sea) both in her fecundity (the stars are a multitude) and in the brilliance of her pure radiance; her womb is the marriage bed of God (Sermon 11, fol. 57r). Sermon 31, on *Ecce concipies et paries filium*, deals at length with the unique purity of Mary’s conception, pregnancy, and her giving birth, free from the taint of concupiscence and thus also from the pain and pangs of labour. Here again he writes of the paradox of Mary’s fecund virginity, comparing her to a number of other biblical mothers. Eve’s tears in childbirth are contrasted with Mary’s joy; she is a second Sara, who laughed when told she would bear a son. She is like the woman

<sup>58</sup> Baconthorpe, *Tractatus super Regulam*, in *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 193.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 194.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 195. In Baconthorpe’s *Laus religionis Carmelitanae* 1.6 (ibid., 223), Mary is contrasted with Dinah, whose problems arose from her going *out*, whereas Mary’s virtue was preserved by her staying *in*.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 195.



in labour in Revelation 12, with the dragon (i.e., the devil) waiting to devour her newborn son. Other more familiar images of her virginity are used: the burning bush and the apocryphal story of the incredulous midwife (Sermon 31, fols. 80v–82v). Sermon 28 also deals with Mary's virgin motherhood, drawing not on the Bible but on natural history. With material drawn from Isidore's *Etymologiae*, Alexander Neckham's *De naturis rerum*, and Solinus's *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, Mary is compared to a number of animals which were believed to conceive without sexual contact: the hen which conceives through the dust, the dove which conceives by a kiss, the partridge which conceives "ex odore masculino," and the mare which conceives by the power of the north wind. The hen's dust is to be interpreted as the lowliness of Mary's humility; the dove's kiss is the kiss of the bridegroom in Song of Songs 1:1 ("[Maria] inquires 'fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum,' ut dei filium tanquam sponsum dulcissimum amplexans, diceretur id Cant. 1 'osculetur me osculo oris sui'" [fol. 76r]). The partridge's masculine fragrance is the fragrance of virtues for which God chose Mary, just as Rebecca was chosen for Isaac; the mare's north wind may be interpreted as the power of the Holy Spirit (Sermon 28, fols. 76r–77r).

Mary is presented as a feudal lady, a powerful patron and a mediatrix; a loving mother, effective in intercession on behalf of her children; a mother, like all mothers, caring, nurturing, and providing clothes and support, but unique amongst mothers in her perpetual virginity. What matters is her strength and power; this is in contrast to much Marian devotion of the period, where she is most often presented as the epitome of humility and submission; these texts place little emphasis on her humility and lowliness. Only in Sermon 8 is her humility of particular importance. Here, amongst other titles, she is "fovea profundata humilitatis" ("a deep pit of humility"), but even here the point is the paradox: that is, for all her lowliness, she is exalted above the angels. This is the Mary of the *Magnificat*, favourably regarded by God and to be blessed by all generations.

In one sermon only Mary is presented as the beloved. In sermon 13 she is given four qualities: she is most gracious in propitiation, full of the grace of devotion, of the grace of holy behaviour, and of the grace of love. Here the Virgin is given the sweet qualities of Wisdom in Ecclesiasticus 24:20 ("sicut cinamomum et balsamum aromatizans odorem dedi" [fol. 59v]); she is the object of ardent love. Her beauty is compared to that of Esther (Esther 2:7) and to that of the Shulamite woman in Song of Songs 4:7 ("Tota pulchra es, amica mea est [*sic*], et macula non est in te" [fol. 60v]), a text often cited to substantiate the doctrines both of Mary's perpetual vir-

ginity and of her immaculate conception. Even in these affirmations of Mary's beauty and capacity to evoke love, however, it is made quite clear that the love felt for Mary is a spiritual love; Jerome's love for Paula is cited in comparison. Not for this author the raptures of Bernard, an author he knows well and cites quite often but does not imitate closely.

As we have seen, fol. 81v contains rubrics which clearly mark the end of one treatise, the exposition of the *Ave Maria* (Sermons 5–31), and the beginning of another, “on the excellence of the name of Jesus.” The two collections, however, are not really distinct or separate. The sermons in the so-called second treatise all expound the text *Vocabis nomen eius Ihesum*, which is the final clause of the angelic salutation and follows immediately and logically upon the final sermons of the Marian treatise. Sermons 30 and 31, on *Ecce concipies et paries filium*, move in theme from the virginal conception to the attributes of the Son and lead quite naturally into the praise of Jesus' name. These final sermons all commend devotion to Jesus, saviour of the world. Theologically, they are at one with what goes before. Their devotional emphases are very similar; like Mary his mother, Christ is commended as the advocate of sinners, whose aid may be invoked when the Christian is under severe assault from the devil. Mankind is presented as in a constant state of warfare with the devil, begun by Adam; the audience is reminded that in the pre-Christian era the children of Israel repeatedly asked God for a deliverer. Sermon 34 commends Jesus as the saviour, kingly in his power, able to protect the individual Christian from the wiles of Satan. That the name Jesus means “saviour” is emphasized in a number of sermons, and his saving power is shown in the acrostic in Sermon 35:

Jocunditas  
Eternitas  
Salus  
Vita  
Satietas.

In sermon 39 he is described as “rector nostre advocacionis” and our advocate with the Father (fol. 91r) as shown by his pleading on behalf of the woman taken in adultery. He offers aid in various circumstances as lord, as bridegroom, as wise teacher, as familiar friend, as faithful defender, and as generous and munificent benefactor (Sermon 38).

The efficacy of naming Jesus is of central importance. We have here, apparently, evidence of a cult of the Holy Name. There are four key, recurrent biblical texts: “Nec enim aliud nomen est sub caelo datum

hominibus, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri" (Act 4:12); "In nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur caelestium, terrestrium et infernorum" (Phil 2:10); "Oleum effusum nomen tuum" (Cant 1:2); and the passage in Revelation 13:16 when the chosen ones are marked on their foreheads with the name of the beast. The story of the woman with the hemorrhage (Luke 8:43) is told to illustrate what happens to those who call on Jesus' name; his name is like oil poured out because he cures the wounds of the sick and restores their health (Sermon 32, fol. 82v). Sermon 33 offers a list of reasons why the name of Jesus is to be honoured above all other names and it reminds the audience of the indulgences promised to those uttering the name of Jesus. The repetition of the loved one's name can bring not only healing but comfort; there is reference to Jacob's joy at hearing the very name of his son Joseph whom he believed long dead. His is the name above all other names and greatly to be honoured, as indeed it is honoured throughout the three most remote kingdoms and in three languages—the languages in which Pilate wrote his name on the cross, that is to say, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin (Sermon 41). His is the name to be worshipped (*colendus*), loved, and feared above all others, as is anticipated by the other three men in the Bible named Jesus: Jesus, son of Nun, the mighty warrior (Ecclesiasticus 46:1); Jesus, son of Josedech, high priest (Haggai 1 and Zechariah 3) and Jesus, son of Sirach, master of law, who wrote Ecclesiasticus.

Sermon 39 contains an imagined address of Christ to sinners, an uncharacteristically lyrical outpouring. He is presented very visually, as the readers are invited to imagine him on the cross, extending his arms to them, pain in every limb in his body, calling out to them and bringing about salvation through the power of his words. In the same sermon he is presented as the friend of sinners, the sociable companion who kept company with the the two disciples on the way to Emmaus, the compassionate friend who does not desert those he loves in their hour of need and does not forget them even when they forget him. He quotes, "Quando (inquit) errabam, reduxit me; quando ignorabam, docuit me; quando peccabam, corripuit me; quando tristabar, consolatus est me; quando cecidi, erexit me; quando steti, tenuit me; quando veni, suscepit me" (fol. 91r).<sup>63</sup>

Sermons 32–42 follow naturally and logically from the *tractatus de Ave Maria*, which commends a strong devotion to Mary, encouraging constant supplication to her, and argues that Mary's strength and power in the battle against the forces of evil will fortify the Christian in his weakness;

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Pseudo-Augustine, *De Spiritu et Anima* (PL 40:792), a text attributed to Augustine in the Middle Ages.

she will use her position as queen and empress of Heaven to help those who call upon her; her power as an effective mediator and intercessor will stand the sinner in good stead when he appeals to God for mercy, and her maternal qualities of care and nurturing enable her to offer her followers support. The sermons on the name of Jesus are in many ways similar, though a little more lyrical, more affective. They commend the reiteration of the Holy Name which has the power to bring salvation and urge the practice of invoking the name of Jesus as an aid in times of trouble.

Auct. F. inf. 1.3 throws light on the intellectual habits and indeed illustrates more generally some of the intellectual concerns of the late fourteenth century in England. In a number of instances grammar is used in the sermons to elucidate theological points. Both sacred and secular texts are read systematically to uncover layers of meaning within them. Pagan texts are subjected to a form of typological interpretation and held to contain *figurae* of Christian truths in precisely the same way as Old Testament texts are held to refer figuratively to the the New Testament.

The devotional emphases in the sermons reflect the interest of the Carmelite (or Carmelites) who indexed and copied the text. As has been argued, it is likely also that they were actually composed by a Carmelite. The current interest in the English Carmelites has tended to emphasize their interest in issues such as the mendicant controversy and their opposition to the theology of Wycliffe and the Lollards.<sup>64</sup> These sermons give us a new insight into their spirituality and preaching. It is a cause for regret that no example survives of the popular Carmelite sermons which (we are told) drew large crowds both at court and in the cities. However, these particular sermons, which must be intended for a highly sophisticated audience of professed religious, do provide us with some insight into Carmelite preaching in England in the late Middle Ages.

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<sup>64</sup> See *Carmel in Britain*, ed. Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (Rome, 1993 [vol. 1], 1992 [vol. 2]).

LOCAL REALITY AND PAPAL POLICY:  
PAPAL PROVISION AND THE CHURCH OF AREZZO,  
1248–1327

Blake Beattie

ONE of the more controversial developments of the Avignon papacy was the institutionalization of papal interference in the local church. Since the early thirteenth century the popes reserved the right to appoint candidates to important benefices or offices, and did so more frequently as the century progressed. The practice was regularized under John XXII (1316–34) with the systematic application of papal provision, whereby the popes appointed beneficiaries ordinarily elected by local authorities such as chapters or patrons, and general reservation, whereby benefices or classes of benefices were reserved to papal provision.<sup>1</sup> The practices responded sensibly to the fiscal needs of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Church. Annates, taxes which *provisi* paid on the first-year fruits of their benefices, helped to sustain the expanding curia, and beneficiary incomes supported the curialists who were so often provided to them. Direct papal appointments could also be useful in controlling the extent and character of lay interference in ecclesiastical affairs.<sup>2</sup>

However practical they may have been, these policies necessarily transferred decisions concerning ecclesiastical personnel from communities to a central authority often motivated by concerns quite separate from those of the communities in question. The policies could evoke criticism or even

<sup>1</sup> For provision, see Geoffrey Barraclough, *Papal Provisions: Aspects of Church History Constitutional, Legal and Administrative in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1935); G. Mollat, "Bénéfices ecclésiastiques en occident," *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* 2 (Paris, 1937), cols. 418–19; W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955), 47–75; Giulio Silano, "The Apostolic See and the Elections of the Bishops of Perugia in the Duecento and Trecento," *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988): 489–93. For general reservation, *ibid.*, 491; G. Mollat, *La collation des bénéfices à l'époque des papes d'Avignon (1305–1378)* (Paris, 1921), 9–16; and see William E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (New York, 1934), 2:217–33, for texts on the evolution of the practice. Clement IV first expressly asserted papal rights of provision over Christendom in 1265 (Mollat, *La collation*, 16).

<sup>2</sup> See Lunt, *Papal Revenues* 1:93–103; Barraclough, *Papal Provisions*, 54–56, 61–62; Louis Caillet, *La papauté d'Avignon et l'Église de France: La politique bénéficiaire du Pape Jean XXII en France (1316–1334)* (Paris, 1975), 465.

active opposition, since they did not attend to the cultural and pastoral ties between communities and the churches which served them. In England, for example, beneficiary provisions of Italian clerics were already criticized by the mid-thirteenth century. Especially well-served by eloquent defenders like Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln (1235–53), who opposed the provisions of the cardinal-legate Otto and defied Innocent IV's provision of a Genoese nephew to a benefice in Lincoln,<sup>3</sup> the English church could be relentlessly hostile to foreign invaders, as at least one papal *nepos* could attest. In 1301, after Boniface VIII (1294–1303) provided a young grandnephew, Francesco di Pietro Gaetani, to a canonry in York and to other English prebends, he had to send judges to protect Francesco's rights from unnamed molesters.<sup>4</sup> In 1317 John XXII ordered the bishop of London and the archdeacons of Middlesex and Cliveland to allow Francesco access to the revenues of the treasury of York and other benefices over which he had again been harassed by local clerics; one of them, Walter de Bedewinde, seized the treasury, initiating a lengthy suit in the Rota, which decided in Francesco's favor.<sup>5</sup> York's clergy must have felt rather bitterly that resistance to their nonresident Roman treasurer was vindicated when an aging Francesco resigned his benefices to marry in 1328; one, a canonry in Lincoln, went to his nephew, Niccolò di Bonifacio Gaetani.<sup>6</sup> Neither Francesco's resignation nor even his and Walter's death in 1331 (the latter having appealed the initial decision) could put an end to the troubles in York. When the vacant treasury was conferred to Cardinal Pierre de Mortemart, William de la Mare, a local cleric, seized it with the aid of the dean and chapter, claiming rights of incumbency. The archbishop of Aix, to whom the case had been delegated, decided against William and his cohorts, and sent Gui de Calme to publish proceedings against the culprits; Gui was murdered by William as he attempted to do so.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See *Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam Lincolnensis Epistolae*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series 25 (London, 1861), 144–46, no. 49 (1238); 432–37, no. 128 (1253). For general opposition to and criticism of foreign *provisi* in England, see Robert Brentano, *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton, 1968; rpt. Berkeley, 1988), 4–8; Pantin, *English Church*, 65–74. For general fourteenth-century criticisms throughout western Christendom, see Caillet, *La papauté d'Avignon*, 380–400.

<sup>4</sup> *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Georges Digard et al., 4 vols. (Paris, 1884–1939), no. 4226 (18 October 1301).

<sup>5</sup> *Jean XXII (1316–1334), Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, ed. G. Mollat et al., 16 vols. (Paris, 1904–47), no. 2562 (18 January 1317). Francesco was provided to the treasury on 12 May 1303 (*Les registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 5347).

<sup>6</sup> *Jean XXII, Lettres communes*, nos. 43350, 46518. See the impressive list of benefices which Francesco held as of 1 June 1317, *ibid.*, no. 3995.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 54578 (13 August 1331); see also nos. 49044, 62815.

So, it is undeniable that provisions, especially those which reflected nepotistic concerns, could show little sensitivity to the integrity of local churches, with sometimes drastic consequences. The fact that provision had fiscal and political objectives meant that it did not always respect the needs of local churches. But the old view of papal provision as an insensitive by-product of papal greed and the desire to promote worthless kinsmen is untenable;<sup>8</sup> more often than not, the popes tried to present locally acceptable clerics, whose provisions seldom led to controversy. The diversion of local beneficiary incomes to nonlocal clerics may have been less a cause for protest than was the foreignness of the *provisus* in question; individual *provisi*, and not the practice *per se*, were the usual objects of local indignation.<sup>9</sup> Provisions which accounted for local interests did not spark controversy;<sup>10</sup> the popes were not blind to the converse. Financial and political determinants—and the occasional blindness of familial love—made unpopular *provisi* one of the risks of an increasingly necessary aspect of medieval papal government.

These are general observations; a more complete and nuanced understanding of the effects of papal provision, and the roots of resistance to it, is possible only by studying the practice in individual churches. Such studies, particularly of churches in Italy, suggest another side to unpopular provisions. On some occasions at least, overtly unacceptable prelates or foreign, nonresident *provisi* were intruded into strongly “local” churches in an attempt by the papacy to sever the ties between these churches and their communities. This use of papal provision is especially apparent in the Tuscan city of Arezzo, where, from the late thirteenth century, the popes made unsympathetic provisions to penalize Arezzo for her hostility to the important papal ally, Florence. By the mid-thirteenth century, when the church of Arezzo first emerged as a bastion of Arezzo’s anti-Guelf, anti-Florentine aristocrats, popes were providing decidedly “un-Aretine” bishops to the see, in an unsuccessful attempt to stem the Ghibelline ascendancy there. After a brief hiatus under Clement v (1305–14), whose relations with Florence were poor, the practice reached its apex under John xxii, who viewed Arezzo’s enmity to Florence with particular disfavor. John provided large numbers of foreign, Guelf curialists to Aretine benefices as part of his conflict with Guido Tarlati, bishop (1312–27) and, after 1321, *signore* of the city, under whom the interests of Ghibelline church and Ghibelline commune were effectively united. Guido’s war with

<sup>8</sup> See the correctives in Barraclough, *Papal Provisions*, 19–49, 56–59.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 145–48.

<sup>10</sup> See, e.g., Silano, “Apostolic See,” 498–99.

the papacy was a product partly of the expansionist policy he pursued in Tuscany at the expense of the papacy and its allies, but also of a desire to preserve the localness of the Aretine church from John's exceedingly punitive provisions.

The church in Italy was crucial to local communal identities and order. The compact between church and city often helped to stabilize communities subject to political division. The *duomo*, center of the local *cultus*, preserved its city's sacred tradition and provided an institutional continuity to the highly kinetic environments in which regimes or even governmental systems rose and fell rapidly. Italian bishops were public figures, intimately tied to the life of the city and often to its oldest, most distinguished (and often dominant) clans or factions.<sup>11</sup> The administrative imprecision sometimes offered as proof of the Italian bishop's weakness relative to his northern counterparts<sup>12</sup> may in fact have freed him from a relentless bureaucratic exercise, which might otherwise have distanced him from his constituency. In Tuscany a flurry of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century legislation, aimed at subordinating the authority of the bishop to that of the commune, attests the *duomo*'s indispensability to the commune and the commune's need to integrate within itself the ecclesiastical structures which strove elsewhere, with varying success, to remain free from secular control.<sup>13</sup> Churches successfully woven into the communal fabric were *gonfalonieri* of local identity and traditions; those which were not were potential rivals to a commune's secular organs of government. Often adversarial, always inseparable, the spheres of church and city were bound together in the multilayered composition of the Italian commune.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The four Monaldeschi bishops of Orvieto between 1280 and 1443 (Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, 2d ed., vol. 1 [Regensburg, 1913], 508) came from that city's dominant (and, after 1334, ruling) family; Siena's four Malavolti bishops between 1282 and 1371 (*ibid.*, 446) were members of a great Siennese magnate family whose role in communal government had been constitutionally circumscribed, but who played a prominent role in the Siennese church (see below n. 81); Milan's three Visconti archbishops between 1263 and 1361 (*ibid.*, 332–33) came from the ruling Milanese dynasty.

<sup>12</sup> See, e.g., Brentano, *Two Churches*, 62–173.

<sup>13</sup> See Roberto Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere nella Toscana del Quattrocento* (Bologna, 1987), 64–66.

<sup>14</sup> See Ovidio Capitani, "Città e comuni," in *Comuni e signorie: Istituzioni, società e lotte per l'egemonia*, Storia d'Italia, vol. 4, ed. G. Galasso (Turin, 1981), 14–21; and Giovanni Tabacco, "La città vescovile nell'Alto Medioevo," in *Modelli di città: Strutture e funzioni politiche*, ed. Pietro Rossi (Turin, 1987), 327–45. For provision's effects on pastoral care in Italy, see Bernard Guillemain, "Les papes d'Avignon et la *cura animarum* en Italie," in *Pievi e parrocchie in Italia nel basso Medioevo (sec. XIII–XV)*, Atti del VI convegno di Storia della Chiesa in Italia (= *Italia sacra* 35) (Rome, 1984), 197–214. For opposition, see Mollat, *La collation*, 131.



The continued presence of a commune's most distinguished clans in the church buttressed the inherent strength of the diocese and the commune it served. In Tuscany, noble clerics held the richest canonries, enabling local aristocrats to retain an active role in the religious life of the commune even in cities where their say in secular government was severely curtailed by legislation such as Florence's *Ordinamenti di Giustizia* (1293).<sup>15</sup> The nobility's role in the church was furthered by extensive rights of patronage: by 1466 a quarter of Aretine parishes pertained to local *iuseronatus*.<sup>16</sup> This vital and fragile local identity was weakened by provisions which dislodged the indigenous, often aristocratic clergy of the communal church, shattering the symbiosis between noble clans, whose continued participation in communal affairs was assured by their place in the church, and churches themselves, whose localness was protected by aristocratic power and wealth.<sup>17</sup> It is no coincidence that some of John XXII's fiercest opponents—Viterbo, Todi, Lucca, and Arezzo—were cities whose ecclesiastical localness was ill-served by John's excessive provisions of foreign clerics in their churches.<sup>18</sup>

The Aretine church was unusual, even by Tuscan standards, in its local distinctiveness and institutional stability. Centered on the cult of the martyred bishop Donatus (d. 362), it was not only one of Tuscany's oldest sees but one of very few dioceses to survive the Lombard incursions of the sixth century without institutional disruption. Over the centuries Arezzo competed successfully in the fierce territorial rivalries of the Tuscan dioceses: by the thirteenth century it was second in size only to Florence.<sup>19</sup> The vastness of the diocese left its bishops the potential for inordinately large revenues. Late thirteenth-century Arezzo, with some 20,000 inhabitants, was the region's sixth largest city, yet early fourteenth-century records of tithe payments indicate that only Florence and Lucca, both with

<sup>15</sup> The *Ordinamenti* are neatly summarized by Gene A. Brucker, *Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1969; rpt. Berkeley, 1983), 133.

<sup>16</sup> Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere*, 49; the aristocracy retained fully sixty percent of Aretine ecclesiastical revenues in the fifteenth century (ibid., 179).

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 24; see Giovanni Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy: Structures of Political Rule*, trans. Rosalind Brown Jensen (Cambridge, 1989), 166–69; for local nobilities and the church, see M. Ronzani, "Vescovi, capitoli e strategie famigliari nell'Italia comunale," in *La Chiesa e il potere politico dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea*, ed. G. Chittolini and G. Miccoli, *Storia d'Italia: Annali* 9 (Turin, 1986), 101–46. For the chapter in the religious life of the city, see Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere*, 21–22; and Brentano, *Two Churches*, 206–7.

<sup>18</sup> For the favorable provisions in cities favored by the popes (e.g., Orvieto, Perugia, Florence), see the entries under these cities in *Jean XXII, Lettres communes*, vols. 15 and 16; cf. those in Viterbo, Todi, and Lucca.

<sup>19</sup> See Tabacco, *Struggle for Power*, 95; Brentano, *Two Churches*, 64.

thriving merchant economies and larger diocesan capitals than Arezzo, were assessed (and managed to pay) higher tithes.<sup>20</sup> Endemic factional violence led to financial troubles for the see in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,<sup>21</sup> but the size of the diocese gave the *duomo* at least the potential for a material prosperity equal to the wealth of its traditions.

On these bases Arezzo built a legacy of strong episcopal leadership. In 1059 Arnolfo (1052–ca. 1070) became the first Italian bishop to assume a comital title amidst the break-up of the *regnum Italiae*; by 1130 the power of the bishop had grown so great that the *popolo* forced Biviaro (1130–44) to move from Pieve to Arezzo, where he could be controlled by civic authorities.<sup>22</sup> Many eleventh- and twelfth-century bishops were imperial agents, anticipating the Ghibelline church of the thirteenth century. Arnolfo was a friend of Henry III, and Costantino I (ca. 1070–87) was chancellor to Henry IV;<sup>23</sup> Geronimo (ca. 1144–77) was an ally of Barbarossa, whose son, Philip of Swabia, granted to Arezzo a degree of autonomy under Bishop Francesco in 1188, and the loyalty of Amadeo (ca. 1196–1206) to Henry VI gained Arezzo a promise of imperial protection and the title of imperial vicar for her bishops; in confirming these privileges Frederick II spoke warmly of Bishop Martino (ca. 1225–37) as *fidelis noster*.<sup>24</sup>

Not surprisingly, relations between Arezzo and the papacy were often strained in this period, but it is difficult to determine the extent to which the politics of the bishops had strong correspondence in the commune. An obvious connection between episcopal and communal Ghibellinism is

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the populations of Florence (96,000), Siena (52,000), Pisa (38,000), Perugia (28,000), Lucca (23,000) (approximate figures; Josiah Cox Russell, *Medieval Regions and their Cities* [Indiana University, 1977], 44; 45–46 for Arezzo). In the second payment of the tithe of 1302–3, Arezzo paid 1,348 *lib.*, 6 *sol.*, 6 *den.*; with incomes from Siena the total rose to 1,524 *lib.*, 15 *sol.*, 2 *den.* (Martino Giusti and Pietro Guidi, eds., *Rationes decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV: Tuscia II. Le decime degli anni 1295–1304*, Studi e testi 98 [Vatican, 1942], 91–133). Cf. Florence (2,455 *lib.*, 2 *sol.*, 3 *den.*; *ibid.*, 3–37); Lucca (1,865 *lib.*, 17 *sol. pisani*; *ibid.*, 255–85); Siena (674 *lib.*, 4 *sol.*, 8 *den.*; *ibid.*, 141–53); Pisa (1,300 *lib.*, 15 *sol.*, 7 *den.*; *ibid.*, 227–48; Pisan figures are from 1296 to 1297).

<sup>21</sup> In 1290 Bishop Ildebrandino was allowed to keep the first-year revenues of Aretine benefices for three years to erase the diocese's massive debt, most likely incurred by the campaigns of his predecessor, Guglielmino (*Les registres de Nicolas IV, recueil des bulles de ce pape, publiées ou analysées d'après les manuscrits originaux des archives du Vatican*, ed. Ernest Langlois, [Paris, 1886–91], nos. 1952–53). Clement V renewed the indulgence in 1306 (*Regestum Clementis papae V ex Vaticanis archetypis*, ed. Monachi ordinis s. Benedicti [Rome, 1885–92], no. 792).

<sup>22</sup> Tabacco, *Struggle for Power*, 174; Massimiliano Falciai, *Storia di Arezzo dalle origini alla fine del Granducato Lorenese* (Arezzo, 1928), 69–72, 89–90. For Arnolfo and Biviaro, see Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, 10 vols. (Rome and Venice, 1644–1722), 1:464–66, 467.

<sup>23</sup> Ughelli, *Italia sacra* 1:464–66.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* 1:467–69, 471–73.

apparent only after 1250, when hostility towards the papal stalwart, Florence, permeated the Aretine church as a matter of course. Avid for Arezzo's grain industry<sup>25</sup> and large market, Florence had emerged by the mid-thirteenth century as Arezzo's chief enemy. A Florentine victory over Aretine forces in 1254 brought the exile of Arezzo's Ghibellines, a series of Florentine *podestà*, and the entrenchment of a *popolo* willing to accept Florentine meddling as the price of Florentine support. By 1256 Arezzo was ruled by a corporate Guelf *popolo* whose political organs reflected its strong ties to Florence: twelve *anziani*, three from each quarter of the city; the rectors of the twelve *arti* (guilds); a communal council.<sup>26</sup> This *popolo* was less an indigenous development than an extension of Florentine power, and when the *popolo* attempted reforms on Florentine lines in the 1280s, the nobles, led by a steady influx of exiled Florentine Ghibellines, revolted.<sup>27</sup> The next two decades witnessed a Ghibelline reaction aimed at purging Arezzo of all Guelf and, by association, Florentine elements: when Florence declared war on Arezzo (1287), the Aretine *podestà*, Mazetto de Burgo, dissolved the *arti* and expelled the prior, the aptly named Guelfo de Luca.<sup>28</sup>

During this period the resurgent "Aretines"—older, landowning Ghibelline clans, as opposed to the Guelf, middle-class, "Florentine" faction—were united under Bishop Guglielmino degli Ubertini (1248–89). An energetic reformer, supporter of the mendicants and patron of charities, Guglielmino was also a bold warrior, who regarded himself as the leader of Ghibelline Tuscany and devoted himself accordingly to resisting Florentine interference. Initially civil towards Florence, he spent the second half of his forty-one-year episcopacy in campaigns aimed at expanding Aretine power in Tuscany to the detriment of Florence. Slain in battle at Campaldino, where Florence and the Aretine Guelfs defeated Arezzo's Ghibellines,<sup>29</sup> Guglielmino created an Aretine episcopal ideal. With him the church first emerges as a bastion of "Aretinism" against a communal

<sup>25</sup> Wheat was Arezzo's chief export (Charles M. de la Roncière, *Florence: Centre économique régional au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 5 vols. [n.p., n.d.], 2:571–73, 576).

<sup>26</sup> Tabacco, *Struggle for Power*, 259–60; *Annales Arretinorum maiores et minores*, ed. Arturo Bini and Giovanni Grazzini, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, n. ed. (Città di Castello and Bologna) [RIS2], 24, pt. 1, 6.9–7.3.

<sup>27</sup> The Ubaldini were most prominent. The nobles feared that they would be marginalized as they had in Florence; see Falciai, *Storia di Arezzo*, 105–11.

<sup>28</sup> *Annales* (maiores), 9.15–17; the *arti* were first dissolved in 1274 (ibid., 8.11). The Guelfs were twice expelled in 1287 (ibid., 9.17–18).

<sup>29</sup> *Annales* (maiores), 10.4–7. See Émile G. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1954), 171–72; Giovanni Villani, *Cronica* 7.131 (ed. I. Moutier, 8 vols. [Florence, 1823], 2:332–38); for Guglielmino's wars, see *Annales* (maiores), 6.3–10.7.

government which appeared increasingly as a token of Florentine expansion. The tension between church and secular government was not new in Arezzo—it was in place by the time of Biviario—but Guglielmino defined the dichotomy between Ghibelline, aristocratic “Aretine” and Guelf, *popolare* “Florentine” identities, rooted respectively in the church and in the communal government.<sup>30</sup>

One consequence of the “Ghibellinizing” of the Aretine church was the disfavor of the Holy See. Guglielmino was succeeded by Ildebrandino de Romena (1289–1312), provided by Nicholas IV (1288–92) as an antidote to Guglielmino’s very local, very provocative rule.<sup>31</sup> Ildebrandino was a gifted administrator in both the ecclesiastical and the secular spheres who served at various times as rector of the papal provinces of Bologna and Romagna, and *podestà* and *signore* of the town of Civitella.<sup>32</sup> But any similarity to Guglielmino ends there. A curialist from the Lombard-Tuscan clan of the Conti Guidi, he was much at odds with his Ghibelline church and clergy. The Conti Guidi, long prominent in Arezzo,<sup>33</sup> were regarded nonetheless as interlopers who had penetrated the *contado* at the expense of more properly Aretine clans. Conti Guidi leadership of Arezzo’s Guelfs fostered an identification of Guelfism with Florentine interference in the thirteenth century: the *podestà*, Count Guido Novella dei Conti Guidi, had led Arezzo’s Guelfs in battle alongside the Florentines against Guglielmino degli Ubertini at Campaldino.<sup>34</sup>

Ildebrandino may not be Arezzo’s first papal *provisus*,<sup>35</sup> but he is the first with whom a studied papal policy is apparent. His provision rewarded the Conti Guidi for upholding a Tuscan order which the popes saw as necessarily Guelf and Florentine, and it was intended to sever ties between Arezzo’s church and resurgent Ghibellines. But without local support, Ildebrandino could not slow the Ghibelline ascendancy. A series of Ghibelline *podestà* so weakened the *popolo* that by 1300 Arezzo’s power struggle had shifted to two Ghibelline factions, the *Verdi* under the Conti

<sup>30</sup> For Guglielmino and his virtual *signoria* in Arezzo, see Falciai, *Storia di Arezzo*, 113–28; for his ecclesiastical policies, see Brentano, *Two Churches*, 100, 103, 204, 322.

<sup>31</sup> *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, nos. 1533–37 (26 September 1289).

<sup>32</sup> For Bologna and Romagna, see *ibid.*, nos. 7582 (22 December 1290), 7324–25 (27 May 1291), and 7535 (1290, where he is also named rector of Bertinoro); for Civitella, see *Annales* (maiores), 13.24–27.

<sup>33</sup> Bishops Costantino I and Guido I (1116–30) may have been Conti Guidi (Ughelli, *Italia sacra* 1:465–67).

<sup>34</sup> *Annales* (maiores), 10.4–5.

<sup>35</sup> Marcellino (1237–49), from a powerful Guelf family of Piceno, succeeded the pro-Staufen bishops of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, possibly as a *provisus* of Gregory IX. See Ughelli, *Italia sacra* 1:469(2)–470(2).

di Faggiola, and the *Secchi* under the Tarlati,<sup>36</sup> concurring only in their desire to destroy the *popolo*. Exiled in 1307, the *Verdi* were restored by young Francesco di Tano degli Ubaldini, who assumed dictatorial powers in 1308. The opportunistic Tarlati drove out Francesco with *popolare* aid on 8 October, installing Ciappetta de Monte Acuto as Captain of the *popolo* and Uguccone as *podestà*. Just two days later the *popolo* was forced to squelch a Tarlati revolt, but the rally ended when Uguccone became Captain of the city:<sup>37</sup> with Tarlati aid he expelled Ciappetta, now *podestà*, and threw down the *popolo* in April 1309. The failure of a Florentine army to restore the Guelfs and *Verdi* (1310) sounded the *popolo*'s death-knell, confirmed by a devastating Florentine defeat at the hands of Emperor Henry VII and the Aretines at Ancise (September 1312).<sup>38</sup> Henry's victory ended any hope of recovery for either the Guelf *popolo* or the *Verdi*: from 1311 to 1313, five foreign, imperial vicars ruled the city.<sup>39</sup>

Oddly enough, relations between the papacy and Arezzo warmed during this period, largely because of a chill in the papacy's relations with Florence. Anxious to distance himself from the Guelf-Ghibelline factionalism which had driven the papal court to Lyons, Clement V abandoned his predecessors' policy of sometimes uncritical support for Florence, turning instead to ostensibly nonpartisan agents like Henry VII to end the civil wars of the peninsula. As a result, Clement's relations with Florence were strained from the time of his election. In 1306 he despatched Cardinal Napoleone Orsini as legate to Tuscany to protect a White Guelf regime in Pistoia from the aggressive Black Guelfs who had been swept to power in Florence and Bologna. Napoleone mounted an expedition against Florence in 1307, supported by an Aretine company anxious to avenge the ravages of a Florentine army in the Aretine *contado* earlier that year. The initiative failed; yet it seemed for a moment at least that Arezzo's trad-

<sup>36</sup> *Annales* (maiores), 9–12 passim. The counts of Urbino often served as *podestà*: Taddeo, 1273 (*ibid.*, 8.11); Galasso, 1290, 1291, 1298 (10.8–11, 17); Federico, 1303, 1304 (11.16–17, 20). Uguccone della Faggiola was *podestà* from 1292 to 1295 (10.12–14) and in 1303, when he was expelled (11.10–15).

<sup>37</sup> *Annales* (maiores), 12.16–26. The *popolo* so feared the Tarlati that it built three towers at Petramala in 1308/9 (*ibid.*, 12.25–26; 12.27–13.1).

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.5–12; as the annalist observes, “et eo anno [1310] populus fractus est sine prelio, et de cetero postea non fuit, et velit Deus quod de cetero non sit: non est talis populus arretinus!” (*ibid.*, 13.21–22). For the turbulent events of the period, see Falciai, *Storia di Arezzo*, 149–58.

<sup>39</sup> The vicars were Simone of Padua, 1311 (*Annales* [maiores], 13.27–29); Giovanni Caligine of Padua, *Conte Conti de Ilcio*, 1312 (*ibid.*, 14.3–5); Filippo di Caprona and Federico II da Montefeltro of Urbino, 1313 (*ibid.*, 14.17–19).

tional hostility towards Florence would not, for a change, incur papal disfavor.<sup>40</sup>

Indeed it did not. The election of Guido Tarlati in 1312, after the death of the unpopular Ildebrandino, gave Clement an opportunity to cultivate a strong Tuscan ally decidedly outside of the Florentine sphere. Archpriest of Santa Maria Aretina and barely thirty years of age,<sup>41</sup> Guido was chosen by two Aretine canons, Lotto Ciaffaroni and Cio Tegrini, *compromissarii* of the deadlocked chapter and provost, Boso degli Ubertini.<sup>42</sup> The election reacted strongly against the rule of Ildebrandino de Romena: leader of Arezzo's preeminent Ghibelline clan, Guido embodied the anti-Florentine, anti-*popolare* sentiments which had emerged as the most characteristic features of Arezzo's identity. Yet while clearly in his rights to reject the election, Clement not only approved it without hesitation<sup>43</sup> but guaranteed an expanded role for Guido over local ecclesiastical personnel by granting him rights of provision over Arezzo's collegiate churches and the benefices which Guido had held before his election.<sup>44</sup>

Clement clearly recognized that Arezzo's future lay with its youthful, vigorous, Ghibelline bishop, and in his enthusiasm to cultivate Aretine support Clement came to regard the Guelf constitution of Arezzo's communal government as a dispensible commodity. In 1314 Clement's Italian vicar, King Robert of Sicily, as nominal *signore* of Arezzo,<sup>45</sup> may have granted to Bishop Guido and a Florentine knight, Gerio Spina, the power to elect magistrates and *podestà*, as Leonardo Bruni suggests.<sup>46</sup> The *Annales* do not mention the grant; the only *podestà* which they expressly name as an appointment of Guido's is Corraducio de Rocca Contrata (1327).<sup>47</sup> Yet the identities of earlier *podestà* lend credence to Bruni's claim: Man-

<sup>40</sup> See Peter Partner, "Florence and the Papacy 1300–1375," in *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. J. R. Hale et al. (London, 1965), 81–82; G. Mollat, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 10th ed. (Paris, 1964), 147–49; *Annales* (maiores), 12.7–15.

<sup>41</sup> Falciai, *Storia di Arezzo*, 159. Santa Maria was Arezzo's most important *pieve*: its canons shared with the cathedral canons the right to elect the bishop (*Regestum Clementis papae V*, no. 6227). The chapters had been united by Bishop Guglielmino (Brentano, *Two Churches*, 103).

<sup>42</sup> *Regestum Clementis papae V*, no. 8600.

<sup>43</sup> Guido was examined by Cardinals Berengar Frédel, Arnaud de Cantaloup, and Pietro Colonna (7 July 1312), consecrated by Cardinal Berengar, and ordered to return to his see on 2 January 1313 (*ibid.*, nos. 8600, 8899).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 8904–5 (5 January 1313). Guido was also permitted to conduct visitations and receive procurations by proxy (*ibid.*, no. 8903), a privilege his predecessor had also enjoyed (*ibid.*, no. 791; 22 April 1306).

<sup>45</sup> See *Annales* (minores), 43.4–5; 43–44 n. 1.

<sup>46</sup> Leonardo Bruni Aretino, *Historiarum Florentini populi libri XII*, ed. Emilio Santini and Carmine di Pierro, *RIS2* 19, pt. 3, 112.44–47 (1314).

<sup>47</sup> *Annales* (maiores), 21.5–6.

ghinardo (1315) was kin to Francesco degli Ubaldini; Buonconte (1317) was a son of Galasso da Montefeltro; Galeotto Guglielmini (1318) was an imperial Count Palatine; Francesco Castracani (1323) was the brother of the despot of Lucca, Castruccio Castracani; Ughetto of Forlì, knighted by Guido in the *duomo*, was elected (1324) after Forlian troops had aided in the capture of Città di Castello; Bertoldo of Fabriano (1325/6) came from a town whose revolt against the rector of the March had been subsidized by Federico II of Urbino and by Guido.<sup>48</sup> If the grant is genuine, it, and Gerio's prompt disappearance from the historical record, gave Guido tacit papal approval to determine the direction of Arezzo's political leadership without reference to the traditionally Guelf alliances of the thirteenth-century popes. Certainly, such a grant would have made sense in light of contemporary conditions: the end of the imperial vicariate in 1313 brought a crisis of regime to Arezzo, where the Ghibelline destruction of the city's *popolare* organs had left the commune without effective structures of government. The only important communal institution to remain intact was the cathedral. In fact, from early in his episcopacy Guido Tarlati exercised real executive power in Arezzo; a document of the Archivio Capitolare Aretino of Santa Maria in Gradi calls him *signore* in 1315.<sup>49</sup> His unanimous election as *signore* by the impotent council of Four-hundred in 1321 did little more than affirm the reality of Guido's rule and the destruction of the *popolo*; one of Guido's first acts after the election was to remove from the *palazzo del popolo* the bell which summoned the *popolo*, replacing it with one too large to be rung.<sup>50</sup>

Guido's episcopal *signoria* was born of developments in a firmly Ghibelline church, responding much more vitally to Aretine realities than the Guelf *popolo* had. Identifying himself with the traditional interests of his city, Guido exploited communal sensibilities deftly to render Aretine objectives inseparable from his own. From May 1322 to January 1324 he captured Fronzola, Montalone, Focagnano, Faggiola, Rondine, and Caprese in a series of conquests which appealed to the martial spirit of Arezzo, whose diocese and *contado* had been forged in fierce conflicts;<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> For Manghinardo, see *Annales* (maiores), 15.13; for Buonconte and Galeotto, 15.26–27 and n. 9; for Francesco, 17.24–25; for Ughetto, 18.25, 19.10–12; for Bertoldo, 20.5, 29.

<sup>49</sup> *Annales* (maiores), 16–17 n. 6; the Minors of 1319 describe Guido already as “episcop[us] et generalis domin[us] Arretinorum” (*Annales* [minores], 43.7–8).

<sup>50</sup> *Annales* (maiores), 16.7–17.2. He was given a one-year *signoria* on 13 April; it was extended for life on 6 July (*ibid.*, 16.18) or 6 August (*Annales* [minores], 43.11–13).

<sup>51</sup> The conflict with Siena dated from the seventh century (see Falciai, *Storia di Arezzo*, 77–88; Tabacco, *Struggle for Power*, 91–92, 95). Thirteenth-century Arezzo was often at war—with Siena (1230), Perugia (1246), Florence (1254, 1288), Cortona (1258), Borgo San Sepolcro (1280), and many lesser towns throughout the century (*Annales* [maiores], 4–11 *passim*; for Guido's conquests, *ibid.*, 17.3–13; Bruni, *Historiarum Florentini populi libri*, 117.20–32, 118.15–

his drive to break Florentine power was consistent with the history of a city whose greatest and darkest rites of passage were commemorated at Campaldino, Ancise, and other battlefields stained by the commingling of Florentine and Aretine blood.<sup>52</sup> Above all he strove to purge Arezzo of Guelf influences, beginning with the Conti Guidi, in whom Florentine aggression and papal intrusion had apparently coalesced with the provision of Ildebrandino. Guido's conquests of Fronzola (May 1322)—held by the Conti Guidi counts of Battifolle—and Caprese—formerly under Aretine jurisdiction, but held for sixty years by the counts of Romena—were part of a program aimed at undoing Ildebrandino's alien, Guelf legacy. This policy at times enjoyed even the support of Conti Guidi subjects: when Guido ordered the Capresiani to expel the Conti Guidi (July 1323) they willingly agreed, forcing the counts to take refuge in the *rocca*. Guido's brother, Pier Saccone, made a pact with the besieged: unless they could secure aid within ten days, they would cede the *rocca* to the Aretines. The defenders could find no assistance, and Guido took control of the fortress.<sup>53</sup> The victory occasioned great celebration; as the Aretine annalist rejoiced,

Let the Aretine city, then, exult, and the citizens and peasants, that anew they held Caprese, which had been conquered from its county, and from their dominion and rule for all this time and beyond; and again, should they wish, let them have a goat (*capra*) painted in the Palace of the Commune in memory of the things related above.<sup>54</sup>

Caprese was more than just another conquest in the *contado*, more than the reassertion of Aretine authority over territories which had too long

26).

<sup>52</sup> Guido's actions of 1323 ultimately worked to the detriment of Florence: the siege of Faggiola was a sign of goodwill towards Castruccio, who had been imprisoned and sentenced to death by Uguccione and Nieri della Faggiola in 1314 (Bruni, *Historiarum Florentini populi libri*, 118.15–26; Louis Green, *Castruccio Castracani: A Study on the Origins and Character of a Fourteenth-Century Italian Despotism* [Oxford, 1986], 72–73); the conquest of Rondine weakened Florence's frontier (Bruni, *Historiarum Florentini populi libri*, 116.5–8, 117.46–48); Aretine funds and soldiers backed Castruccio in his Florentine campaign of 1321 (see Robert Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 8 vols., trans. Giovanni Battista Klein [Florence, 1956–68], 4:890). Guido's alliance with the Ubaldini, exiled from Florence in the thirteenth century, reflects a commitment to the foes of Florence's Guelf leadership (Gene A. Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society, 1343–1378* [Princeton, 1962], 111–12).

<sup>53</sup> *Annales* (maiores), 18.25–19.30. For the conquest of Fronzola, *ibid.*, 17.3–13.

<sup>54</sup> “Gaudeat ergo civitas aretina et cives et eius comitatini, quod Capresam rehabuerunt, que de comitatu ipsius et devicta steterat ab eorum dominio et mandatu [*sic*] per ipsum tempus et ultra, et iterum in palatio comunis, si volunt, faciant pingi capram ad memoriam predictorum” (*Annales* [maiores], 19.6–9).



lain under foreign influence. It was the conscious rejection of a papally imposed model of episcopal leadership which trampled on Arezzo's xenophobic sensibilities, the triumph of the local, Ghibelline *electus* over the foreign, Guelf *provisus*.

Arezzo's fiery Ghibellinism did not bother Clement V (who, admittedly, did not live to see Guido's *signoria*); nor was Guido hostile to the papacy, though his Ghibellinism was never in doubt.<sup>55</sup> Poor papal-Aretine relations returned only in 1316, with the election of John XXII. Determined to restore papal authority in Italy, John spurned Clement's tentative, non-partisan initiatives for an aggressive Italian policy centered on the thirteenth-century Guelf axis of Florence, the papacy, and Angevin Sicily; and if Florence's role in this alliance was rather diminished, it nevertheless guaranteed the return of papal disfavor towards Arezzo.<sup>56</sup> The entente between Clement and Arezzo reveals Clement's desire to cultivate Tuscan allies outside of Florence; the ideological underpinnings of John's vision, with its basic assumption of statically hostile Guelf and Ghibelline spheres, did not allow him to see Guido, as Clement had, as a potentially useful Ghibelline ally. For John, Ghibellinism could never be anything but anti-papal and rebellious.

For his part, Guido did little to allay the pope's concerns. On the night of 2 October 1323 he and his allies, mainly Francesco di Tano degli Ubaldini and his brothers, seized the papal city of Città di Castello by a stratagem, ending any hope of reconciliation with the Holy See.<sup>57</sup> When Guido travelled to Palazolo to meet with the tyrants of Lombardy and Tuscany (January 1324), John XXII's patience was exhausted. Guido was

<sup>55</sup> In July 1315 Guido had sent troops to help Ugucione della Faggiola in his war against Florence and the Angevins (Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze* 4:797–98), and when Philippe de Valois entered Lombardy in 1320, Guido sent aid to Matteo Visconti (ibid. 4:867). In April 1320 John XXII warned Guido to stop provoking Ghibelline rebellions in Romagna, the March, Spoleto, and Assisi (Ubaldo Pasqui, *Documenti per la storia della città di Arezzo nel medio evo*, 3 vols. [Florence, 1916–37], 2:542–43, no. 715). For Guido's especially close ties with Castruccio Castracani from early in his episcopacy, see Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze* 4:1006.

<sup>56</sup> See Partner, "Florence and the Papacy," 83–84. For the changing dynamics of this alliance to the detriment of the Italians from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century, see Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254–1343* (Oxford, 1982), 15–34. The best study of John XXII's policy remains Giovanni Tabacco, *La casa di Francia nell'azione politica di papa Giovanni XXII* (Rome, 1953); for programs associated with or alternative to this policy, see idem, "Programmi di politica italiana in età avignonese," in *Aspetti culturali della società italiana nel periodo del papato avignonese*, Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, Università degli studi di Perugia 19 (Todi, 1981), 49–75.

<sup>57</sup> *Annales* (maiores), 18.23–19.30; *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium II*, ed. Albano Sorbelli, *RIS2* 18, pt. 1, vol. 2, 356.38–357.4; John XXII ordered Guido to liberate the city in April 1324 (Pasqui, *Documenti* 2:559–62, no. 725).

excommunicated on 12 April; when proceedings were published against him throughout central Italy that summer,<sup>58</sup> he openly threw in his lot with the pope's enemies, meeting with Louis IV and the Lombard despots in March 1327.<sup>59</sup> Amidst the spectacular pageantry with which Galeazzo Visconti received the emperor at Milan, Guido himself placed the Iron Crown on Louis' brow in the church of San Ambrogio, assisted by the bishop of Brescia.<sup>60</sup> By 1327 Guido had left very little doubt as to where he stood in the war between pope and emperor.

During this conflict papal provisions in Arezzo reached their greatest extent and assumed their most blatantly unsympathetic character. John XXII made ecclesiastical politics central to the conflict from almost the start: in 1325 he raised nearby Cortona, an Aretine subject, to diocesan status, with Rinieri di Beordo degli Ubertini as the first bishop (1325–48), effectively halving the vast Aretine diocese to the advantage of a city with which Arezzo had a long and bitter rivalry.<sup>61</sup> More significantly, in May 1326 he deposed Guido and commended the Aretine church to the provost Boso, brother of Rinieri degli Ubertini; Boso was formally appointed bishop in December.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> For the proceedings, see *Jean XXII, Lettres communes*, nos. 20393–94, 20485, 20489, 20495–97, 20506–7, 20512, 20514, 20518, 20527, 20535, 20537–38, 20542, 20555, 20559, 20563–64, 20572, 20593, 20602; Louis IV, the Visconti, and the rebellious towns of Fermo and Fabriano were also named in the proceedings. For Palazolo, see *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium II*, 360.15–361.5; for the excommunication, see Villani, *Cronica* 9.266 (ed. Moutier, 4:233–34). Guido was ordered to yield Città di Castello and lay down his *signoria* within sixty days, and to appear at Avignon within ninety days.

<sup>59</sup> *Annales* (maiores), 21.8–11.

<sup>60</sup> *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium II*, 377.10–378. 21; Villani, *Cronica* 10.19 (ed. Moutier, 5:26–27); *Annales* (maiores), 21.12; the archbishop of Milan had refused to perform the coronation. According to the Bolognese chronicle, Guido was rewarded when Louis made him bishop of Città di Castello later that summer. This should not suggest that Louis accepted Guido's deposition by John XXII as valid, but rather that he was adding Città di Castello to the diocesan jurisdiction of Arezzo.

<sup>61</sup> *Annales* (maiores), 19.13–30. For the erection of Cortona and provision (19 June 1325), see Pasqui, *Documenti* 2:588–91, no. 732; *Jean XXII, Lettres communes*, nos. 22608, 22609. The pope had prepared for the erection of Cortona in May, dissolving arrangements between Cortona and Guido, whereby Arezzo leased rights and properties in Cortona for 1000 florins (*ibid.*, no. 22368). Arezzo had warred with Cortona in 1230 and destroyed it in 1258 (*Annales* [maiores], 4.21, 7.3–4), when Bishop Guglielmino subjugated the town (Pasqui, *Documenti* 2:334–39, nos. 607–9).

<sup>62</sup> Villani, *Cronica* 10.12 (ed. Moutier, 5:21–22); see Pasqui, *Documenti* 2:602–3, no. 741. For Guido's deposition, see *Jean XXII, Lettres communes*, no. 27212. Relations between Boso and Guido were strained before Guido's deposition: Guido had excommunicated Boso for failing to pay debts to the *pievano* of Mensoli; John XXII ordered the archbishop of Split to annul the sentence in January 1325 (Pasqui, *Documenti* 2:586–87, no. 730).

The provision of the Ubertini brothers was more a blow at Guido than Arezzo. The Ubertini, who had been leaders of Arezzo's Ghibellines before their eclipse by the Tarlati in the early 1300s, rebelled against Guido in 1324 in what was essentially a feud between the clan which had formerly dominated the Aretine church and the upstarts who had displaced them.<sup>63</sup> Stunned at first, Guido quickly gained the upper hand:<sup>64</sup> by July 1325 the Ubertini and Cortona were so vulnerable that John XXII had to place them under the protection of the rector of the Patrimony;<sup>65</sup> Guido razed the Ubertini towns of Laterina (earlier subjected to Guido's puppet *podestà*, Uguccio Magii) and Monte San Sabino in April 1326.<sup>66</sup> Even with the aid of the papal legate, Cardinal Giovanni Orsini, the exiled and impecunious Ubertini were unable to mount a real challenge to Guido's power. Distracted by Castruccio Castracani and by his own interests in Rome, Orsini merely issued hollow pronouncements of Guido's condemnation and deposition at Florence (30 August 1326) and Perugia (May 1327).<sup>67</sup> Orsini was to do anything in his power to unseat Guido, but by June 1327 John XXII was advising him that it was no longer expedient to assist Boso; recognizing the futility of trying to expel Guido from Arezzo, the pope ordered Orsini to confer to Boso several benefices with total revenues of *f*500, to sustain him until such time as he could finally take possession of the Aretine see.<sup>68</sup> For his part, Guido took brutal steps to demonstrate his continued hold on Arezzo's church: when Boso assigned

<sup>63</sup> Guido's fury towards the clan was eventually enshrined in the Aretine Statute of 1327 (bk. 3, chap. 22): Boso, Rinieri, and their brothers, Guido, Bustacio, and Franceschino, were sentenced to death and their goods ordered seized; their descendants were declared infamous and banished from Arezzo perpetually (Giulia Marri Camerani, ed., *Statuto di Arezzo [1327]* [Florence, 1946], 208–9). For their efforts to keep Cortona under Aretine control, the late Bonalbergo de Ulmo de Santa Flora, *magister* Viva de Tegoletto, Ugo Adacti, Riccio Bonacursi, Giovanni Orlandi, and *magister* Ranucci, and all their descendants, would enjoy perpetual immunity from all tolls, collections, and communal interference, except as regarded armed service and riding (*ibid.*, 83 [bk. 2, chap. 22]).

<sup>64</sup> When Castruccio Castracani sought Guido's aid against Florence (1325), Guido was forced to decline (Bruni, *Historiarum Florentini populi libri*, 127.24–37), diverting his forces and efforts against the Ubertini: he exiled the clan, seized their goods and revenues and levelled their fortresses; and upon Rinieri's arrival in Cortona, Guido razed Ubertini properties in Arezzo and fortified Castiglione Aretino against Cortona (*Annales* [maiores], 19.31–20.4).

<sup>65</sup> Pasqui, *Documenti* 2:591, no. 734.

<sup>66</sup> For the destruction of Laterina and Monte San Sabino, see *Annales* (maiores), 20.29–21.4; (minores), 43.21; for the *podesteria* of Uguccio, see *Annales* (maiores), 20.22–27; Bruni, *Historiarum Florentini populi libri*, 127.24–37, 128.4–14.

<sup>67</sup> See Villani, *Cronica* 10.3 (ed. Moutier, 5:8–9); and Francesco Bonaini et al., eds., *Cronache e storie inedite della città di Perugia dal MCL al MDLXIII* (*Archivio Storico Italiano*, ser. I, 16.1 [1850]: 64, 93–94).

<sup>68</sup> See *Reg. Vat.* 113, fol. 352ra–vb (6 June 1326); 114, fols. 56rb (5 January 1327), 62ra (13 June 1327), 56vb–57ra (22 June 1327; also edited in Pasqui, *Documenti* 2:605–6, no. 744).

the *pieve* of San Vittore di Rapolano to Vanni de Santa Cristina, Guido had Vanni tortured until he renounced the benefice.<sup>69</sup>

Even if the provisions of the Ubertini brothers failed to break Guido's power, they highlight John XXII's willingness to make local church politics a centerpiece of his struggle with Arezzo. On this basis, aided by his own reservation of many Italian churches to papal provision,<sup>70</sup> John pursued a greatly expanded policy of provision in Arezzo, aimed more broadly at disrupting the Ghibelline character of the local church. Earlier popes had been willing at times to provide bishops but kept interference in other Aretine benefices to a minimum. It was a prudent stance; the otherwise benevolent Clement V, who was fairly generous in distributing Aretine benefices to Italian cardinals and their *familiars*,<sup>71</sup> had learned just how defensive Aretine nobles could be where the local church was concerned. In 1309, at the request of Cardinal Niccolò Albertini, he provided Niccolò's chaplain, Corrado of Parma, to the Aretine *pieve* of Torrica, vacant through the election of Niccolò's nephew Rinieri as bishop of Patras. A local cleric, Nieri de Guardavalle, seized the *pieve*. Through the bishop of Siena, Clement ordered Nieri to surrender the *pieve* within thirty days under pain of excommunication and deposition from his benefices. Nieri appealed the provision to the Holy See, but the papal judge-delegate, Bernard Royardi, decided in Corrado's favor, enjoining Nieri to perpetual silence on the matter. Two Sienese canons, Alessandro Salimbeni and Guido Malavolti, were to execute the sentence, but Nieri and his faction held the *pieve* by force. At Niccolò's request, Clement ordered the bishop of Florence, the Aretine provost (Boso degli Ubertini) and the archpriest of Santa Maria Aretina (Guido Tarlati) to warn Nieri to acquiesce; otherwise, he would be cited to appear at Avignon.<sup>72</sup>

One is reminded of Francesco Gaetani and his troubles in York, but there are important differences. Francesco neither knew English nor resided in England; he was a foreign, disinterested papal nephew, profiting handsomely from his English benefices. Though not Aretine, Cardinal

<sup>69</sup> *Reg. Vat.* 114, fol. 55rb–va (14 November 1326), where the legate was ordered to proceed against Guido and the cleric to whom the *pieve* was subsequently provided.

<sup>70</sup> *Jean XXII, Lettres communes*, nos. 12007 (13 September 1319), 16165 (30 July 1322).

<sup>71</sup> Cardinal Niccolò Albertini obtained Aretine benefices for his nephew Rinieri (*Regestum Clementis papae V*, nos. 62, 99), for his chaplain, Alauno Pauli of Perugia (81), and for Niccolò Boccamazzi, whose uncle, Pope Benedict XI had made Albertini cardinal (6029). Cardinal Francesco Orsini obtained an Aretine canonry for his chamberlain, Benedetto of Florence (1260); Napoleone Orsini obtained one for his kinsman, Giovanni Arlotti (6601). Cardinal Riccardo Petroni obtained the Aretine *pieve* of Pava for a nephew, Raimundo (314).

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 5337 (19 December 1309), 7011 (28 June 1311); the registers then fall silent on the matter.

Niccolò Albertini was a Tuscan from Prato; Ghibelline himself, he was an advocate for Aretine interests at the curia.<sup>73</sup> The incident reveals much about the narrow defensiveness of the Aretine church. Tuscan, Ghibelline Arezzo perceived as alien the interests of a Tuscan, Ghibelline cardinal, connected to but not from Arezzo, and the clans which laid claim to Aretine benefices could resort to extreme measures to retain them against invasive papal provisions. Other communes—Perugia, for example—expressed dissatisfaction with such interference less radically, preserving their local characters in the face of papal provision through a combination of less provocative resistance and adroit *faits accomplis*.<sup>74</sup> Nieri de Guardavalle may have come from a clan prone to such violence—twenty-three years later, Levinio di Ghino de Guardavalle would find himself the aggressor in a very similar case<sup>75</sup>—but he embodies a typically extreme Aretine response against intrusions into a very narrowly defined local identity. Having discovered this, Clement V, like his predecessors, grew more careful to leave Aretine benefices in Aretine hands.<sup>76</sup>

Such was not the case with John XXII, whose extensive interventions in appointments to Aretine benefices reveal a desire to punish a rebellious, intransigently Ghibelline church. Nowhere was this clearer than in the chapter, where John provided some twenty-seven canons. Only seven of these were Aretines,<sup>77</sup> whereas at least twenty of John's *provisi* were for-

<sup>73</sup> Niccolò later emerged as one of Guido Tarlati's friends at the curia; Guido appealed to him in 1313 to defend the Dominican Bernardino da Montepulciano from rumors that he had poisoned Emperor Henry VII (Pasqui, *Documenti* 2:526–28, nos. 705, 706).

<sup>74</sup> See Silano, "Apostolic See," 488–511. Strategically located on the northeastern edge of the Patrimony of Saint Peter, Perugia was of sufficient importance that the popes were often willing (or compelled) to cater to Perugian demands (Maria Pecugi Fop, *Il Comune di Perugia e la Chiesa durante il periodo Avignonese, con particolare riferimento all'Albornoz* [Perugia, 1970], 14–23).

<sup>75</sup> In November 1332 John XXII ordered the prior of San Giovanni *ad Assum* and the archpriests of the *pievi* of Santa Maria, Montepulciano, and San Quirico in Osenna to confer to Francesco Bertuldi the church of San Benedetto, Montepulciano, which had been provided to him, but seized by Levinio (*Jean XXII, Lettres communes*, no. 58788).

<sup>76</sup> This was generally the case, but not always: when Cardinal Riccardo Petroni returned to Italy for health reasons in 1313, Clement permitted him to confer benefices in six Tuscan churches, including Arezzo, to his *familiares* (*Regestum Clementis papae V*, no. 9637).

<sup>77</sup> The Aretine *provisi* were Bindo degli Arnaldi (*Jean XXII, Lettres communes*, no. 13244), Bandino di Nieri degli Ubertini (28951), Farinata di Bustacio degli Ubertini (28952), Docciarino di Vanni de Magalottis (30937), Benedetto Tzinguli (53637), Guccio Poggini de Lantolina (55581). The *contadino* Francesco de Civitella was provided by the legate Giovanni Orsini on the pope's behalf (28809). The Aretine chapter had been strikingly central to the religious life of the city in the thirteenth century, enjoying an unusual degree of independence with respect to the bishops: of Tuscan chapters, only that of Lucca was comparably autonomous; see Brentano, *Two Churches*, 80; Duane J. Osheim, *An Italian Lordship: The Bishopric of Lucca in Late Middle Ages* [Berkeley, 1977], 120).

eigners.<sup>78</sup> Of the thirteen Aretine canons named in John's common letters, six held their canonries before John's election; but of the twenty-six foreigners named, no more than six had held canonries prior to John's election.<sup>79</sup> Thus, under John XXII, when relations between Arezzo and the papacy reached their nadir, foreigners came to outnumber Aretines two to one in the chapter. The one local family to stand out in the chapter was the Ubertini: Bishops Boso and Rinieri, and perhaps Bandino di Nieri, held canonries prior to John's pontificate, but the rest were provided in reaction to Guido's rebellion, and with the very conscious recognition that the Ubertini were Guido's bitterest enemies in Arezzo. Bandino (already a canon of Arezzo) received Boso's provostry, canonry and prebend, upon Boso's episcopal appointment; Farinata di Bustacio, a nephew of Boso and Rinieri, received the canonry which Bandino was held to resign; Farinata's brother, Galtieri, cleric of Arezzo, was provided to a benefice in Arezzo in March 1324, at the time of the Ubertini revolt; Ubertino di Francesco received the same grace in March 1329, after Guido's death but during the ongoing rebellion of Arezzo's Ghibelline clergy.<sup>80</sup> In comparison to loyal Siena, for instance, rebellious Arezzo's failure to obtain favorable provisions from the pope becomes painfully clear. Sienese *grandi*, no less than those of Arezzo, were capable of violent outrage when papal provisions failed to account for traditional aristocratic interests—in 1327 Niccolò Malavolti seized the *pieve* of San Andrea de Bozone and held it against the papal *provisus* Hugo Bencivenni for four years, in a case remarkably like

<sup>78</sup> Omodei dei Papazuri (*Jean XXII, Lettres communes*, no. 17922), Lorenzo Vallati (13214), Niccolò Palinerii de Turre (11504), and Tomasso di Giovanni Gregorii (2500) were Roman; Contuccio Galeoti *de Petorio* (1819), Puccio di Rinalduccio de Zamperlariis (11142), and Stefano Pellini (17874) were Perugian; Federico dei Bardi (10469) and Giovanni di Guiduccio Donati (3723) were Florentine; Ginozzo di Notto Salimbeni (45635) and Francesco Bertuldi of Montepulciano (45719) were Sienese (Montepulciano lay in Arezzo's diocese, but in Siena's *condado*; see William M. Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena under the Nine, 1237–1355* [Berkeley, 1981], 9); Jean Beuraut was French (47768); Filippo di Giovanni Gaetani came from Assisi (9232); Berardo came from Bibbiena (11562); Francesco Ugolini de Castroleonis was Bolognese (22886); Giovanni de Casulis was Volterrann (2064); Gherardo Mathei came from Corneto (60286); of unknown origin were Pietro Bandini *de Casitte* (2165), Boninsegna Andrae (40104), and Philippus *natus Amadei notarii* (45718).

<sup>79</sup> The Aretines were Rinieri and Boso degli Ubertini (*Jean XXII, Lettres communes*, nos. 22886, 28951), Bandino de Pergine (20834), Donato Mirancii (18855), Gerio de Bolonghara (2456) and Bandino Ranerii Aberisgis (42711). The Perugians Giovanni Benvenuti (21854) and Benvenuto (46342), the Florentines Jacopo di Cione Marzuoli (42704) and Jacopo Joannis (42648), Angelo of Assisi (18855), and the Périgordin Fortanier de St.-Astier (9232) may have held their canonries before John's election.

<sup>80</sup> For Farinata, see *ibid.*, nos. 28951–52 (14 June 1327); for Galtieri, 19071; for Ubertino, 44851.

that of Nieri de Guardavalle in Arezzo twenty years earlier<sup>81</sup>—but a favorable papal policy towards Siena meant that such extreme action was seldom called for: half of all canons were Sienese, and the local aristocratic houses of the Malavolti, Salimbeni, Bonsignori, and Paparoni held a quarter of canonries.<sup>82</sup>

John's provisions contain a punitively gratuitous foreignness, absent from those of his predecessors. Ildebrandino de Romena may not have been popular, but he was at least resident, an active participant in the affairs of the Aretine church. The limited provisions of Clement v sought not to punish Arezzo but to provide incomes for curialists, most of whom were Tuscan. John, on the other hand, intruded a large number of non-resident curialists or cardinals' *familiares* into the Aretine church. Many—the Roman Omodei dei Papazuri, the Florentines Federico Bardi and Giovanni Donati, the Sienese Ginozzo Salimbeni—came from clans who enjoyed prominence in the churches of their own cities; the provision of Florentines would certainly have galled the Aretines.<sup>83</sup> John must have known that after 1323 his nonresident *provisi* had no chance to collect their Aretine revenues, but for John, revenues were not the principal concern. His foreign provisions sought to shatter the local integrity of the Aretine church, to underscore dramatically the new reality: in an age when local chapters which elected local bishops were increasingly irrelevant,

<sup>81</sup> See *ibid.*, nos. 30544, 46650, 52624, 54980. The Malavolti, a great magnate clan barred from the ruling council of the Nine (William M. Bowsky, *The Finance of the Commune of Siena, 1287–1355* [Oxford, 1970], 6–7), were particularly prominent in the Sienese church (Bowsky, *A Medieval Commune*, 268–69), and could resort to extremes in defense of their position.

<sup>82</sup> In *Jean XXII, Lettres communes*, thirty Sienese canons are listed under that pope. The fifteen Sienese were Donodeo Malavolti (no. 3856), Guido Malavolti (2501), Rinaldo di Vulto Malavolti (2148), Alessandro di Bertacone dei Salimbeni (24190), Andrea di Pietro Salimbeni (45637), Jacopo dei Bonsignori (16065), Giovanni dei Paparoni (14907), Andrea dei Bonaventuri (58386), Andrea *de Senis* (28331), Bartolomeo Lencii (25977), Lando Moccholetti (47578), Pietro Minucii (54428), and the *contadini* Accursio de Massa (541), Angelo di Guasta de Radicofani (54076), and Angelo Guillelmi de Montepulciano (45720). There were four Romans (the curialist Angelo Tignosi [2859], Niccolò di Giovanni Boboni [13790], Silvestro di Matteo Silvestri [2863], Angelo di Niccolò Leni [64313]), three Perugians (Pietro Neroli [17884], Tiberuccio dei domini di Montemelino [8586], Tiberuccio Nini [52217]), two Orvietans (Fredo Nicholai [11172], Giovanni Jacobi [15013]), a Florentine (Filippo de Carmignano [3727]), a Grossetan (Simone de Scarlino [41745]), one from Rimini (Giovanni de Lanzolis [57181]), one from Fano (the curialist Uomo de Peretulo [7283]), one from Fiesole (Lapo di Giovanni de Certina [19992]), and two (Ludovicus Malaepresae [16316], Nicholas de Monterano [49775]) of uncertain origin.

<sup>83</sup> Giovanni Benvenuti, Puccio de Zamperlariis, Fortanier de St.-Astier, and—if he is to be identified with *Joannes Beraldi*—Jean Beuraut were curialists. Omodei dei Papazuri was a *familiaris* of Cardinals Jacopo and Giovanni Colonna; Contuccio Galeoti was associated with Cardinal Napoleone Orsini; Niccolò de Turre and Francesco de Castroleonis were *familiares* of Cardinal Giovanni Orsini; Filippo Gaetani was a *familiaris* of Cardinal Francesco Gaetani.

favorably “local” provisions would come only to churches which toed the papal line.

Guido’s rebellion against this manifestly intrusive pope enjoyed almost universal support in Arezzo, where Guido’s rule had become identified with the spirit and vigor of a revitalized Aretine commune.<sup>84</sup> Much as his exploitation of Arezzo’s rabid hatred of the Florentines made him a hero to the Aretine people, his violent attempt to preserve the autonomy of the Aretine church won him the devotion and adoration of Arezzo’s clergy: a year after Guido’s premature and appropriately dramatic death (October 1327), replete with tearful death-bed confession,<sup>85</sup> his body was translated from Montenero to Arezzo by the entire Aretine clergy in a procession oddly reminiscent of those attendant on the translation of a saint’s relics.<sup>86</sup>

The Aretine clergy continued Guido’s rebellion after his death by lending almost universal support to the antipope Nicholas v (1328–30) against the pro-Avignonese foreigners. Nicholas was careful to acknowledge the importance of local identity in Aretine provisions. Nicholas’s register records fifteen provisions in Arezzo; thirteen were of Aretines.<sup>87</sup> So clearly were battle lines drawn between pro-Avignonese foreigners and pro-imperial Aretines that Nicholas identified foreign benefice-holders in Arezzo with rebellion against his “pontificate.” Benvenuto of Perugia, *sequax Jacobi de Caturco* (John XXII), was cast out of his canonry (albeit not in favor of a local candidate), as was Puccio de Zamperlariis, also a Perugian, whose canonry went to an Aretine, Giovanni di Tebaldo dei Gherardeschi.<sup>88</sup> Nieri della Faggiola, lieutenant of Louis IV and onetime ally of Guido Tarlati, helped Naldo di Pietro degli Arnaldi to acquire the

<sup>84</sup> The figures on Guido’s mausoleum in the *duomo* depict the ruined “comune pelato” before Guido, and Guido’s own rule in the figure of the thriving “comune tornato in signoria” (Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze* 4:907–9; Falciai, *Storia di Arezzo*, 161).

<sup>85</sup> Guido was with Louis IV and Castruccio Castracani at the siege of Pisa in the summer of 1327, but after the city fell (11 October), a disagreement over the treatment of the Pisan ambassadors opened old wounds between Castruccio and Guido; when the emperor took Castruccio’s side, Guido departed angrily. En route to Arezzo he succumbed to the unwholesome air of the Maremma. Dying, he repented of his rebellion against the Church and denounced Louis as a heretic. If God should restore his health, Guido promised, he would keep faithful to the Church and John XXII. He confessed, took the Host, and died at the castle of Montenero on 21 October (Villani, *Cronica* 10.35 [ed. Moutier, 5:50–51]). News of Guido’s death prompted the grief-stricken Aretine army to break its siege of the Florentine town of Monte Santa Maria and return home (*ibid.*).

<sup>86</sup> *Annales* (maiores), 22.6–8.

<sup>87</sup> The exceptions were the Roman “Cardinal” Giovanni Arlotti, provost after the “deposition” of Boso degli Ubertini by Nicholas v (*Jean XXII, Lettres communes*, no. 46351), and Jacopo d’Enrico dei Boveschi, a Roman and a notary of the antipope, who replaced the “rebellious” Benvenuto of Perugia as canon of Arezzo (*ibid.*, no. 46344).

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 46344; for Benvenuto, see n. 79 above.



canonry of a Florentine, Jacopo Marzuoli, deposed *per manifestam rebellionem*.<sup>89</sup> Filippo Gaetani of Assisi, *familiaris* of the late Cardinal Francesco Gaetani (uncle of the beleaguered treasurer of York), was stripped of his canonry for rebellion and replaced by an Aretine monk, Guglielmo Griffolini.<sup>90</sup> Giovanni of Perugia was deprived of the *pieve* of San Martino de Foiano in favor of Bernardo Griffolini; and in Città di Castello, the Aretine Francesco Lelae was provided to the abbacy of Santa Maria de Vignone after the ouster of the “rebel” abbot.<sup>91</sup> Even Aretines provided to their benefices by John XXII tended to favor Nicholas: when Nicholas provided Malgio Fegiboni of Arezzo to an Aretine canonry, he appointed as executors two Aretines, Donato Mirancii and Bindo degli Arnaldi, a cleric who owed his canonry to John XXII.<sup>92</sup>

Nicholas V aimed his policy at the aristocrats who traditionally dominated the Aretine church. Some of his Aretine *provisi*—Uguccione di Feo d’Azzone, Pietro Tallioli, Dino Landini, Feo Beyzoli, Giovanni d’Uguicchio—may not have been scions of noble clans,<sup>93</sup> but most of his beneficiaries were. The Arnaldi and Gherardeschi especially enjoyed the antipope’s favor. Dolfo d’Accurso degli Arnaldi, kinsman of Naldo and Bindo, was Nicholas’s sergeant, mace-bearer (*mazzerius*), and perpetual *familiaris*.<sup>94</sup> Giovanni di Tebaldo dei Gherardeschi received the canonry of Puccio de Zamperlariis and a dispensation to hold the canonry while absent for study—at just twelve years of age.<sup>95</sup> Giovanni’s brother, Pietro, *pievano* of Sant’Angelo di Castiglione Aretino and chaplain of the antipope, had his *pieve* expanded considerably when Nicholas granted his request to unite to it the churches of San Paolo and Santa Lucia.<sup>96</sup> Nicholas’s policy even had support amongst the Ubertini, who welcomed assurances of continued importance in the local church: the antipope’s *magister-ostiaris* was Nieri di Jacopo degli Ubertini, suggesting that the earlier revolt derived more from hatred of the Tarlati than from any firm devotion to the policies of John XXII.<sup>97</sup>

Without Guido, Arezzo was forced to yield to the forces it had struggled to defy from the mid-thirteenth century. The clergy’s rebellion could not

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., no. 42704.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., no. 42712; also 46330.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., nos. 46345, 46415.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., no. 46369. Malgio was dispensed from defects of order and age (25).

<sup>93</sup> For Uguccione, see *ibid.*, no. 46305; for Pietro, 42632; for Dino, 42633; for Feo, 42710; for Giovanni, 42711.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., no. 42703.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., nos. 46344, 46549.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., nos. 42624, 46350.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., no. 42589.

carry itself past the failure of Nicholas's "pontificate," degenerating into senseless, theatrical extremism.<sup>98</sup> By 1339 the Aretine clergy had submitted to Benedict XII, and Boso degli Ubertini held the bishopric peacefully until his death in 1365; his successor, Jacopo de Romena, a kinsman of Ildebrandino, was received apparently without incident.<sup>99</sup> The constitutional *signoria* which Guido sought to enshrine for his clan in the absence of ordinary dynastic succession could not duplicate the fusion of Ghibelline church and Ghibelline commune which Guido alone had been able to effect.<sup>100</sup> Guido's brothers, Pier Saccone and Tarlati, succeeded him as *defensores*, but in 1337 a revitalized Florence would purchase the rights to govern Arezzo from Pier Saccone.<sup>101</sup> Guido's regime was the last flowering of medieval Arezzo's intensely Ghibelline identity, a triumph of both faction and local church. In fourteenth-century Arezzo, they had become inseparable.

In this light, papal policy towards Arezzo from the late thirteenth century, and the reaction it provoked amongst an autochthonous, aristo-

<sup>98</sup> In 1330 Pier Saccone Tarlati installed an obscure Franciscan, Mansueto, as bishop; one of the most radical of the Aretine canons, Guglielmo Griffolini, chanted the gospel at the Mass of consecration (Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica* 1:104 n. 5). It was an embarrassingly extreme assertion of the sort of control which Arezzo—and the Tarlati—wished to retain over the Aretine church; but in the event, it achieved nothing. Mansueto's hasty return to obscurity, coupled with the pope's indifference towards the entire affair (it is ignored in John's letters), reveals the insignificance of this seemingly provocative incident. For Nicholas's "pontificate," see Konrad Eubel, "Der Gegenpapist Nikolaus V. und seine Hierarchie," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 12 (1891): 278–85.

<sup>99</sup> Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica* 1:104. On 7 October 1339 Benedict XII ordered Bishop Boso and the abbots of San Zenone (Pisa) and Camaldoli to absolve the Aretine clergy from excommunication incurred for adhering to Louis IV and Nicholas V, and for obeying Guido Tarlati and rejecting Bishop Boso; as penance they were to build and maintain a chapel in Arezzo (*Benoît XII [1334–1342], Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, ed. J.-M. Vidal, 3 vols. [Paris, 1903–11], no. 7200).

<sup>100</sup> The Statute of 1327, whose authors were chosen by the *defensores*, Ridolfo di Tarlati and Bettino di Vanni Tarlati (*Statuto di Arezzo*, 5), left all power with the Tarlati as *defensores*. The hereditary nature of the office is implied in the Statute, which stated that Pier Saccone and Bertoldo Tarlati would be elected as *defensores* when the term of Ridolfo and Bettino expired (*ibid.*, 14 [bk. 1, chap. 4]). The *popolari* organs which were retained were kept impotent through a web of circuitous interdependencies which precluded the means for decisive action; see, e.g., the disabling relationship amongst the *octo*, who replaced the *anziani*, the Four-hundred, and the *podestà* (*ibid.*, 14–15 [bk. 1, chap. 5]). The *arti*, powerless since 1287, would have their statutes and ordinances reformed by a panel of two judges, two notaries, two merchants, and two artisans, who would modify anything found "contra honorem et iurisdictionem comunis Aretii et statutum dicti comunis Aretii, vel ad monopolium, septam vel aliam illicitam conspirationem spectantia contra publicam utilitatem"; the panel would be chosen by the Tarlati *defensores* (*ibid.*, 65–66 [bk. 1, chap. 89]; quotation on 66).

<sup>101</sup> *Annales*, 51–60, Documento II. Arezzo fell definitively under Florentine domination in 1384 (see Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, 80).

cratic, and Ghibelline Aretine clergy, help to explain Guido's rebellion against the Church. Guido Tarlati's defiance of John XXII was part of a coherent—and very Aretine—policy which took aim at the influences that challenged Arezzo's independence and its distinctive communal identity, an identity given clear definition in the time of Guglielmino degli Ubertini and best expressed in antagonism towards Florence, favored daughter of Rome and Avignon. Florentine arms and money certainly did more to break the power of Arezzo's Ghibellines than did the provisions of John XXII, but these provisions provoked and antagonized Arezzo, and for John, that may have been enough. Since the time of Guglielmino degli Ubertini, papal provision in Arezzo sought less to acquire papal revenues or care for curialists than to undermine a local, ecclesiastical identity which the popes could hardly be expected to acknowledge, let alone preserve.

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## ENGLISH VOWED WOMEN AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

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The choice made by some medieval lay women to pursue chaste lives in the world has long been familiar to scholars; it constitutes the well-known “mantel and ryng” of medieval literature.<sup>1</sup> The following essay provides a brief history of this vocation and outlines the liturgical ceremonies which marked it. The study investigates the number, the location, and the social level of vowed women, using the legal position of widows as background.<sup>2</sup> The nature of vowed spirituality, a central issue, is then examined, partly through a survey of the reading directed toward widows. The essay concludes with some suggestions as to this vocation’s meaning for women. As a starting point for further research, a list of vowed women is provided in an appendix. Tracing this form of life makes more visible the range of female options, often thought to be rather narrowly divided between marriage and religious life. Further, this lay vocation should be seen as participating in the larger movement of late medieval spirituality, itself strongly marked by other female forms of life such as *beguinage*.

<sup>1</sup> See *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. *mantel* 1(g): “a robe, together with a ring, assumed by a widow or wife upon her profession of perpetual chastity before a bishop.” Seven examples of this expression are provided, ranging from ca. 1400 to ca. 1500.

<sup>2</sup> Recent literature on widows, of whom vowesses might be considered a subset, is extensive. Of central importance is Joel T. Rosenthal’s work, particularly his most recent book, *Patriarchy and Families of Privilege in Fifteenth-Century England* (Philadelphia, 1991), with its detailed discussion of widows, 175–256. Two collections of essays have recently been published: *Upon My Husband’s Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe*, ed. Louise Mirrer (Ann Arbor, 1992); and *Medieval London Widows 1300–1500*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton (Ronceverte, W. Va., 1994). For cases of vowesses whose motives seem primarily economic, see my essay in the latter volume, “Three Fifteenth-Century Vowesses,” 165–83. For case studies of widows, see Margaret Wade Labarge, “Three Medieval Widows and a Second Career,” in *Aging and the Aged in Medieval Europe*, ed. Michael M. Sheehan, *Papers in Medieval Studies* 11 (Toronto, 1990), 159–72. Dyan Elliott’s book on chaste marriage surveys the canonists’ views and suggests that this choice usually involved reversal of gender hierarchies: *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, 1993). Finally, I am grateful to P. H. Cullum for allowing me to read her paper, “Vowesses and Veiled Widows: Female Lay Piety in the Late Medieval Province of York.”

Though vowed female chastity has its roots in the early Church, the record of its adherents is particularly visible at the end of the Middle Ages. From the fourteenth century to the dissolution of the monasteries, names survive of English women who chose such a life. The term which such women used to describe themselves, beginning in the late fifteenth century, is "vowess." Appellations found less frequently are "advowess," "mantellata," and "vidua velata." Widows do constitute the majority of such women, though single women also made this decision (see the appendix below under the year 1516, Alice Hampton). For married women the decision to abstain sexually was necessarily a mutual one, requiring the husband's matching pledge, though upon a husband's death a woman who had lived in chaste marriage might sometimes vow perpetual chastity as a widow, taking the mantle and ring as Margaret Beaufort did.<sup>3</sup>

Like nuns, vowesses were clothed and veiled at an episcopal ceremony. Though in addition to chastity their vows sometimes included the same promises made by nuns, that is, stability and conversion of manners, their state remained formally a lay one, with physical freedom to come and go, and economic freedom to dispose what were sometimes considerable holdings of land or goods. Some vows mention the rule of St. Paul the Apostle, a reference to 1 Timothy 5:3–16, and though no formal rule of life seems to have existed, the implication for these women's religious posture is suggestive. While some vowesses affiliated with communities of religious women, others did not. The rubric "widow" probably conceals many who elected this state: Susan Kyngeston, for instance, whose Buckinghamshire vowess brass is one of a very few such English survivals, in her 1540 will calls herself simply "widow."<sup>4</sup>

Why did women make this choice? Secular considerations might include acknowledgement of past emotional ties, respect for inheritance patterns, and accession in familial coercion. To such motives may be added the economic advantage that husbands' wills sometimes offered to women who took vows. Spiritual impetus is somewhat more difficult to investigate. It cannot be doubted, however, that just as some vowesses found this state's

<sup>3</sup> For a full and interesting discussion of Margaret Beaufort's vow of chastity, see the recent biography of the countess by Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1992), 153, 160, 187–88.

<sup>4</sup> Susan Fettyplace Kyngeston's will is London, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), Prerogative Court of Canterbury (hereafter PCC) 28 Alenger, made 25 June 1540, proved 11 May 1541. Her brass at Shalston, Bucks., is reproduced in George Lipscomb, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, 4 vols. (London, 1847), 3:75. More information about her life is provided in Mary Erler, "The Books and Lives of Three Tudor Women," in *Privileging Gender in Early Modern England*, ed. Jean R. Brink, *Sixteenth-Century Essays and Studies* 23 (Kirksville, Mo., 1993), 5–17.

economic control appealing, so a tradition of secluded, though not cloistered, prayer and service lay behind others' choices.

Although we must leave open the possibility that the meaning of this vocation changed over time, nevertheless some suggestions may be offered. Spiritually the vow placed a woman in the second most highly regarded female state, by formally recognizing her as chaste, though not virginal. Economically it offered personal control of temporal resources, control which the vow safeguarded from male intrusion in the form of pressure to remarry. Psychologically the vow both initiated and recognized a new life, but one which, in its preservation of a woman's former identity, did not constitute a radical break with the past.

The ceremony which marked this choice has left its record in bishops' registers, where the details of names, times, and places are preserved. For the accompanying list of 251 vowed women from 1251 to 1537, edited episcopal registers have been surveyed through 1539 (supplemented with entries from wills and antiquarian sources), though absence of subject indices in older register editions means some names have probably escaped notice. Of the surviving registers slightly more than half are unedited (143 as opposed to 120 in print), while for another 45 episcopates no register survives.<sup>5</sup> Full recovery of vowess names and final assessment of this vocation's significance will depend on future editing work, and further archival research will certainly uncover the identities of more vowed women.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> A. Daniel Frankforter, "The Episcopal Registers of Medieval England: An Inventory," *The British Studies Monitor* 6, no. 2 (Spring 1976): 3–22; David M. Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers of England and Wales*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 11 (London, 1981). Besides these inventories of episcopal registers, another important source is *Testamenta Eboracensia* (hereafter *TE*), ed. James Raine, 5 vols., Surtees Society 4, 30, 45, 53, 79 (London and Durham, 1836–84). This nineteenth-century compilation from bishops' registers surveys material much of which is still unedited. London, British Library Add. 29692, "Paver Genealogical Fragments," fol. 138, contains a list of sixty-five northern vowed women taken from the same sources as those employed by *TE*, but all its names have been published in that compilation. I am indebted to Marilyn Oliva for this reference.

<sup>6</sup> Four nineteenth-century essays have provided the foundation for all subsequent work on vowed women: 1) Charles Henry Cooper, "The Vow of Widowhood of Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby . . .," *Antiquarian Communications . . . of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1 (1859): 71–79; 2) Francis Joseph Baigent, "Thomas Burgh and Isabella His Wife with a Few Words on the Benediction of Widows," *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 3 (1865): 209–19; 3) Henry Harrod, "On the Mantle and the Ring of Widowhood," *Archaeologia* 40 (1866): 307–10; 4) J. L. André, "Widows and Vowesses," *The Archaeological Journal* 49 (1892): 69–82.

The mention in some surviving vowess pledges of the rule of St. Paul the Apostle indicates that contemporaries understood this vocation as originating in the apostolic period. Thus, for instance, in 1407 Alice Langhorne, kneeling before Nicholas Bubwith, bishop of London, vowed "chastite after ye rewle of seint paule apostel," and in 1477 Margaret, widow of Fulk Springhouse, pledged perpetual chastity in the Carmelite priory at Ludlow "accordyng to the rule and ordinance off the blessid apostle saynt Pawle."<sup>7</sup>

The reference is to the first epistle to Timothy 5:3–16, written in the early second century, though no longer thought to have been composed by St. Paul. Here a formal order of widows is distinguished from several other kinds of excluded widows (verses 3–4, 11–16). To be received in this order, a widow must have reached the age of 60, must have been the wife of only one husband (the Roman *univira*),<sup>8</sup> and must have led a life devoted to childrearing, hospitality, humility, and the corporal works of mercy (verses 9–10). Women who made such a choice were to devote themselves to a life of prayer, probably marked by a formal vow, and were supported financially by the congregation (verses 5, 16).

A century later Tertullian (fl. 195–200) defined the evolving duties of the widows' order as comfort and consolation to those in need.<sup>9</sup> Again the regulations for admission were given as in the letter to Timothy. The influence of the order of widows was greatest during this third-century period, since its duties were to a large extent subsumed by deaconesses in the fourth century.<sup>10</sup> According to Peter Brown, in the third century, when widows were consulted for instruction, for their prayers, and even for prophecy, male continence and female continence were viewed as parallel: "the Christian widow had made a decision to embrace continence that was as formal and as heroic as that of her fellow widowers, the average mem-

<sup>7</sup> Alice Langhorne's vow is found in London, Guildhall Library MS 9531/4, fol. 36v. For Margaret Springhouse, see *Registrum Thome Myllyng, Episcopi Herefordensis A.D. 1474–1492*, ed. Arthur Thomas Bannister, Canterbury and York Society 26 (London, 1920), 33–34.

<sup>8</sup> See James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago, 1987), 97–98 and 477, for the Church's attitudes toward second marriage.

<sup>9</sup> The relevant texts are "On the Veiling of Virgins," "Exhortation to Chastity," and "To His Wife." For discussion of these works, see Bonnie Bowman Thurston, *The Widows: A Women's Ministry in the Early Church* (Minneapolis, 1989), 76–91; and Roger Gryson, *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church* (Collegeville, Minn., 1976), 17–22.

<sup>10</sup> The literature on the subject of early Christian widows is substantial. An overview is provided by Thurston, *Widows*, and by Gryson, *Ministry of Women*. See also Jouette M. Bassler, "The Widows' Tale: A Fresh Look at 1 Tim. 5:3–16," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 103 (1984): 23–41.

bers of the clergy.”<sup>11</sup> Thus in the early Church a vocation which emphasized service and prayer was defined for dedicated chaste women—mostly, though not exclusively, widows.

Evidence survives for the presence of such women in Anglo-Saxon England. The Penitential of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury (668–90), includes the following canons in bk. 2, chap. 12:

14. A woman who vows not to take another husband after her husband's death and when he is dead, false to her word, takes another and is married a second time, when she is moved by penitence and wishes to fulfill her vow, it is in the power of her husband [to determine] whether she shall fulfill it or not.

15. Therefore to one woman who after eleven years confessed [such] a vow, Theodore gave permission to cohabit with the man.<sup>12</sup>

The Confessional of Egbert, archbishop of York, which consists largely of a translation of the Penitential of Theodore into Anglo-Saxon, repeats this injunction in canon 33.<sup>13</sup> The appearance of the *ordo* for the blessing of widows in the pontifical traditionally associated with Egbert, the earliest such volume of English use, and the ceremony's inclusion in at least five eleventh-century pontificals, indicates that this form of life existed much earlier than the substantial record of its practitioners' names.<sup>14</sup> At least one such woman can be identified, however. Dorothy Whitelock prints the will of Wynflæd (about 950), a wealthy woman who disposes both of her considerable estates and of “her black tunics and her best holy veil . . . [and] her nun's vestments.”<sup>15</sup> Wynflæd's possession of both landed wealth and religious habit, together with her association with Shaftesbury nunnery, led Whitelock to suggest that she might have been “a widow who had

<sup>11</sup> Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988), 150. Brown's provocative discussion on pp. 148–50 suggests that widows, in their possession of a degree of power and authority, “stood for lay persons of either sex” (148) with their potentially challenging possibilities for the Church. See also Gryson, *Ministry of Women*, 110–11.

<sup>12</sup> John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, Columbia Records of Civilization Series 29 (New York, 1938), 209.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 247.

<sup>14</sup> Egbert's pontifical gives both the blessing of widows and their habit, and the consecration of widows with Mass at the consecration; *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals (The Egbert and Sidney Sussex Pontificals)*, ed. H. M. J. Banting, Henry Bradshaw Society 104 (London, 1989), 116–23. For the eleventh-century pontificals, see “List of Pontificals of English and Scotch Use,” in *Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge Archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, ed. W. G. Henderson, Surtees Society 61 (Durham, 1875), ix–xlv.

<sup>15</sup> Dorothy Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930), 10–15, no. 3, with quotation on p. 15; for date, see *ibid.*, 108.



taken the vow of chastity.”<sup>16</sup> Likewise Barbara Yorke notes the presence of vowesses in Æthelred’s lawcode of 1008.<sup>17</sup>

The ceremony continues to be included in service books of the high Middle Ages. A twelfth-century pontifical of English use (Oxford, Magdalen College 226) provides the blessing of the garments of a widow who will profess chastity, and the *ordo* for the vowing ceremony (incorporating this blessing) occurs in the Barking Ordinal, a manuscript commissioned by abbess Sibilla de Felton and presented to that house in 1404.<sup>18</sup> The *benedictio viduae* rite can be examined in a particularly accessible version from the end of our period, in a manuscript pontifical written for Thomas Bele, suffragan to Cuthbert Tunstall when he was bishop of London (1522–30). Comparing it with the same service in two fifteenth-century edited pontificals, that of Edmund Lacy, bishop of Exeter (1420–57) and that of Christopher Bainbridge, archbishop of York (1508–14), its editor calls it the fullest such service (its rubrics are particularly descriptive), Lacy’s being briefer and Bainbridge’s still shorter.<sup>19</sup> Though all three share some

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 109.

<sup>17</sup> Barbara Yorke, “‘Sisters Under the Skin’: Anglo-Saxon Nuns and Nunneries in Southern England,” *Reading Medieval Studies* 15 (1989): 117 n. 91. A female post-marital life different from the vowed state may be suggested by Aldhelm (†709) in his prose *De Virginitate*. Michael Lapidge hypothesizes that the author’s division of female life into virginity, marriage, and chastity (the formerly married), instead of the more traditional widowhood, may have been due to the presence of once-married women in his audience of Barking nuns—women who had dissolved their marriages to living husbands in order to enter religious life (*Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, trans. Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren [Ipswich and Cambridge, 1979], 56).

Evidence for the presence of contemporary vowed women on the continent includes the *Burgundian Penitential* (eighth century) which distinguishes nuns and vowed women: “If anyone has sexual relations with a nun (*sanctimonialis*) or with a woman dedicated to God (*deo dicata*) he shall do penance . . . according to his ecclesiastical rank” (Pierre J. Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials: The Development of a Sexual Code 550–1150* [Toronto, 1984], 38–39; Latin on 169 n. 100). Jane Martindale mentions a “*Rotrudis femina Deo sacrata*, donor to Beaulieu in April 860” (“The Nun Immena and the Foundation of the Abbey of Beaulieu: A Woman’s Prospects in the Carolingian Church,” in *Women in the Church*, ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood, *Studies in Church History* 27 [Cambridge Mass., 1991], 36 n. 28). Suzanne Wemple refers to the work of “reforming synods, beginning in the late eighth century [which] required women to enter nunneries” rather than remaining “in the world” as *Deo devotae* (*Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister 500–900* [Philadelphia, 1981], 105; see also 166–67, and Wemple’s summary of these reforms, 259, based on the work of André Rosambert, *La veuve en droit canonique jusqu’au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* [Paris, 1923]).

<sup>18</sup> *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, ed. H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society 39 (London, 1910), 86–87; *The Ordinal and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey* (*University College, Oxford, MS. 169*), ed. J. B. L. Tolhurst, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 65 and 66 (London, 1927–28), 2:355. For the latter reference I am indebted to Caroline Barron, who pointed out that the editorial notes assume this is a rite for religious profession.

<sup>19</sup> For Bele’s pontifical, see F. C. Eeles, “Two Sixteenth-Century Pontificals Formerly Used in England,” *Transactions of the St. Paul’s Ecclesiological Society* 7 (1911–15): 69–90. The manuscript is now London, Lambeth Palace Library 1509; see the description in N. R. Ker,

elements, both prayers and ceremonies differ: W. H. Frere cautions that pontificals "do not belong to any diocesan use, but represent the personal use of the Bishop to whom they may happen to belong."<sup>20</sup>

According to Bele's pontifical the ceremony took place at Mass, before the gospel (although the Barking Ordinal places it after the gospel reading, and at Durham in 1436 Helen Urmeston was vowed before the introit<sup>21</sup>). While the Alleluia or tract or sequence was being sung, the bishop—dressed as for a principal feast and sitting on his faldstool before the altar facing the congregation—was approached by the woman. She wore ordinary dress, carried dark clothing over her left arm, and was led by two respectable men closely related to her ("duobus viris honestis de sua affinitate propinquis," fol. 53v). This ritual element, often present also in the ceremony for nuns' vows, recognizes the legitimate involvement of various interest groups. As marriage negotiations were influenced by a variety of forces and counter-forces, so too the decision to enter religious life or to live chaste was not simply a personal one. This male presence may in fact be read as signalling relinquishment of claim to the woman as an economic or social counter.

The vowess's pledge was both oral and written. Bele's pontifical specifies that after placing her paper ("cedula professionis," fol. 54r) at the bishop's feet, the kneeling woman either read the form, or if illiterate, was coached by the bishop ("vel si illiterata fuerit episcopo docente sic dicat," fol. 54r-v). After this she marked the paper with the sign of the cross upon the seated bishop's knee and gave him the paper for safekeeping ("Deinde signum crucis faciat in fine professionis super genu episcopi tradendo eam episcopo in salua custodia fore preseruanda," fol. 54v). The mark does not necessarily testify to illiteracy: instances of signature and mark made by the same person in different contexts indicate that the mark, particularly the cross-mark, was in some instances considered the appropriate response. Samuel Schoenbaum's suggestion, that it represented the Holy Cross, signalled the signer's piety, and was, in fact, equivalent to an oath, may be thought particularly appropriate for a religious rite.<sup>22</sup> Whether any of

*Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1969-92), 1:106-7 (Ker spells the owner's name "Bale," and gives his dates of service as 1522-28). For Lacy's pontifical, see Baigent, "Thomas Burgh." For Bainbridge's pontifical, see *Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge*.

<sup>20</sup> Walter Howard Frere, *Pontifical Services Illustrated from Miniatures of the XVth and XVIth Centuries*, 2 vols., Alcuin Club Collections 3-4 (London, 1901), 1:89.

<sup>21</sup> *The Register of Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham 1406-1437*, ed. R. L. Storey, 6 vols., Surtees Society 164, 166, 169-70, 177, 182 (Durham and Gateshead, 1957-70), 4:199-200.

<sup>22</sup> *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life*, rev. ed. (New York, 1987), 37, 295n. For a 1534 abjuration of heresy which was both signed and marked, see A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York 1509-1558* (London, 1959; rpt. 1982), 21.

these marked profession papers survive is not clear.

The ceremony's *cedula*, with its words of profession and even with a neat replica of the signature cross, was sometimes copied by the scribe into the episcopal register. When this form of words is transcribed it is usually in the vernacular: the earliest example I have discovered is Elizabeth de Gorges's 1344 vow in French, and the earliest English example seen is Isabel Burgh's 1379 promise.<sup>23</sup>

After the profession, the ceremony resumed with the blessing and asperging of mantle and veil. The clothes were placed on the altar while the bishop said the "Veni Creator"; then the woman took the clothes either from the altar or from another priest (the rubric in both Bele's and Lacy's pontificals asserts that canon law does not allow bishops to veil widows, though Bainbridge's pontifical does not say this).<sup>24</sup>

The vowess's habit seems indistinguishable from the widow's, as commentators on memorial brasses note with some frustration. Besides the veil, mantle, and ring mentioned in the rite, the widow's wimple was worn—often, though not always, in its pleated form, the *barbe*.<sup>25</sup> The Norfolk

<sup>23</sup> Elizabeth de Gorges: "Jeo Elizabeth de la diocise de Baa et de Welles, vedue, par especial conge de mon diocesan en vostre presence, reverent pere sire Hamon par la grace de dieu evesque de Roucestre, vou a dieu perpetule chastete. Et en ceo vou prometz de vivre al terme de ma vie. Et sur ceo vous requier humblement, reverent pere, que vous veuillez fere la solempnete que appent" (*Registrum Hamonis Hethe, Diocesis Roffensis A.D. 1319–1352*, ed. Charles Johnson, 2 vols., Canterbury and York Society 48, 49 [Oxford, 1948], 2:727). Her letter dimissory is dated 13 March 1342 (*ibid.* 2:726); she vowed 25 March 1344.

Isabel Burgh: "In ye name of god, fader, and sone, and holy gost Ich, Isabell Burgh, yt was sumtime Thomas wyf of Burgh, wych yt is god bi-taught helpynge ye grace of god behote conversion of myn maners, and make myn avow to god, and to is swete moder seinte marie, and to alle seintz, in to zoure handes, leve fader in god William, bi ye grace of god bisshope of Wynchestre, yt fro yis day forward J sshal ben chast of myn body and in holy chastete kepe me troweliche and devouteliche alle ye dayes of myn lyf" (*Wykeham's Register*, ed. T. F. Kirby, 2 vols., Hampshire Record Society 11 and 13 [London, 1896, 1899], 2:307–8).

The vow's words are not always copied into the registers, but of the fourteenth-century examples known to me, thirteen are in French and two are in English; from the fifteenth century I have seen only one example in French (Cecilia Ferrers, Exeter 1437), the remaining examples being all in English.

<sup>24</sup> Eeles, "Pontificals," 71; Baigent, "Thomas Burgh," 218. Josephine Mayer prints an undated rubric for the profession of a widow (from M. Gerbertus, *Monumenta veteris liturgiae Alemannicae*), specifying that priests are allowed to veil widows, whereas only bishops may veil virgins (*Monumenta de viduis, diaconissis virginibusque tractantia*, *Florilegium Patristicum* 42 [Bonn, 1938], 69). This practice cannot have been universally observed, since, for instance, the Ely episcopal registers indicate that the custom of several different bishops was to veil the widowed candidate personally.

<sup>25</sup> "Widows wear a dress which for almost three centuries remains unchanged. In the fourteenth century it consisted of the kirtle [long gown], mantle and veil head-dress, with a plaited barbe or gorget of finely pleated linen fitting closely to the chin" (Muriel Clayton, *Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs*, Victoria and Albert Museum [London, 1915; rpt. 1968], 25). Since Elizabeth Herwy, last abbess of Elstow, also wears the *barbe*, however, it cannot dis-

brass of Joan Braham shows all these clothing elements, plus an ornamented belt (see figure).



Brass of Joan Braham, Frenze, Norfolk, 1519 (reproduced in J. S. Cotman, *Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*, 2d ed., 2 vols. [London, 1839], 1:53).

After blessing and asperging the ring, the bishop put it on the woman's hand; she prostrated herself and he said the concluding prayers. The Mass proceeded, the woman either offering with the congregation or remaining prostrate until the communion. Though the offering may simply have been the liturgical bread and wine, in one instance we know the amount of a vowess's monetary offering: in 1437 Isabel, widow of John Russell, esquire, vowed before Thomas Spofford, bishop of Hereford, in his cathedral and presented 6s. 8d.<sup>26</sup> At the end of Mass the bishop gave a particular benediction to the vowess, who kissed his ring.

tinguish lay from religious women (see *ibid.*, plate 58).

<sup>26</sup> *Registrum Thome Spofford, Episcopi Herefordensis A.D. 1422–48*, ed. Arthur Thomas Bannister, Canterbury and York Society 23 (London, 1919), 219 (fol. 215). About a century later, in 1533, the amount offered during a nun's profession at Barking remained the same; see C. A. McLaren, "An Edition of Foxford, A Vicars'-General Book of the Diocese of London 1521–1539" (University of London M. Phil. thesis, 1973), vol. 2, no. 488.

When women of elevated status made profession, episcopal registers preserved the names of notarial or diocesan witnesses, or of aristocratic guests. Like the escort of two male relatives described above, the record of such a mixed, ceremonial, assemblage—ecclesiastical and familial—provides social ratification of personal choice. In 1382 Isabel, countess of Suffolk and widow of William de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, was vowed before Thomas Arundel, bishop of Ely, by the authority of Henry Spenser, bishop of Norwich. Both bishops were present, together with Isabel's brother Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, her brothers-in-law Lord Scales and Lord Willoughby, and many knights and squires.<sup>27</sup> When the location is recorded it is most often the chapel of an episcopal manor, although professions took place in conventual churches, collegiate churches, and cathedrals as well. Episcopal manors were conventionally used for ordinations also: as bishop of Winchester from 1346 to 1366, William Edington celebrated sixty-four group ordinations, fifty of which took place in his manor chapels.<sup>28</sup>

In all of these details the ceremony is similar to that for female religious profession, whose liturgy likewise involves the episcopal blessing of veil and ring, and the reading from a "scroll of profession."<sup>29</sup> The Benedictine Rule, the most widely used form of religious profession, specified the

<sup>27</sup> See the calendar of the register of Thomas Arundel, bishop of Ely (1375–85), in *Ely Diocesan Remembrancer* 124 (Sept.–Oct. 1895): 153. For another example from Norfolk in 1369, see Francis Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of . . . Norfolk*, 2d ed., 11 vols. (London, 1805–10), 2:367 (Joan, widow of Sir John de Shardelowe).

<sup>28</sup> *The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester 1346–1366*, ed. S. F. Hockey, 2 vols., Hampshire Record Series 7–8 (Southampton, 1986–87), 1:x.

<sup>29</sup> Cambridge, University Library Mm.3.13, containing the blessing and consecration of nuns, reads as follows: "every virgyn oon after an other, knelyng, shall make and rede hir professyon, wyth a lowde voyce, in wrytting undre thys maner [the Latin text of the vow follows]. And subscribe, or make a crosse in the sayde wrytting of professyon upon the bisshops knee: and delyver it to the bisshop. Alle the whych wrytyngys soo sygned and delyvered, the bisshop shall forthwyth there delyver to thabbasse, commaundyng hir, to kepe them surely in theyr tresory in perpetuell testymony of theyr professyon" (*Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, ed. William Maskell, 3 vols. [London, 1846–47], 2:307–31, with quot. on 316–17). The manuscript, commissioned by Bishop Richard Fox of Winchester for the nuns of St. Mary Winchester between 1500 and 1501, is thus roughly contemporary with Bele's pontifical.

The nun's profession of Joan Kelk, prioress of Swine, Yorkshire, concludes, "And in toknyng hereof I here with my hand makes this crosse+" (*The Register of Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York 1480–1500*, ed. Eric E. Barker, vol. 1, Canterbury and York Society 69 [Torquay, 1976], 30, no. 237).

René Metz believes the earliest example of the consecration of virgins dates from the fourth century ("Les conditions juridiques de la consecration des vierges dans la liturgie latine, des origines à nos jours," *Revue de droit canonique* 1 [1951]: 276; rpt. in *La femme et l'enfant dans le droit canonique médiéval* [London, 1985]).

promises of stability, conversion of manners, and obedience,<sup>30</sup> and though most vowesses pledged only perpetual chastity, some included other elements as well. In 1379 Isabel Burgh and Isabel Golafre vowed "conversion of myn maners" and "conversion de mes moeres" respectively, in addition to perpetual chastity,<sup>31</sup> and other women pledged "establement viure en ceste vowe," as Margery de Nerford said in 1383.<sup>32</sup> In this case permanence or stability in the commitment seems to parallel the religious woman's vow of physical stability in the monastery. Alice St. John's 1399 vow repeated the first two elements of a nun's vow very closely, then substituted chastity for obedience as the third element: "Ego N. promitto stabilitatem et conversacionem [*sic*] morum atque castatitem . . ." [*sic*].<sup>33</sup>

The ceremony was sometimes preceded, at some distance in time, by an examination—or at least by some assessment of the situation, set in motion by the ecclesiastical authority. Anchorites also received such an episcopal review (one which the probationary period of both male and female monasticism rendered unnecessary), and a candidate for ordination outside his own diocese had to provide letters testifying to character.<sup>34</sup> That this investigation is recorded in five fourteenth-century vowess cases (1312, 1347, 1354, 1392, 1399) and in only two of the more numerous fifteenth-century ones (ca. 1416, 1418) may suggest that growing numbers of applications made approval more automatic. Thus, for instance, in the 1313 case of Anabella de Cleseby, the archbishop records his approval in the commission, since she is over fifty and hence sexual lapses are probably less to be feared ("quingagesimum annum excessit, ut de lapsu carnis ejusdem de caetero non sit verisimiliter formidandum").<sup>35</sup> It is, in fact, in commissions to veil that we most often find evidence of some inquiry. Thus in 1354 John Thoresby, archbishop of York, directed the prior of Shelford and the dean of Bingham to inquire into the life and morals of Isabel, widow of Sir William de Bingham.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, in 1347 the rector of Yeovil

<sup>30</sup> *Benedicti Regula* 58.17, ed. R. Hanslik, 2d ed., CSEL 75 (Vienna, 1977), 149.

<sup>31</sup> The vows of Isabel Burgh and Isabel Golafre are printed in *Wykeham's Register* 2:308.

<sup>32</sup> London, Guildhall Library MS 9531/3, fol. 325v.

<sup>33</sup> *The Episcopal Register of Robert Rede . . . Lord Bishop of Chichester 1397–1415*, ed. Cecil Deedes, 2 vols. (London, 1908–10), 1:53, 175 (quot. on 53).

<sup>34</sup> See Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley, 1985), chap. 3, "Bishops and Anchorites: Procedure and Protection"; *Register of William Edington* 1:xi. For a 1307 inquiry into the condition and morals of a widower seeking holy orders, see *Registrum Henrici Woodlock, Diocesis Wintoniensis A.D. 1305–1316*, ed. A. W. Goodman, 2 vols., Canterbury and York Society 43–44 (Oxford, 1940–41), 1:202.

<sup>35</sup> *The Register of Richard de Kellawe, Lord Palatine and Bishop of Durham 1311–1316*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy, 4 vols., Rolls Series 62 (London, 1873–78), 1:300.

<sup>36</sup> D. M. Smith, "A Reconstruction of the Lost Register of the Vicars-General of Archbishop Thoresby of York," *Borthwick Institute Bulletin* 3 (1983–86): 40, no. 69.

and the dean of Stow certified that they had examined Alice Maidegod of Stow about her reasons for wishing to take the vow, as the bishop of Worcester, Wolstan de Bransford, had directed them to do.<sup>37</sup> Since this cautious and correct procedure is recorded so infrequently perhaps the norm was somewhat less rigorous.

Ann Warren notes that the rite for anchoritic consecration was frequently delegated, and she calls episcopal presence rare,<sup>38</sup> though figures are not provided. Vowess consecrations are likewise often assigned to others: 21% of these women vowed before a bishop, 62% before some other figure, and 17% of the time arrangements are unknown.

Both liturgy and ecclesiastical routine, then, confirm the solidly traditional and thoroughly orthodox character of this state. Indeed ecclesiastically recognized female chastity in its origins predates female monasticism. Both the vows of nuns and those of vowesses were public ones, that is, were promises accepted by a legitimate ecclesiastical superior in the name of the Church. Although the vow of perpetual chastity must sometimes have been made privately—without an ecclesiastic present—the difficulty of recovering such vows forces us to rely upon the public, and hence recorded, examples. These public vows seem most often to have been classified as simple, rather than solemn. That is, acts contrary to the vow such as marriage would be merely illicit, not invalid,<sup>39</sup> and marriage after vows was recognized, as we shall see.

Turning from the vowess's New Testament origins and her liturgical and canonical treatment, we may ask about the number of such women, their geographical distribution and social rank. The following table gives a chronology by century.

<sup>37</sup> R. M. Haines, *A Calendar of the Register of Wolstan de Bransford, Bishop of Worcester 1339–49*, Historical Manuscripts Commission JP 9 and Worcestershire Historical Society 4 (London, 1966), 137.

<sup>38</sup> Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites*, 63.

<sup>39</sup> "Voeu," *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique*, ed. R. Naz, 7 vols. (Paris, 1935–65), 7:1619–23; "Vow," *New Catholic Encyclopaedia* (hereafter *NCE*), 18 vols (Washington, D.C., 1967–88), 14:756–58, esp. 757. For canonists' views on when public vows of chastity should be defined as either solemn or simple, and hence whether subsequent marriage would be invalid or illicit, see Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 159–67.

According to *NCE* 14:756, private vows of perpetual chastity constitute one of only two kinds of private vows reserved to the Holy See for dispensation. Of the seven papal dispensations from vows listed in the appendix below, I have found only one record of the preceding vow (Margaret Slyngesby, 1400 and 1408).

NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF VOWESSES IN THE APPENDIX  
(WITH NUMBER OF EDITED REGISTERS IN PARENTHESES)

<i>Century</i>	<i>Northern Vowesses</i> <sup>40</sup>	<i>Southern Vowesses</i> <sup>41</sup>	<i>Unknown Vowesses</i>	<i>Total</i>
xiii	0 (5)	2 (15)		2
xiv	26 (13)	32 (38)		58
xv { (1400–1449)	18 (3)	24 (27)		} 144
(1450–1499)	77 (5)	23 (15)	2	
xvi (to 1539)	25 (3)	22 (13)		47
Total	146	103	2	251

In the south the ratio of vowed women to source document remains relatively constant over the centuries: one to one-and-a-half vowesses per episcopal register. In the north, however, the ratio rises from two women per register in the fourteenth century to six in the first half of the fifteenth century and over fifteen in the second half, declining to eight in the sixteenth century. The north's notably smaller geographical area and its smaller number of edited registers (29 as opposed to the south's 108) have nonetheless produced a larger number of names. These results may be due to the complete survey of registers performed by *Testamenta Eboracensia*. That is, the northern registers, even those currently unprinted, were all reviewed by *TE*, and hence the number of northern vowed women presented in the table approximates the number actually named in extant episcopal registers. In the south, where many more registers remain unsurveyed as well as unpublished, the number of vowed women will probably increase substantially with more editorial and archival work. Furthermore, to some extent the northern preponderance may reflect regional styles in ecclesiastical administration or record keeping, rather than accurately measuring distribution of this vocation. Nevertheless, at present

<sup>40</sup> Northern women have been defined, following *TE*, as those belonging to the archdiocese of York, dioceses of Durham and Carlisle, or archdeaconry of Richmond. Women belonging to all other geographical locations are designated as southern.

Some northern registers still unedited were viewed by *TE* researchers and the results published in that compilation, so they have been included in the totals (e.g., for York, William Booth, 1452–64; George Neville, 1465–76; Laurence Booth, 1476–80).

<sup>41</sup> The London fifteenth and sixteenth-century registers, none of which have been edited, have been personally searched, and hence have been included in the totals of women and of registers.



the vocation seems to have been particularly attractive to northern women.

The existence of a higher number of women than of men from the central Middle Ages onward appears to be widely agreed upon,<sup>42</sup> and the meaning of this disproportion for women has been much discussed. It has been cited with particular frequency in examinations of women's religious lives. Yet analysis remains to be done on the population trends in England during the last half of the fifteenth century, when vowess vocations were apparently on the rise. Joel Rosenthal, referring to the fifteenth century, has noted that women had a tendency to marry men a few years older which, combined with their own relative youth, meant "widowhood was always a likely fate." Nevertheless he sees fifteenth-century English widowhood as variable enough to defy "modal explanation or pattern."<sup>43</sup>

Investigation of vowesses social rank is influenced by the nature of the records which reveal to us, as so often, what may have been only the upper range of a spectrum. The episcopal or abbatial nature of this public ceremony perhaps excluded women farther down the social scale. The existence of poorer vowed women (who probably took private vows rather than public ones) may be glimpsed occasionally in documents which reveal financial support for the vow, instead of recording its occasion. Thus in 1404 the bishop of Ely issued an indulgence for contributors to Isabel Tydde of Wisbech, a widow who had taken a vow of chastity and had no means of support.<sup>44</sup> The same sort of patronage, in this case royal rather than episcopal, is demonstrated by Emma Cheyne's successful petition for 4*d.* a day from the London customs.<sup>45</sup>

Some information on social level, though perhaps only enough to be suggestive, can be found in the episcopal registers, where husband's rank is given a bit less than half the time (37% to 50%). In the fourteenth century the largest group of vowesses were wives of knights (28%), while urban women constituted 14% of the total, and aristocrats 8%. In the fifteenth century knightly women and urban women were roughly equal (11% and 13%), with wives of esquires constituting 8.5%, aristocrats 3%, and wives

<sup>42</sup> This work has been recently summarized in Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago, 1991), 254 and n. 19.

<sup>43</sup> Joel Rosenthal, "Aristocratic Widows of the Fifteenth Century," in *Women and the Structure of Society*, ed. Barbara Harris and Jo Ann McNamara (Durham, N.C., 1984), 36–47, quotation on p. 40.

<sup>44</sup> *Ely Diocesan Remembrancer* (Oct.–Nov. 1900) (Reg. Fordham, fol. 197).

<sup>45</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office* (hereafter CPR) Henry VI, vol. 5 (London, 1909), 304. Similar endorsement of the anchoritic vocation has been illustrated by Ann Warren, *Anchorites*, e.g., 72–75.

of gentlemen 1.5% of the total. In the sixteenth century urban women formed the largest category by far, making up 32%, with knightly women 6%, aristocrats and wives of esquires 5%, and wives of gentlemen 2%.

It is unclear whether this growing preponderance of urban women should be seen as signalling a move downward socially, or whether in the sixteenth century the vowess life appealed to a group (wealthy urban women) which was economically similar to its former adherents (wealthy knightly women). Dependence on episcopal registers as sources, for the time being at least, defines this vocation as a socially elevated one.<sup>46</sup>

Here comparison with other female religious states may be useful. Though the vowess vocation resembles that of the anchoress in the preliminary review exercised by episcopal authority, and though the vowess ceremony is for the most part indistinguishable from a nun's vows, in one important respect it is unique. This vocation, in its ceremonial aspect public and ecclesiastically ratified, is in its financial aspect private and individual. Comparison with anchoritism makes the difference clear. The necessity of financial support has produced a very full documentary record for anchorites, and notes of endowed cells for solitaires (or the search for them), of royal doles, of episcopal underwriting, and of testimonial bequests abound. By contrast, vowed women are seldom mentioned in ecclesiastical financial records.

At least two explanations suggest themselves: that personal wealth was the *donnée* which made this choice possible; or that contemporaries did not view this vocation as one of spiritual reciprocity. That is, the vowess's relation to the community was not as clearly defined as that of a nun or anchoress for whom financial gifts made possible a life of prayer (testifying to the interconnectedness of religious and secular existence). Though the vowess may have prayed for the community, she seems not to have been supported by it financially. The primitive Church's order of widows received subsidy in exchange for prayer and service to the community. The only clue that such a life of service was an element in late medieval vowess

<sup>46</sup> The categories present in the registers are aristocrats, knights, esquires, gentlemen (these two from the fifteenth century on), and urban dwellers. R. L. Storey's observation that the use of the term gentleman "appears to have been a consequence of the Statute of Additions of 1413"—which required fuller legal identification of defendants—is by now well known, as is his classic study of these lay civil servants, "Gentleman-Bureaucrats," in *Profession, Vocation, and Culture in Later Medieval England*, ed. Cecil H. Clough (Liverpool, 1982), 90–129 (quot. on 90). More recently Rosemary Horrox has analyzed a partly overlapping component group, one from which many vowesses came: "The Urban Gentry in the Fifteenth Century," in *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. John A. F. Thomson (Gloucester, 1988), 22–44.

life is the reference to 1 Timothy 5 in some vowess pledges—and the substantial charities of some very late urban women.

These urban women's wills reveal that they were very well off indeed, and were often important civic benefactors. Among the group are a substantial number of women formerly married to highly placed urban officials. Perhaps the most notable is Joan Gedney, who married several wealthy cloth-trade men. Her second husband, Richard Turnaunt, was mayor of Winchester (1419–20 and 1426–27) and her subsequent husbands were two London mayors: Robert Large (1439–40) and John Gedney (1427–28 and 1447–48). John Stow recorded the scandal of her broken vow of chastity when, after Large died, she married Gedney.<sup>47</sup> Outside the capital, Joan Yorke (†1506) married both John Whitfield, mayor of Hull (1472), and Sir Richard Yorke, mayor of York (1469 and 1482).<sup>48</sup> Agnes Mellers's husband Richard was mayor of Nottingham (1499–1500 and 1505–6); Joan Marler (†1531) married Richard Marler, mayor of Coventry (1509); and Joan Cooke (†1545) was the wife of John, four times mayor of Gloucester.<sup>49</sup> Women married to other officeholders included Alice Brice, the widow of a London sheriff—Henry Brice—whose career was cut short by his 1467 death in office, and Joan Thurescrosse, the widow of Geoffrey Thurescrosse, sheriff of Hull, who died in 1522.<sup>50</sup> Of these prominent urban women, Agnes Mellers and Joan Cooke implemented their husbands' intentions (somewhat sketchily covered in wills) by endowing or re-endowing significant schools in their cities. In doing so they demonstrated a strong local attachment and sense of civic responsibility shared with their husbands—and considerable legal acumen in both cases. Joan Marler left money for a sermon endowment “yf he will

<sup>47</sup> For Turnaunt, see Derek Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, 2 vols., Winchester Studies 2 (Oxford, 1985), 2:1371; for Large and Gedney, see Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London [1300–1500]* (reprint ed., Ann Arbor, 1962), 352. For John Stow, see *A Survey of London by John Stow*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1908), 1:186.

<sup>48</sup> For Whitfield, see *TE* 4:24; for Yorke, *TE* 4:134–37, and also Peter Heath, “Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: The Evidence of Hull Wills,” in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Barrie Dobson (Gloucester and New York, 1984), 209–34.

<sup>49</sup> Agnes Mellers: *The Victoria History of the Counties of England [VCH]: Nottinghamshire* 2:218–21; *Records of the Borough of Nottingham iii (1485–1547)* (London, 1885), 396, 453–58; Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran, *The Growth of English Schooling 1340–1548* (Princeton, 1985), 168. Joan Marler's will: PCC 2 Thower. Richard Marler's will: PCC F 20 Porche. Joan Cooke: *VCH Gloucestershire* 2:344 and vol. 4, plate 6; her will: PCC F 4 Alen; John Cooke's will: PCC 38 Porche.

<sup>50</sup> Alice Brice's will: PCC 30 Horne. Joan Thurescrosse's will: *TE* 5:170–72; Geoffrey Thurescrosse's will: York Probate Registry lx, fol. 240v.

preache the worde of god abowte in the contre at the least xij tymes in the yere."

Much recent work on late medieval testamentary patterns allows us to speculate on such charity's further meaning. In contrast to the conventional view of the medieval testator as expecting a spiritual return on the spiritual investment represented by the bequest, P. W. Fleming has suggested that increased legacies to prisoners, for instance, and decreased ones for church building and fabric in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries signal a growth in social concern. Lay bequests for sermons begin in the mid-fifteenth century, but remain relatively rare, the sign both of wealth and apostolic spirituality, and often also of civic interest.<sup>51</sup> (The increasing number of this period's lay educational foundations which Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran documents might fruitfully be examined in light of the testator's gender.) Do the charitable initiatives of these urban vowesses spring from their membership in an urban elite, with its corresponding responsibilities? If they signal a somewhat less self-interested form of giving, can this alteration be attributed to a female, vowess, ethos?

If such a connection were allowed, the vowed life could be seen as mandating the use of temporal goods for religious purposes. One of the central principles of such a life, then, would be its witness to generosity in performance of the corporal and spiritual works of mercy. Such an understanding of widowhood is deeply rooted in the Church's history. In the fourth century, for instance, the lives of the widowed and determinedly chaste Olympias of Constantinople and Melania of Rome combined great wealth with intense social concern. Olympias, the friend of St. John Chrysostom, maintained a mansion with facilities for dispensing alms and with a bakery, to which she devoted ten thousand pounds of gold, a hundred thousand of silver, and extensive property holdings.<sup>52</sup>

In considering the choice of a vowed life, the widow's legal position is relevant. Her rights varied according to borough custom. She was entitled to dower, a life-interest share in her dead husband's estate. Caroline Barron has recently shown that in London this comprised two elements: first,

<sup>51</sup> P. W. Fleming, "Charity, Faith, and the Gentry of Kent 1422-1529," in *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History*, ed. Tony Pollard (Gloucester and New York, 1984), 46 and 57 n. 62, which cites the classic work by M. G. A. Vale, "Piety, Charity and Literacy Among the Yorkshire Gentry, 1370-1480," *Borthwick Papers* 50 (York, 1976). Also useful is Clive Burgess, "'By Quick and by Dead': Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol," *The English Historical Review* 102 (1987): 837-58.

<sup>52</sup> Brown, *Body and Society*, 279-84. Elizabeth A. Clark says of Olympias, "quite simply, she distributed her alms over the entire inhabited world" (*Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends: Essays and Translations* [New York and Toronto, 1979], 137).

“free bench,” a share in the couple’s principal dwelling, which would be forfeited on remarriage; second, a life-interest in a third of the husband’s lands and tenements if they had children or a half if they were childless.<sup>53</sup> This the widow kept upon remarriage.

In addition, according to the custom of *legitim* the widow received either a third or a half, as above, of her husband’s goods and chattels. Although this thirteenth-century practice had ceased in most of England by the fifteenth century, it still obtained in the north, in Wales, and in London. Elsewhere the situation seems to have been, for the most part, less favourable for widows. Mary Bateson has shown that “free bench” and dower were often alternative provisions for widows, rather than simultaneous ones, and that “free bench” itself was variously defined: as the whole of the chief messuage, or half of it, or merely a term of residence in it.<sup>54</sup> The widow’s life then may not always have been a secure or adequately funded one. Hence in some cases taking the vow may have represented an attempt to establish publically a permanent status and to claim the benefits it entailed, both financial and social. The vow could then be seen as a woman’s manipulation of ecclesiastical category to clarify her legal position.

Let us look at the way in which these issues affected one London vowed woman. In 1482 Richard Cely wrote to George Cely at Calais that Robert Byfeld, a London ironmonger and merchant of the staple, had been buried on 27 March, “and on the morow herly hys whyfe toke the manttell and the ryng.” The editor comments, “Her husband had bequeathed Joan 1,800 marks of dower, ‘take it or leave it’, and there must have been many disappointed men to contemplate the loss of such a woman.”<sup>55</sup>

Two additional pieces of evidence provide a fuller understanding of Joan Byfeld’s options. Her husband Robert left not only the testament in which he bequeathed her the dower sum, but a will in which he specified that Joan was to have part of their Water Lane tenement: “. . . that is to say my chief chamber . . . the withdraught and chapel chamber.” She was granted access to hall, parlour, buttery, kitchen, cellar, and garden, “as well for herbes therein to be had and taken as for to walk therin for her consolation and pleasure at all times.” This “free bench” was to be hers as

<sup>53</sup> Caroline M. Barron, “The ‘Golden Age’ of Women in Medieval London,” *Reading Medieval Studies* 15 (1989): 35–58.

<sup>54</sup> *Borough Customs*, ed. Mary Bateson, 2 vols., Selden Society 18, 21 (London, 1904, 1906; rpt. 1972), 2:cviii–cx.

<sup>55</sup> The quotation comes from *The Cely Letters 1472–1488*, ed. Alison Hanham, EETS 273 (Oxford, 1975), 134, no. 147. The editorial comment appears in Hanham’s *The Celys and Their World: An English Merchant Family of the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), 310.

long as “during her life [she] keep her sole without husband.”<sup>56</sup> Byfeld’s evocative depiction of domestic ease allows us to understand how such considerations may have affected a widow’s decision to remain single.

Another document, however, reveals the underside of that decision. Between one and three years after her husband’s death Joan Byfeld brought a chancery suit against her oldest son William, asserting that her dead husband had been extremely wealthy. He had “grete somes of money and was possessed of dyuers godes and marchaundices grete dettes And dewtees dewe to hym aswell in Engeland as on the other side the see.” She specifically invokes “the custom of the city time out of mind,” that is, division of moveables into three thirds, or *legitim*, and remarks that despite frequent inquiries of her son William as to the size of the estate “he in no wise will let her be privy thereto.” Hence she cannot “know what she should ask for her third part.”<sup>57</sup> Although Joan Byfeld’s claim here could be that of any widow, rather than that of a vowess in particular, it might be thought that her litigation and her vow both sprang from the same economic motive.

The vocation’s difficulties must have triumphed in some instances. Appeals to Rome afford our best glimpse of failed vows, though John A. F. Thomson points out that dispensation requests “were relatively few in relation to the numbers who took [the vow].”<sup>58</sup> Papal responses suggest that the marriages contracted after such vows were not regarded as invalid but rather as illicit. In 1482 Robert and Margaret Singleton of York were given a “salutary penance” for marrying and having children after her vow. Similarly, after penance in 1355 Sir John de Gresley and Joan Wasteneys were allowed “to remain in the marriage which they have contracted,” though Joan had previously made a vow of chastity.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Byfeld’s will is PCC 5 Logge, made 22 January 1482.

<sup>57</sup> PRO ECP C1/65/153. The document’s verso is dated “23 February” and the PRO catalogue dates bundle 65 between 1483 and 1485 (Byfeld had died in March 1482). One of the petition’s witnesses is Joan’s other son, Robert Byfeld.

<sup>58</sup> John A. F. Thomson, “‘The Well of Grace’: Englishmen and Rome in the Fifteenth Century,” in Dobson, *Church, Politics and Patronage*, 113 n. 55.

<sup>59</sup> W. H. Bliss et al., eds., *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters* (hereafter *CPL*) (London, 1893–). For the Singletons, 13.2:835–36; for de Gresley-Wasteneys, 3:561.

The minutely detailed penance prescribed for Elizabeth de Juliers (†1411), widow of John, earl of Kent (†1352), is illuminating. Dugdale says, “which Elizabeth, shortly after, vowing Chastity, was solemnly veiled a Nun, by William de Edendon, then Bishop of Winchester” (William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England* [London, 1676], 2:94–95). However, in Dugdale’s source, Lambeth Palace, Register of Simon Islip, fol. 166v, it says of her, “mantallum velum & anulum accepit,” indicating vowed status. The penance included employment of two priests to perform divine service and recite specific prayers daily, personal daily prayer, weekly fasting, an annual pilgrimage to Canterbury, and abstinence coupled with charity to six poor people “after

The age at which women took such a vow, despite the evidence of Anabella de Cleseby, cannot have been uniformly high. The *Calendar of Papal Letters* in 1449/50 records the vow of Alice Hoton after the death of her husband William “when in about her twenty-seventh year.” Edeynna Clerck’s 1419 petition to Rome stated that she was still young and desired to be a mother, and Margaret Singleton by 1482 had had offspring after her vow of chastity. In another case which was appealed to Rome, however, the woman was no longer young: in 1338 “Alesya de Lascy, countess of Lincoln, widow, aged above 60 . . . made a vow of chastity and received in token thereof a habit and ring, to observe the same, she having been ravished by Hugh Freyn, knight, and having afterwards consented to live with him in matrimony until his death.”<sup>60</sup>

Vowed chastity might be espoused by married persons, though only with the partner’s consent, and conciliar legislation frequently emphasized the importance for women of receiving spousal assent to any vow.<sup>61</sup> In some instances partners to chaste marriage probably continued to live together; in others they separated to fulfil their new vocations. Thus, for instance, Emma Cheyne and her husband William vowed perpetual chastity between 1427 and 1430, she to become the anchoress of St. Peter Cornhill in London (at age 46), and he to live as a recluse at Bury St. Edmunds. Alice and Henry Andrew pledged respectively to vowess and hermit lives in 1479 before the archbishop of York.<sup>62</sup>

any carnal copulation.”

<sup>60</sup> Hoton: *CPL* 10:55. Clerck: *CPL* 7:120. Singleton: as above. De Lascy: *CPL* 2:544.

<sup>61</sup> Michael M. Sheehan, “Marriage Theory and Practice in the Conciliar Legislation and Diocesan Statutes of Medieval England,” *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978): 408–60, esp. 453.

<sup>62</sup> For Emma Cheyne, see *CPR Henry VI* 5:304 (28 Henry VI). The record of William Cheyne’s [*sic*] enclosure can be found in London, British Library Add. 14848 (the register of William Curteys, abbot of Bury St. Edmunds), fol. 79v. It is dated 6 March “MCCCC vicesimo nono,” presumably 1430, which indicates, by comparison with the *CPR* entry just cited, that Emma’s vow preceded her husband’s. William was enclosed by the abbot next to the church of St. James “in loco ad hoc nouiter constructo.” For the Andrews, see *TE* 3:343–44.

Somewhat confusingly, hermits too vow perpetual chastity under the aegis of St. Paul, though in the case of hermits it is not the Apostle but rather the first anchorite, Paul of Thebes (known only from Jerome’s *Life* of him), who is invoked. Thus Thomas Cornysse professed as a hermit before Edmund Lacy, bishop of Exeter, in 1450 “to leve yn pepetue castite after the rule of Seynt Paule the furste hermyte” (*The Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter, 1420–1455*, ed. G. R. Dunstan, 5 vols. Canterbury and York Society 60–63 [Torquay, 1963–72], 3:89). See Virginia Davis, “The Rule of St. Paul, the First Hermit, in Late Medieval England,” in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. W. J. Sheils, *Studies in Church History* 22 (Padstow, 1985), 203–14. According to Davis, the service for blessing of hermits appears in pontificals only at the end of the fourteenth century (in contrast to the much earlier liturgical record of widows’ blessing).

In this new state, some vowesses chose to live with a community of nuns. When Isabel, widowed countess of Suffolk, took the vow in 1382 (see above) it was at the Suffolk house of Campsey where she lived until her death in 1416, when she requested burial there with her husband and his parents; Margaret Stapleton, widowed and vowed in 1455, retired to Clementhorpe nunnery in York; and Crabhouse priory in Norfolk had a vowess named Margaret in 1497.<sup>63</sup>

All these women chose the support of a community, though their arrangements varied considerably in the degree of distance which they established between themselves and their sustaining group.<sup>64</sup> Certainly for some vowesses this affiliation was intermittent. Thus the Syon cellaress accounts show Alice Beselles's boarding charges at the monastery in 1520–21 for a short period and again in 1523–24 and the two subsequent years. The vowess's freedom to come and go is further demonstrated by her will, which makes alternate burial provisions should she die at Syon or at her manor of Beselles Leigh, Berkshire. Similarly Alice Beselles's granddaughter, the widowed vowess Susan Kyngeston, came to Syon in 1514 after her husband's death, and remained there until the Dissolution with two servants, but the varying amounts of the annual boarding charges indicate that her residence was not always continuous.<sup>65</sup>

Perhaps most vowesses, however, maintained the pattern of life established before the vow. These women's wills attest to a continuing domesticity, by disposing of a multitude of household items. Among very many other bequests, for instance, Joan Thurescrosse's will, proved in 1524, leaves bedding to the Trinity *maisonndieu* [poorhouse] in Hull, and to

<sup>63</sup> Countess of Suffolk: Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, 3 vols. (London, 1786–97), 1:143; her will: *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury 1414–1443*, ed. E. F. Jacob, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1937), 94–97. Margaret Stapleton: Warren, *Anchorites*, 216. Crabhouse vowess: Marilyn Oliva, "The Convent and the Community in the Diocese of Norwich from 1350 to 1540" (Fordham Univ. Ph.D. dissertation, 1991), 86.

<sup>64</sup> Four or perhaps five anchoresses who took the vow of chastity are known. Joan Clopton is known from her brass, and Rotha Mary Clay discovered the interesting Emma Cheyne (see note 62 above). Ann Warren added the names of Katherine Brokas and—perhaps—Beatrice Strong (*Anchorites*, 27–28 and n. 20), and Marilyn Oliva has discovered in the accounts of Isabel Wygon, prioress of Carrow, that in 1520 "Lady Dorothy Curson vowess" had the farm of the anchorhouse there ("Convent and Community," 86).

<sup>65</sup> For Alice Beselles's presence at Syon, see the cellaress foreign accounts: PRO SC 6/Hen 8/2224 (1520–21), SC 6/Hen 8/2227 and 2228 (1523–24), SC 6/Hen 8/2229 and 2230 (1524–25), SC 6/Hen 8/2231 and 2232 (1525–26). Alice Beselles's will is PCC 8 Porche. Susan Kyngeston appears in the same obedientiary's accounts: PRO SC 6/Hen 8/2214, 2215 (1514–15) through SC 6/Hen 8/2244 and 2245 (1536–37). Her yearly board charges range from a high of £33 18s. 3d. (she occasionally paid for the boarding of others besides herself) to a low of 55 shillings in the final year.



her parish church it leaves a coverlet and four cushions for use at marriage and churching ceremonies "as wel of the porest man or woman as at the richest."<sup>66</sup>

Though the literature of counsel for widows is not extensive, within this genre the vowed state appears frequently. St. Anne is usually recommended as the patron of widows. The sermon for her feast in the *Festial* of John Mirk (fl. 1403) distinguishes five Annes. The treatment of two of them, Anna the prophetess and Anne the mother of Mary, may indicate a contemporary understanding of each as vowed to chastity, rather than merely widowed. Of the former Mirk says, "This Anne was soo holy, þat when scho had byn weddyt seuen zere, and her husbond deyd, scho ȝod ynto þe tempul of Ierusalem, and was þer seruyng day and nyȝt, tyl þat she was foure score zere old."<sup>67</sup> Regarding the Virgin's mother Mirk says that after the death of Joachim she married Cleophas and bore Mary Cleophas. Her third marriage to a man called Salome produced Mary Salome. "And soo, when scho had getyn her iii chyldyrne yn þe worschip of þe Trinite, scho wold haue no mor. But aftyr all her lyue scho ȝaf her to chastyte and to holynes."<sup>68</sup> It has recently been noted that St. Anne's three marriages, the *trinubium*, and her subsequent widowed state make her an accessible pattern for multiply-married medieval women.<sup>69</sup>

This theme of life's changes is strongly emphasized in another saint's life. Osbern Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, written between 1443 and 1447, in its treatment of St. Elizabeth of Hungary (†1231) based on the *Golden Legend*, asserts that she vowed chastity after her husband's death. Though her uncle, a bishop, intended "hyr ayen to maryin ful solemnely," her maidens "wych wyth hyr had vowyd to kepe chastyte" were aghast (lines 10200, 10202). Elizabeth replied merely, "I truste in my god oonly, for whose loue / Perpetual avowyd I haue contynence" (lines 10209–10).<sup>70</sup> After vowing she joined a religious community, distinguished from the vowed state by its three promises. Bokenham compares Elizabeth in her seven states of life with the prophet Daniel, of whom it was said

<sup>66</sup> TE 5:172.

<sup>67</sup> *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies by . . . John Mirk*, ed. Theodore Erbe, EETS, extra series, 96 (London, 1905), 214.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 215.

<sup>69</sup> Gail McMurray Gibson, "Saint Anne and the Religion of Childbed: Some East Anglian Texts and Talismans," in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens, Ga., 1990), 95–110.

<sup>70</sup> *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, ed. Mary S. Serjeantson, EETS, o.s., 206 (London, 1938), 277.

"that seuene tymys han chaungyd up-on the."<sup>71</sup> As with St. Anne, religious constancy in the midst of temporal alteration is stressed. Women who, like these saints, had been several times married, borne children, been widowed, and chosen vowed chastity, might respond with particular sympathy to this theme of fidelity in the midst of flux.

Besides Saints Anne and Elizabeth, other holy women may traditionally have been understood as vowed, and thus may have provided models for lay women. The Digby *Mary Magdalene* play (East Anglia, 1475–1500) gives the following stage direction at the *visitatio sepulchri* on Easter morning: "Here xall entyr þe thre Mariis arayyd as chast women."<sup>72</sup> The three are Mary Jacobe, Mary Salome, and Mary Magdalene—the first two widows, the third perhaps simply vowed to chastity. The stage direction implies that the dress of vowed chastity would be familiar to the play's audience. That the clothing of "chast women" was associated elsewhere with the three Marys, and particularly with Mary Magdalene, is shown by the bequest of a Somerset widow, Agnes Burton, in her will of 1503: "To the said sepulcre service there [the church of St. Mary Magdalene, Taunton] my rede damaske mantell and my mantell lyned with sylke that I was professid yn, to thentent of Mary Magdaleyn play."<sup>73</sup> Presumably, then, the Somerset Magdalene would, like the East Anglian one, be costumed as a vowed woman.

An unexpectedly critical sidelight on the vowed woman's combination of mantle and ring with the control of property is provided by the *Book to a Mother*, whose four manuscripts all date from 1400–25, though it was probably composed between 1370 and 1380. The author, a priest writing to his widowed mother, insists on the dangers of property: "And þis [perfect conformity with Christ] is bettere þan forto haue þe mantel and þe ryng and þe wympel and þe veil, with propurte: for Crist loueþ no propurte."<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Bokenham notes St. Elizabeth's seven changes of life-state:

"Seuene statys wych she was yn vnderstonde be moun:  
As maydenhede, maryage, & also wydewede,  
Actyf & contemplatyf, þe relygyoun;  
The seuente, where she now dwellyth, ys heuenly regyoun;  
And so þe Wurd to danyel seyde affermyd of hyr may be:  
That seuene tymys han chaungyd up-on the" (ibid., 259, ll. 9517–22).

<sup>72</sup> Donald C. Baker, John L. Murphy, and Louis B. Hall, Jr., eds., *The Late Medieval Religious Plays of Bodleian MSS Digby 133 and E Museo 160*, EETS 283 (Oxford, 1982), 57 (between lines 992 and 993).

<sup>73</sup> F. W. Weaver, ed., *Somerset Medieval Wills (1383–1558)*, 3 vols., Somerset Record Society 16, 19, 21 (London 1901–5), 2:53.

<sup>74</sup> Adrian James McCarthy, ed., *Book to a Mother: An Edition with Commentary* (Salzburg, 1991), 22.

These comments, while they perhaps show a Wycliffite or at least purist tendency in their preference for personal forms over institutional ones, nonetheless tend to confirm the thesis that vowed chastity was frequently an option for the well-off, and did not represent a radical reading of the gospel.

Other advice for widows draws heavily upon the epistle to Timothy. An apparently unique short tract "Of widewhod" appears in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 938 (first half of the fifteenth century), a collection of pastoral and catechetical material. It opens as follows: "Wydeewis schulde knowe her cleping and live *vertuousli* . . . *in holi & deuoute preiers & in abstinence*, not oonli abstynyng *her silf fro alle lusti & unmesurable metis & drynkis* but also fro al wordli welpe and fleschli daliance." It then rehearses the traditional Pauline understanding of the widows' vocation. Anna the prophetess is cited, as are Origen, Bede, and Augustine on widowhood. Three kinds of widows are enumerated: those who serve God, like Anna, in fasting and prayer; those who must first govern their sons and households; those who luxuriate in food and physical pleasure. A life of prayer and practical charity is advised: ". . . be bisy *in preieris day & nyzt*." Be "a widewe of *crist*" as opposed to "riche noble & mizty widewis" who do not "touchen wip her delicat & shynyng handis þe traueillous feet of seyntis" (fol. 266v)—a reference to 1 Timothy 5:10.<sup>75</sup>

A late fifteenth-century manuscript, London, British Library Add. 10106, contains a short treatise (3 fols.) on the manner of life for various estates. Widows are instructed as follows (in Raymo's summary): "Dress modestly and preserve chastity. Do not entertain men at home. Pray continuously. Take the advice of wise men and reflect on the lives of Saint Anne and Saint Elizabeth. Keep an upright household, and walk about the streets but little."<sup>76</sup> A. I. Doyle has pointed out that this manuscript, written by the scribe William Ebesham, is associated with Westminster, and that the estates treatise is an apparently unique translation from a Latin text attributed to Jean Gerson and found in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 596, also a Westminster manuscript.<sup>77</sup>

London, British Library Harley 554, *Boke of the lyf of wedows*, is a translation of Savonarola's tract on the widowed life published at Florence in 1491, *Libro della vita viduale*. A. I. Doyle has recently identified this manu-

<sup>75</sup> The whole work is summarized in Robert R. Raymo, "Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction," in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, ed. J. Burke Severs and Albert E. Hartung, 8 vols. (New Haven, 1967–89), 7:2321.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. 7:2316.

<sup>77</sup> A. I. Doyle, "The Work of a Late Fifteenth-Century English Scribe, William Ebesham," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 39 (1956–57): 313–15.

script's hand as that of Robert Tailour, a Syon-associated scribe,<sup>78</sup> and the presence at Syon of the several widowed vowesses mentioned above suggests that the translator of Savonarola's advice, as well as the scribe, may have been connected with this monastery. The text counsels widows to separate themselves from worldly business if possible, though the claims of family and household responsibilities are acknowledged. Interesting too is the work's recognition of female power to teach, by example and (narrowly defined) by word as well.

Jerome's life of the widowed Paula appears in Wynkyn de Worde's 1495 edition of *Vitas Patrum*.<sup>79</sup> Together with her daughter Eustochium this noble Roman widow embodied an ideal of worldly renunciation admired by Jerome. That Paula was considered a model by fifteenth-century widows is illustrated by several marginal inscriptions in the copy of *Vitas Patrum* at the John Rylands Library in Manchester. At the opening of Paula's story is written marginally, "mi owne gud ladi pole pray for my your ione regent & dam anes mi doter of sion i prai you for god sake" [g6]. The writer, Joan Regent, was a widow dwelling at St. Mark's hospital, Bristol, as her 1509 will shows. The signature of her daughter Agnes, a nun of Syon who died in 1524, is found before the book's colophon in a handsome Tudor italic: "Liber domine Agnetis Regent quam saluet Ihesus" [xx5v].

The Syon cellaress foreign accounts for 1504–5 read "receyued of my lady Regent for the Bordyng of her dowghter—xx s." Such payments are frequently found in these accounts during the applicant's year of proof, or novitiate.<sup>80</sup> Joan Regent's lines were thus presumably written between

<sup>78</sup> Private communication. Doyle notes that Tailour also wrote Harley 494. The influence on women of Erasmus's Latin tract, *De vidua christiana*, 1528, cannot have been significant since it remained untranslated. A tedious and conventional work, it is remarkable for its thoroughgoing condescension toward women. It is translated by Jennifer Tolbert Roberts in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 66, ed. John W. O'Malley (Toronto, 1988), 177–257.

<sup>79</sup> A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland . . . 1475–1640* (hereafter STC), 2d ed., 3 vols. (London, 1976–91), no. 14507.

<sup>80</sup> Joan Regent's will is PCC 25 Bennett. The 1504–5 Syon accounts are PRO SC 6/Hen 7/1730. A third female inscription, one which reflects two women's friendship, appears in the John Rylands Library copy of the *Vitas Patrum* (1495) at the bottom of fol. b i, below the story of the city of "exiryneque" where lived 10,000 male and 20,000 female religious: "my one gude ladi regent prai for me your frend kateryn pole I do prai for you & for my ladi agnes yor doter eueri day."

Jerome's letter to Eustochium with its instructions on the chaste life was partially translated by Thomas Betson of Syon. It formed part of Betson's *Ryght profytable treatyse*, published ca. 1500 (STC 1978), and was copied by John Colman, brother and last master of St. Mark's hospital, Bristol, in Oxford, St. John's College 173. A. I. Doyle discovered in this manuscript the note "missus cuidam viro nomine pykson in Flyttstrete london manenti" ("Thomas Betson of Syon Abbey," *The Library*, 5th ser., 11 [1956]: 118). The Bodleian copy of the 1495 *Vitas Patrum* carries the ownership inscription of St. Mark's hospital, and it might be that Colman's connections

1505 and her death in 1509. Their placement in Jerome's text suggests that the writer saw herself and her daughter Agnes as reflecting Paula and Eustochium's pattern of widowed mother and virginal daughter.

Paula's life reappears in London, British Library Stowe 949, *Lives of women saints*, whose editor identifies the anonymous author as a Roman Catholic theologian of Elizabeth's time.<sup>81</sup> Continuation of the vowed tradition in recusant circles is demonstrated by the 1621 appearance of *The treasure of vowed chastity in secular persons* (STC 15524). Published by the Jesuit press at St. Omer, it summarizes a notable English continuum of holy (often vowed) widowhood, with its emphasis on practical charity, semi-seclusion, and a life of prayer.

Finally, a few isolated voices suggest the vow's emotional meaning. The remarkable will of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, was written on 27 July 1469, after his capture in battle and in full awareness of his impending execution. To his wife Anne Devereux, with whom he had had ten children, he wrote, "And wife that you remember your promise to take the order of widowhood as you may be the better master of your own to perform my will and to help my children as I love and trust you." Though inheritance is glanced at here, passion and calculation combine in the will's closing injunction: "Wife pray for me and take the said order that you promised me as you had in my life my heart and love."<sup>82</sup> (One phrase in the Pembroke will is particularly suggestive: "as you may be the better master of your own." Certainly this element of control, both economic and personal, must have been important to many women—although Pembroke's words hasten to link independence with familiar notions of wifely and maternal service.)

The same indication that, to some extent, women were moved by past affection in taking vows is found in the case of Edeynna Clerck, who promised her dying husband John "at his earnest prayer never to take another husband." Her motive was compassionate: she says that "if she had not given John, who loved her tenderly, this consolation, he might have died in a state of sin (*in eius anime preiudicium*) on account of his excessive grief, or, if he had recovered, he might have loved her less and less every day."<sup>83</sup> Thus the vow of chastity may have satisfied both men's and women's sense

with the London printers were responsible for the presence at St. Mark's in Bristol of what are now the Bodleian and Rylands copies of *Vitas Patrum*.

<sup>81</sup> C. Horstmann, ed., *The Lives of Women Saints* . . . , EETS, o.s., 86 (London, 1886), xiii.

<sup>82</sup> Pembroke's will: PCC 28 Godyn. Excerpts are printed in Cooper, "Vow of Widowhood."

<sup>83</sup> CPL 7:120, also summarized by Thomson, "The Well of Grace," 106.

of the situation and of its requirements, and may have implied an acknowledgement of emotional realities.

One of the appeals to Rome lets us glimpse a vowess's feelings about her choice. The case of Margaret Singleton, mentioned above, is analyzed dismissively by the clerical commentator, who ascribes her motives in taking the vow to a certain female lack of seriousness ("quadam muliebri leuitate").<sup>84</sup> Her levity may in fact be questioned, since the document reveals that she continued to wear her vowess habit even after she and Robert married and became parents—behavior which might suggest a profound attachment to her former life rather than the reverse.

In what, then, does the vowess vocation consist? Most powerful may be the elements of continuity, and to some extent of "structurelessness," so strongly present in vowess life. Caroline Walker Bynum has suggested that women's religious aspirations—and their lives generally—are characterized by the absence of rupture, of breaks with the past, and instead are seen by women themselves as forming a continuity with what went before. As a consequence "women's religious life in the later Middle Ages is strikingly without structure," since women's choices "simply continued their ordinary lives." Beguine life, for instance, typically lacks "leaders, rules, detailed prescriptions for the routine of the day or for self-regulation," and "a strikingly large number of the women saints of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries . . . were simply women in the world . . . being religious."<sup>85</sup>

Such a definition of female religious experience fits quite closely the vowess vocation, with its absence of a formal rule and its continued life in the world. Even for those vowesses who lived with or near communities of religious women, perhaps the primary identification would not have been as a member of such a community. Rather, since the vowess's position in the institution would be *sui generis*, previous life would remain an important element in identity. Continuing use of one's married name, rather than assumption of a new name in religion, would emphasize these connections with the past.

In the lives of women who chose to live with a consecrated community there sometimes seems, in fact, a deliberate retention of a domestic model of life—one which is seen by ecclesiastical authority as challenging to

<sup>84</sup> CPL 13.2:835.

<sup>85</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum, "Women's Stories, Women's Symbols: A Critique of Victor Turner's Theory of Liminality," reprinted in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991), 27–51 (quot. on 46–47).

institutional structures. Examples occur both early and late. In 1310 Archbishop Greenfield of York ordered the removal of a private house which Dame Alice Waleys had actually built within Clementhorpe nunnery's precincts. Alice Hompton's 1484 papal dispensation explains that so she could "more conveniently hear . . . divine offices . . . at her own expense [she] built a certain oratory near the monastery of nuns at Dertford . . . at which oratory she lives at present," and it gives permission to have Mass and Divine Office said for herself and her domestic servants in the oratory, on account of her infirmity. Although institutional ordering might be said to have triumphed in Alice Waleys's case, we might read Alice Hompton's dispensation as the successful imposition of a domestic model of organization, with its household chaplain, onto a religious-institutional one.<sup>86</sup> Recent work by Roberta Gilchrist has traced this struggle architecturally, in female houses' gradual neglect of communal refectory for "familiae," or individual households, and of communal dormitory for individual cells—in at least one case "designed on a secular domestic principle."<sup>87</sup>

Whether vowed women observed their accustomed patterns in the familiar domestic domain or whether they attempted, partially and perhaps unwittingly, to recreate these patterns elsewhere, the vowess life does seem to have provided a formal alteration of status which nonetheless recognized and incorporated the past—particularly in the retention of lay status, with all its duties and implications. It thus represented a less radical break with earlier identity than did female religious life. Considered in this way perhaps English vowed women might be seen as manifesting a characteristically female spirituality—profoundly continuous, immanent, and rooted in the ordinary.

<sup>86</sup> For Alice Waleys, see R. B. Dobson and Sara Donaghey, *The History of Clementhorpe Nunnery* (York, 1984), 16. There is no evidence as to whether she was a vowess. For Alice Hompton, see *CPL* 15:32–33 (quot. on 32). The following example presents the conflicts between domestic and institutional ways of ordering life very graphically. In 1535, after Cromwell's commissioners had visited Gaunt's Hospital in Bristol and excluded women, Lady Jane Guildford wrote to Cromwell, "I have a lodging there chosen as meet for a poor widow to serve God in her old days. . . . And where hereto before I have been used from my house to go the next way to the church, for my ease, through the cloister of the same house [i.e. religious house] to a chapel that I have within the quire of the same I shall be content from henceforth . . . to forbear that, and to resort to the common place, like as others do, of the same church" (quoted in *VCH Gloucestershire* 2:117).

<sup>87</sup> Roberta Gilchrist, "The Archaeology of Medieval English Nunneries: A Research Design," in *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, ed. Roberta Gilchrist and Harold Mytum, BAR British Series 203 (Oxford, 1989), 251–60 (quot. on 256).

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APPENDIX  
LATE MEDIEVAL VOWED WOMEN: A PROVISIONAL LIST

This list must be considered only a starting-point for investigation of individual lives, since its form has severely limited the amount of information which could be provided. Many of these women were married several times, for instance, but only the final husband's name has been recorded. Other information (e.g., age) cannot readily be recovered from the sources used. Most names come either from *TE* (see below) or from edited episcopal registers. (Ely references are taken from the calendar of Ely registers printed in *Ely Diocesan Remembrancer* [1890–1914].)

The date of vowing has been provided; where this was unavailable, the death date, often approximate, has been substituted. Antiquarian references are given only when it has been impossible to substitute modern references; but as a consequence the nineteenth-century work which underlies this essay receives less acknowledgement than justice would require. Christian names have been normalized. Dates are new-style. The old form of citation by register name to Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills has been retained, in order to correspond with the references of antiquarian writers on this subject.

Eight women have surviving brasses, indicated by \* (see C below).

The following sigla have been used:

- Arch Cant* = *Archaeologia Cantiana*
- Bek* = *The Register of Thomas Bekynton, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1443–1465*, ed. H. C. Maxwell-Lyte and M. C. B. Dawes, 2 vols., Somerset Record Society 49–50 (Frome and London, 1934–35).
- Blome* = Francis Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of . . . Norfolk*, 2d ed., 11 vols. (London, 1805–10)
- Brans* = *A Calendar of the Register of Wolstan de Bransford, Bishop of Worcester 1339–49*, ed. R. M. Haines, Historical Manuscripts Commission JP 9 and Worcestershire Historical Society 4 (London, 1966)
- C* = Muriel Clayton, *Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs*, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1915; rpt. 1968)
- Cast* = *The Registers of Oliver King, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1496–1503, and Hadrian de Castello, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1503–1518*, ed. Henry Maxwell-Lyte, Somerset Record Society 54 (Frome and London, 1939)
- Cely* = Alison Hanham, *The Celys and Their World: An English Merchant Family of the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985)
- Chi* = *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury 1414–1443*, ed. E. F. Jacob, 4 vols., Canterbury and York Society 42, 45–47 (Oxford, 1937–47)



- Cooper = Charles Henry Cooper, "The Vow of Widowhood of Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby . . .," *Antiquarian Communications . . . of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1 (1859): 71-79
- Court = *The Metropolitan Visitations of William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury 1381-1396*, ed. Joseph Henry Dahmus (Urbana, Ill., 1950)
- CP = G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, ed. V. Gibbs et al., 13 vols. (London, 1910-59)
- CPL = *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, ed. W. H. Bliss et al. (London, 1893- )
- CPR = *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1891- )
- Dug = William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 2 vols. (London, 1730)
- Ed = *The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester 1346-1366*, ed. S. F. Hockey, 2 vols., Hampshire Record Society 7-8 (Southampton, 1986-87)
- EDR = *Ely Diocesan Remembrancer*, calendar of Ely episcopal registers
- G'hall = London, Guildhall Library
- GLRO = Greater London Record Office
- H = Henry Harrod, "On the Mantle and Ring of Widowhood," *Archaeologia* 40 (1866): 307-10
- Hethe = *Registrum Hamonis Hethe, Diocesis Roffensis A.D. 1319-1352*, ed. Charles Johnson, 2 vols., Canterbury and York Society 48-49 (Oxford, 1948)
- HR = Husting Rolls
- Kell = *The Register of Richard de Kellawe, Lord Palatine and Bishop of Durham 1311-1316*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy, 4 vols., Rolls series 62 (London, 1873-78)
- Lacy = *The Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter, 1420-1455*, ed. G. R. Dunstan, 4 vols., Canterbury and York Society 60-63 (Torquay, 1963-72)
- Lang = *Registrum Simonis de Langham, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi*, ed. A. C. Wood, Canterbury and York Society 53 (Oxford, 1956)
- Langley = *The Register of Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham 1406-1437*, ed. R. L. Storey, 6 vols., Surtees Society 164, 166, 169-70, 177, 182 (Durham and Gateshead, 1956-70)
- LDD = *Lincoln Diocese Documents, 1440-1544*, ed. Andrew Clark, EETS, o.s., 149 (Lincoln, 1914)
- LW = *Lincoln Wills Registered in the District Probate Registry at Lincoln*, ed. C. W. Foster, 3 vols., Lincoln Record Society 5, 10, 24 (Lincoln, 1914-30)

- L&PH8* = *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. S. Brewer et al., 21 vols. (London, 1862–1932)
- Melt* = *The Register of William Melton, Archbishop of York 1317–1340*, ed. Rosalind M. T. Hill and David Robinson, 3 vols., Canterbury and York Society 70, 71, 76 (Torquay and York, 1977–88)
- Myl* = *Registrum Thome Myllyng, Episcopi Herefordensis A.D. 1474–1492*, ed. Arthur Thomas Bannister, Canterbury and York Society 26 (London, 1920)
- NRO* = Norfolk Record Office
- Paris* = *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols., Rolls series (London, 1872–83)
- PCC* = Prerogative Court of Canterbury
- PRO* = Public Record Office
- R* = *Rufford Old Hall, Lancashire* (National Trust, 1991)
- Recon* = D. M. Smith, “A Reconstruction of the Lost Register of the Vicars-General of Archbishop Thoresby of York,” *Borthwick Institute Bulletin* 3 (1983–86): 29–61 and 102–13
- Rede* = *The Episcopal Register of Robert Rede . . . Lord Bishop of Chichester 1397–1415*, ed. Cecil Deedes, 2 vols. (London, 1908–10)
- Rep* = *The Register of Bishop Philip Repingdon 1405–1419*, ed. Margaret Archer, 3 vols., Lincoln Record Society 57, 58, 74 (Lincoln, 1963–82)
- Roth* = *The Register of Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York 1480–1500*, vol. 1., ed. Eric E. Barker, Canterbury and York Society 69 (Torquay, 1976)
- Scrope* = *A Calendar of the Register of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, 1398–1405*, ed. R. N. Swanson, 2 parts, Borthwick Texts and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province 8 and 11 (York, 1981–85)
- Spof* = *Registrum Thome Spofford, Episcopi Herefordensis A.D. 1422–48*, ed. Arthur Thomas Bannister, Canterbury and York Society 23 (London, 1919)
- SRO* = Suffolk Record Office
- Staf* = *Register of Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter 1395–1419*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (Exeter, 1856)
- Stan* = *Registrum Johannis Stanbury, Episcopi Herefordensis A.D. 1453–74*, ed. Joseph H. Parry and Arthur Thomas Bannister, Canterbury and York Society 25, part 3 (London, 1919)
- Stonor* = *The Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290–1483*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols., Camden Society, 3d ser., 29–30 (London, 1919)
- Stow* = *A Survey of London by John Stow*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1908)
- Suff Arch* = Suffolk Archdeaconry

- TE* = *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ed. James Raine, 5 vols., Surtees Society 4, 30, 45, 53, 79 (London and Durham, 1836–84). Culled from the registers of the archbishops of York, bishops of Durham, and archdeacons of Richmond, the list's earliest vowess entry is in 1312, its latest in 1526. Some of its entries can be confirmed from subsequent edited registers (I have tried to note discrepancies between *TE* and recent editions); others are still inaccessible to all but archival researchers. I have followed *TE* in printing "and her profession" when the register provides the words of the vow but *TE* does not transcribe them. I have noted "form in French (or English)" when I have seen the vow's words.
- Thom* = John A. F. Thomson, "The Well of Grace": Englishmen and Rome in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Barrie Dobson (Gloucester and New York, 1984), 99–114
- Tref* = *Registrum Johannis Trefnant, Episcopi Herefordensis A.D. 1389–1404*, ed. William W. Capes, Canterbury and York Society 20 (London, 1916)
- Tril* = *Registrum Johannis de Trillek, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. 1344–1361*, ed. Joseph Henry Parry (London, 1912)
- TV* = *Testamenta Vetusta*, ed. N. H. Nicolas, 2 vols. (London, 1826)
- VCH Notts* = *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Nottinghamshire*, ed. William Page, 2 vols. (London, 1906–10)
- Wake* = *A Calendar of the Register of Henry Wakefield, Bishop of Worcester 1375–95*, ed. Warwick Paul Marett, Worcestershire Historical Society, n.s., 7 (Leeds, 1972)
- Wald* = *A Calendar of the Register of Robert Waldby, Archbishop of York, 1397*, ed. David M. Smith, Borthwick Texts and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province 2 (York, 1974)
- War* = Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley, 1985)
- Wyk* = *Wykham's Register*, ed. T. F. Kirby, 2 vols., Hampshire Record Society 11 and 13 (London, 1896, 1899)
- YAJ* = *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*

1. 1231–38 Eleanor, sister of Henry III, widow of William, earl of Pembroke (†1231). Vowed before Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury; subsequently married Simon de Montfort, 7 Jan 1238. (*Paris* 5:235)
2. Ditto Cecilia of Sanford, widow of Sir William de Gorham. Vowed as above (†23 July 1251). (*Ibid.*)

3. 1312, Alice, widow of Sir Richard de Bingham. License from Robert  
16 Feb. Pickering, vicar-general of York, to John, bishop of Lincoln. (*TE*  
4:337)
4. 1313, Anabilla, widow of Sir Robert de Cleseby. Commission from Wil-  
2 Mar. liam Greenfield, archbishop of York, to Richard Kellaw, bishop of  
Durham. (*TE* 4:337 [Amabilla]; *Kell* 1:300)
5. 1316, Margaret, widow of John Chaumon of Colton. Commission to suf-  
5 Dec. fragan. Reg. sede vacante. (*TE* 4:337)
6. 1321, Isolde and William de Sibbilton, both vowed. Letters patent from  
26 May William Melton, archbishop of York. (*Melt* 1:11)
7. 1324, Joan Picot, widow. Commission from William Melton, archbishop  
26 Mar. of York, to Sir Robert de Clyderowe, rector of Wigan, diocese of  
Coventry and Lichfield, to absolve vow. (*Melt* 1:29)
8. 1329, Margery, widow of Sir Adam de Swillington. Vowed before Wil-  
2 Feb. liam Melton, archbishop of York, at Cawood. (*TE* 4:338)
9. 1335, Agnes, widow of Sir William de Wyvill. Commission from William  
7 Feb. Melton, archbishop of York, to Roland Jorz. (*Melt* 2:169)
10. 1338, Alesya de Lascy, countess of Lincoln, widow. Breaking vow of  
10 July chastity. (*CPL* 2:544)
11. 1339, Alice, widow of John Attensee of Ravensor. Commission from Wil-  
24 Jan. liam Melton, archbishop of York, to abbot of Thornton, Lincs. (*TE*  
4:338 [23 Jan.]; *Melt* 3:170)
12. 1340, Christiana, widow of John de Threlkeld. Commission from John  
24 Mar. Kirby, bishop of Carlisle, to John de Levynghon, SPP, Augustinian  
friar. (*TE* 4:338)
13. 1341, Joan, widow of Roger Broun of Weston Colville. Licence to hear  
11 Nov. Mass in her house at Colville, because she has on this day taken a  
vow of perpetual chastity. (Register of Simon de Montacute,  
bishop of Ely; *EDR* 58:392)
14. 1344, Katherine Grandison (†23 Apr. 1349), countess of Salisbury,  
30 Jan. widow of William Montague, earl of Salisbury. (*CP* 11:387–88)  
–1349
15. 1344, Elizabeth de Burgh, countess of Clare, widow of Roger d'Amory,  
6 Mar. baron. Indult to enter houses of Minoreesses, "having made a vow  
of chastity." (*CPL* 3:113)
16. 1344, Elizabeth de Gorges, widow. Letter dimissory from Ralph of  
25 Mar. Shrewsbury, bishop of Bath and Wells, to Haymo Hethe, bishop of  
Rochester, 13 Mar. 1342, to veil. Form in French. Audience.  
(*Hethe* 2:726–27)
17. 1347, Alice Maidegod of Stow, widow. Certification, by rector of Yeovil  
17 Apr. and dean of Stow, of examination of candidate in accord with com-

- mission of Wolstan de Bransford, bishop of Worcester. Approval. (*Brans* 137)
18. 1348,  
18 May Eleanor, widow of John Gyfferd. Commission from John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, to William Edington, bishop of Winchester, 5 May. Form in French. (*Ed* 2:21)
  19. 1349,  
25 July [blank] Commission from Thomas de Insula, bishop of Ely, to suffragan, "to receive vow of chastity from [blank], Ely, and to veil." (*EDR* 96:73)
  20. 1349,  
21 Dec. Isabel, widow of Sir John Fleming. Commission from William de la Zouche, archbishop of York, to abbot of Selby. (*TE* 4:339)
  21. 1350,  
20 Jan. Joan, widow of Sir Philip le Despenser. Commission from Zouche to Hugh, archbishop of Damascus. (*TE* 4:339)
  22. 1350,  
22 Oct. Constance, widow of Sir Robert de Strelley. Commission from Zouche to prior of Shelford. (*TE* 4:339)
  23. 1352,  
27 Dec. Elizabeth de Julieres, widow of John, earl of Kent. Marriage after vow: "Mantallum velum & anulum accepit." (Lambeth Palace, Register Simon Islip, fol. 166v)  
-1360,  
21 Sept.
  24. 1353,  
30 July Katherine, widow of Philip de Lytteleye. License from Roger Northburgh, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, to any English bishop. (*Tril* 193-94)
  25. 1354,  
12 Feb. Isabel, widow of Sir William de Byngham. Letter from John Thoresby, archbishop of York, to prior of Shelford and dean of Bingham, to inquire into life and morals. (Recon, no. 69)
  26. 1355,  
14 Apr. Joan, widow of Sir Thomas Wasteneys. Mandate from bishop of Lichfield to permit Joan and Sir John de Gresley to remain married, despite her previous vow. (*CPL* 3:561)
  - \*27. 1360,  
11 Aug. Phillipa, widow of Sir Guy de Beauchamp. Vowed before Reginald Bryan, bishop of Worcester, in collegiate church of Warwick. Form in French. (Dug 319, 321, quoted in Cooper 74; C 118)
  28. 1361,  
6 July Joan, widow of Peter de Richmond. Commission from John Thoresby, archbishop of York, to abbot of Eggleston and Adam de Pothowe, SPP. (*TE* 4:339)
  29. 1367,  
6 Jan. Elizabeth Talleworth, widow. Vowed before Simon Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, in chapel at Lambeth. (*Lang* 144)
  30. 1369,  
28 Apr. Joan, widow of Sir John de Shardelowe. Vowed before Thomas Percy, bishop of Norfolk, in a private chapel at his manor of Thornage. Form in French. Audience. (Blome 2:367)
  31. 1374,  
18 Dec. Cecilia de Strikland, widow. License from Alexander Neville, archbishop of York, to prior of Conishead. (*TE* 3:312)

32. 1375,  
7 Oct. Eleanor, widow of Patrick de Langdale of Etton. Vowed before Neville in the collegiate church of St. John, Beverley. Form in French. (*TE* 3:312-13)
33. Before  
1376,  
7 July Margery, widow of Thomas Broun, citizen of London. Her will. (HR 109[89])
34. 1377,  
20 Sept. Jane Fraunk, widow of Stephen Balle of Swafham. Vow. (Register of Thomas Arundel, bishop of Ely; *EDR* 120:91)
35. 1379,  
18 Oct. Isabel, widow of Thomas Burgh. Vowed before William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, in chapel of his manor of Southwark. Form in English. (*Wyk* 2:307-8)
36. Ditto Isabel, widow of John Golafre, "chivaler." Vowed as above. Form in French. (*Ibid.*)
37. 1380,  
24 Aug. Agnes, widow of Walter de Cotes. License from Alexander Neville, archbishop of York, to abbot of Sawley. (*TE* 3:313)
38. 1382,  
21 Mar. Isabel, countess of Suffolk, widow of William de Ufford, earl of Suffolk. Vowed before Thomas Arundel, bishop of Ely, by authority of Henry Spenser, bishop of Norwich, in presence of both, at the priory church of Campsey. Form in French. Audience. (*EDR* 124:153)
39. 1383,  
4 May Margery de Nerford. Vowed before Robert Braybrook, bishop of London, in chapel of the bishop's palace. Form in French. (G'hall 9531/3, fol. 325v)
40. 1383,  
17 Oct. Elizabeth Musgrave, widow. Vowed before Alexander Neville, archbishop of York. Mass on 18 October. Form in French. Audience. (*TE* 3:313)
41. 1383 (?) Elizabeth Fitzwilliam. Form in French. Register Neville. (*Ibid.*)
42. 1385,  
20 June Katherine, widow of William Bernard. Vowed before Thomas Arundel, bishop of Ely, in the conventual church of the Friars Minor, Cambridge. Form in French. Audience. (*EDR* 129:30)
43. 1386,  
30 Nov. Agnes, formerly wife of John Miles. Subprior of Worcester administered the vow according to the commission of Henry Wakefield, bishop of Worcester, dated 16 Aug. (*Wake* 169)
44. 1387,  
Holy week Margery Ittelcote, widow, of London. Vowed before Robert Braybrook, bishop of London. (G'hall 9531/3, fol. 334v)
45. 1388,  
3 July Alice Champflour, formerly wife of John Bateman. Commission of Henry Wakefield, bishop of Worcester, to prior or subprior to administer vow; note that subprior did so. (*Wake* 169)
46. 1389,  
20 Sept. Maud Wake. Vowed before William Courteney, archbishop of Canterbury, at priory of Huntington. Form in French. (*Court* 45, 156)

47. 1391,  
13 Oct. Joan Thyrlwynd of Cartmell. Commission from John de Newton, vicar-general of York, to abbots of Furness and Cockersand. (*TE* 3:314)
48. 1391,  
26 Oct. Joan, widow of Thomas Meryngton. Commission from Thomas Arundel, archbishop of York, to abbot of St. Mary's, York. (*TE* 4:340)
49. 1392,  
11 Dec. Margery, widow of Thomas Walker of Pershore. Commission from Henry Wakefield, bishop of Worcester, to abbot of Pershore to look into request and to veil if he approves. (*Wake* 120–21)
50. 1394,  
15 Mar. Blanche, widow of Sir Nicholas Stvuecle. Vowed before John Fordham, bishop of Ely, in chapel of his manor of Dodyngton. Form in French. Audience. (*EDR* 178:54)
51. 1395,  
15 July Alice, widow of Sir Thomas West of London and Hampshire. Her will: "a ring wherewith I was espoused to God." (*TV* 1:137–38)
52. 1396,  
16 Jan. Katherine Brokas, widow, of London. Vowed before Edmund Stafford, bishop of Exeter, in chapel of his London house at pontifical high Mass. Form in French. (*Staf* 39)
53. 1397,  
23 Apr. Emmota, widow of Sir Ralph de Ipre. Commission from Robert Waldby, archbishop of York, to abbot of Whalley. (*Wald* 6, fol. 3)
54. 1397,  
26 Aug. Margaret, widow of Adam Bamme, mayor of London. Vowed before Robert Braybrook, bishop of London (G'hall 9531/3, fol. 346v)
55. 1398,  
1 Feb. Margery, widow of Robert Grenefeld of East Butterwick. Vowed before Oswald, bishop of Whitherne, at the priory church of Holy Trinity, York. (*TE* 3:314)
56. 1399,  
9 Apr. Alice St. John, lady of Bignor (?). Vowed before Robert Rede, bishop of Chichester, in his chapel at Amberley. (*Rede* 1:53, 175)
57. 1399,  
8 Sept. Joan, widow of Roger Berd. Vowed before John Trefnant, bishop of Hereford, in his chapel. (*Tref* 162)
58. 1399,  
19 Sept. Cecilia, widow of John Crow, formerly Burgens. Commission from Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, to William de Allerton, prior of Newstead, to examine, to veil if acceptable, and to report. (*TE* 4:340 [Crowshawe, late burgess of Nottingham]; *Scrope* 2:42, no. 919)
59. 1399,  
17 Nov. Isabel, widow of Sir John Saville. Vowed before William Northbrugge, suffragan bishop of York, in chapel of the manor of Newstead. (*TE* 3:316–17; *Scrope* 1:20, no. 136)
60. Ca. 1399 Katherine de Melton of Aston. Vowed before Richard Scrope, archbishop of York. Form in English. (*TE* 3:316; *Scrope* 1:19, no. 126)

61. 1400, Margaret of Slyngesby. Vowed before Richard Scrope, archbishop  
1 Jan. of York, in chapel of his manor of Bishopsthorpe. Form in  
English. (*TE* 3:317; *Scrope* 1:21, no. 142)
- 1408, Ditto (Margaret, widow of William de Slengesby, diocese of  
25 May York). Mandate to prior of Holy Trinity, York, to commute her  
vow into "other works of piety." (*CPL* 5:536)
62. 1400, Elizabeth, widow of John Forster of Romsey. Commission from  
4 Sept. William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, to Henry, bishop of  
Annadown, to receive vow. (*Wyk* 2:501)
63. 1401, Alice Carlill, widow of London. Vowed before Robert Braybrook,  
6 Oct. bishop of London. (G'hall 9531/3, fol. 352v)
64. 1403, Alice, widow of John Jankynson of Sturton. Vowed before Richard  
Dec. (?) Scrope, archbishop of York. Form in English. (*TE* 3:318 [Stretton];  
*Scrope* 1:93, no. 589 [ca. 1404])
65. 1404, Isabel Tydde, widow of Wisbech. Indulgence for contributors, on  
5 Apr. account of her poverty. John Fordham, bishop of Ely. (*EDR*  
185:198)
66. 1404, Agnes, widow of Richard Wiseberd of Thorneye. Vowed before  
21 May John Fordham, bishop of Ely, in his chapel at Downham. (*EDR*  
186:217)
67. 1404, Joan, widow of Sir Walter Calverley. Vowed before William  
Dec. (?) Northbrugge, suffragan bishop of York. Form in English. (*TE*  
3:318-19; *Scrope* 1:42, no. 270)
68. †1406 Elizabeth Lercedekne, widow. Her will. (*War* 273n.; *Staf* 388)
69. 1407, Alice Thurgarton. Vowed before John Fordham, bishop of Ely, in  
4 Apr. his chapel at Downham. Form in English. Audience. (*EDR* 190:58)
70. 1407, Elizabeth Willford, "vidua." Vowed before Nicholas Bubwith,  
9 Apr. bishop of London, in chapel of his manor of Fulham. (G'hall  
9531/4, fol. 36v)
71. 1407, Alice Langhorne, widow. Vowed before Nicholas Bubwith, in  
26 June chapel of his dwelling at St. Clement Danes. (*Ibid.*)
72. 1409, Elizabeth, widow of George Mountbouchier. Commission from  
30 June Henry Bowet, archbishop of York, to abbots of Welbeck and Ruf-  
ford. Form in English. (*TE* 3:319-20; *Langley* 1:208a)
73. 1416, Agnes Maffay. Commission from Philip Repingdon, bishop of Lin-  
8 Apr. coln, to the abbot of Missenden and the rector of Ashridge. (*Rep*  
3:143)
74. 1416, Isabel, widow of Thomas Bridlyngton, citizen of London. Commis-  
1 Nov. sion from Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury, to John,  
bishop of Sorn. (*Chi* 4:38)
75. 1416 Certain noblewomen in the archdeaconries of Oxford and Buck-  
ingham. Commission from Philip Repingdon, bishop of Lincoln, to



- the abbots of Notley and Missenden, to examine and to veil if they approve. (*Rep* 3:141)
76. 1418, Agnes, widow of John Hadersham, of the diocese of Chichester.  
15 Feb. Commission from Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury, to the abbot of Bayham and the prior of Tonbridge (Rochester diocese). (*Chi* 4:190–91)
77. 1418, Lady Alice Salvan. Letter from Henry Ware, vicar-general to  
19 Feb. bishop of London. Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham, may receive her vow in London diocese. (*TE* 3:323 [Salvin]; *Langley* 2:158–59)
78. Ca. 1418 Alice, widow of John Green of Grantham. Commission from Philip Repingdon, bishop of Lincoln, to William, bishop of Solton, to examine. (*Rep* 3:261)
79. 1419, Joan, widow of William Cotterstock of Bedford. Commission from  
1 Feb. Philip Repingdon to prior of Newnham to veil. (*Rep* 3:272)
80. 1419, Agnes Frithbank, widow. Commission to veil. (*TE* 3:323)  
9 Apr.
81. 1419, Edeynna, widow of John Clerck, alias Teversham. Mandate to  
6 Sept. bishop of Ely to commute vow (not in Register Fordham). (*CPL* 7:120)
- \*82. 1419– Joan Besford, widow of Sir William Clopton of Quinton, Glos.  
†1430 Brass: “Que tibi sacrata clauditur hic vidua. . .” (War pl. 6; C 131)
83. 1421, Alice, widow of William Lynne of London. Vowed before Henry  
31 Oct. Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury, in chapel of his manor of Lambeth. Form in English. (*Chi* 4:221)
84. 1425, Ellen, widow of Nicholas Taverner of Richmond. Commission to  
10 Feb. Nicholas, bishop of Dromore, to veil. Reg. sede vacante. (*TE* 3:325)
85. 1425, Alice, widow of Gregory de Dunham. (*Ibid.*)  
6 Mar.
86. 1425, Cecilia, widow of John Helmesley of Gisburn. Form in English.  
20 Sept. (*Ibid.*)
87. 1426, Margaret, widow of John Wright. (*Ibid.*)  
25 Feb.
88. 1426, Ellen, widow of William Gilleson of Gisburgh. Commission to  
12 Mar. prior of Gisburgh to veil. (*Ibid.*)
89. 1426, Ricarda Ayssh. Vowed before Edmund Lacy, bishop of Exeter.  
22 Sept. Form in English. (*Lacy* 1:190)
90. 1427 Emma Cheyne, anchoress of St. Peter Cornhill, London. Received 1449 royal pension at death of husband, “recluse of Bury St. Edmunds.” (*CPR Henry VI* 5:304)

91. 1432, Margaret, widow of Thomas Lamplugh, esq. Commission to abbot  
7 Apr. of Calder to veil. (*TE* 3:327)
92. 1436, Helen, widow of John Urmeston of Westleigh, Lancs. Vowed  
12 Sept. before Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham, by commission of Wil-  
liam Heyworth, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (dated 15 July) in  
chapel of his manor of Stockton. (*Langley* 4:199–200)
93. 1436, Alice, widow of Hogeson of Cartmell. Vowed. (*TE* 3:328)  
15 Nov.
94. 1437, Isabel, widow of John Russell, esq. Vowed before Thomas Spof-  
25 Mar. ford, bishop of Hereford, in cathedral, and offered 6s. 8d. (*Spof*  
219)
95. 1437, Cecilia Ferrers, widow. Vowed before Edmund Lacy, bishop of  
23 Apr. Exeter, in chapel of his manor at Chudleigh. Form in French.  
(*Lacy* 2:49)
96. 1441, Joan, widow of John Denys of Welle, Kent. Her will. (*Arch Cant*  
8 Feb. 46:33–35)
97. 1441, Joan, widow of Robert Large, mayor of London, married John  
24 Apr.– Gedeney, mayor of London, 1443–44, after vow. (*Stow* 1:186;  
1442, 13 Digby Roll 2; 1462 will, G'hall 9171/5, fol. 327v)  
Aug.
98. 1444, Joan, widow of William Lacy, esq., of Halifax. Commission from  
15 Oct. John Kempe, archbishop of York, to abbot of Kirkstall. (*TE* 3:329)
99. 1444 Margaret, widow of Thomas Walker of Stoke Edyth. Vowed  
before Thomas Spofford, bishop of Hereford. Form in English.  
(*Spof* 256)
100. 1447 Elizabeth de Holm, wife of Peter Perce, diocese of York. Mandate  
to abbot of St. Mary's, York, to dispense Peter of marital vows and  
to admit him to priest's orders, in view of Elizabeth's 1447 vow of  
chastity. (*CPL* 10:212, dated 13 Feb. 1451)
101. 1449–50, Alice, widow of Wiliam Hoton, diocese of Durham. Mandate to  
19/18 bishop of Durham to relax vow. (*CPL* 10:55)  
Mar.
102. 1450, Ellen, widow of Nicholas Croft, esq. Commission to abbot of  
5 May Cockersand (Richmond). (*TE* 4:340)
103. Ca. 1452 Agnes Bawdewynne, widow. Vowed before Thomas Salscot,  
bishop of Enaghduin, suffragan of John Chedworth, bishop of Lin-  
coln. (*LDD* 244–45)
104. 1453, Joan, widow of Thomas Wombwell, esq., of Wombwell. Commis-  
27 Feb. sion from Richard Tone, vicar-general of York, to John, bishop of  
the Isles. (*TE* 3:332)

105. †1453 Lady Joan Danvers. Her will leaves profession ring. (PCC 85 Stockton; see H)
106. 1454, Margaret, widow of John Cockfield, esq., of Nuthall. Commission  
21 Jan. from Richard Tone to suffragan. (*TE* 3:333).
107. 1454, Ellen, widow of Sir John Portington of Portington, king's justice.  
30 July Commission from Richard Tone to abbot of St. Mary's, York.  
(*Ibid.*)
108. 1454, Isabel Maryon, widow. Vowed before John Chedworth, bishop of  
10 Nov. Lincoln, in his chapel at Old Temple, London. Witnesses. (*LDD*  
245)
109. 1455, Margaret, widow of Mr. John Huet, proctor-general, court of  
26 Jan. York. Commission from Richard Tone to abbot of St. Mary's,  
York. (*TE* 3:333)
110. 1455, Margaret, widow of Sir John Stapleton. Commission from Richard  
9 June Tone to John, bishop of Philippolis (*TE* 3:333); her will, proved 8  
Jan. 1466 (*TE* 4:270-72).
111. 1455, Elizabeth, widow of John, Lord Scrope of Masham. Commission  
18 Dec. as above. Form in English. (*TE* 3:333)
112. 1456, Joan Stretton. Vowed before John Chedworth, bishop of Lincoln,  
24 June in chapel of Merton College, Oxford. (*LDD* 87-88).
113. 1456, Christiana Easingwald, widow, of Malton. Commission from  
28 Aug. Richard Tone to prior of Holy Trinity, York. (*TE* 3:333)
114. 1458, Margaret, widow of Thomas Bovell of Pickering-lithe, gentleman.  
8 Dec. Commission from William Booth, archbishop of York, to prior of  
Malton. (*TE* 3:334)
115. 1458, Isabel Portyngton, widow, Barton-on-Humber. Vowed before John  
31 Dec. Chedworth, bishop of Lincoln, in Blackfriars church, Oxford. Wit-  
nesses. (*LDD* 113)
116. 1459, Katherine, widow of John Walworth of Thornton Wood. Commis-  
10 Mar. sion from William Booth to abbot of Fountains. (*TE* 3:334)
117. 1459, Emmote, widow Haryngton. Commission from William Booth to  
16 Mar. abbot of Cokersand. (*YAJ* 30:176a)
118. 1459, Elizabeth, widow of Hugh Biccomb, gentleman, of Craucomb.  
17 Apr. Vowed before Thomas Bekynton, bishop of Bath and Wells, in  
chapel of Woky manor. Form in English. Audience. (*Bek* 1:316)
119. 1459, Joan Manfeld, widow. Vowed before John Chedworth, bishop of  
14 May Lincoln, in Blackfriars church, Oxford. (*LDD* 113-14)
120. 1459, Joan, widow of John ap Thomas, esq., of Langattok near  
28 July Bergevenye, Wales. Vowed before Thomas Bekynton, bishop of  
Bath and Wells, in chapel of Woky manor. Form in English. (*Bek*  
1:326)

121. 1459,  
4 Aug. Elizabeth, widow of Richard Garton of York, merchant. Commission from William Booth, archbishop of York, to prior of Holy Trinity, York (*TE* 3:335)
122. 1459,  
19 Aug. Elizabeth Stanhope, widow. Vowed before William Booth, archbishop of York, at Scrooby. Form in English. (*TE* 3:335)
123. 1459,  
2 Sept. Joan, widow of John Wastenness, esq. Commission from William Booth to abbot of Welbeck. Form in English. (*Ibid.*)
124. 1459,  
4 Dec. Joan, widow of Ralph Pullan. Commission from William Booth to abbot of Fountains. (*YAJ* 30:186a)
125. 1460,  
19 July Elizabeth, widow of John, earl of Shrewsbury. Commission from William Booth to John, bishop of the Isles. (*TE* 3:335)
126. 1460,  
29 Aug. Margery, widow of Nicholas Fitzwilliam. Commission from William Booth to abbot of Roche. (*Ibid.*)
127. 1461,  
6 Mar. Joan, widow of Thomas Sergeant. Vowed before John Stanbury, bishop of Hereford. Form in English. (*Stan* 68-69)
128. 1461,  
18 Aug. Elizabeth Langdale. Commission from William Booth to prior of Malton. (*TE* 3:336)
129. 1462,  
18 Jan. Alice, widow of William Swelyngton, esq. Commission from John Lilford, vicar-general of Laurence, bishop of Durham, to John, prior of Durham, to veil. (*TE* 4:340)
130. 1462,  
21 Apr. Joan, widow of Nicholas Huet of Laughton. Commission from William Booth to abbot of Roche. (*TE* 3:336)
131. 1462,  
16 July Alice, widow of Richard Clay of Fadmore. Commission from William Booth to Richard, bishop of Dromore (*Ibid.*)
132. 1462,  
23 July Alice, widow of Sir Nicholas Byron. Vowed before William Booth, archbishop of York, at Southwell. (*Ibid.*)
133. 1464,  
20 Feb. Eleanor, widow of Thomas Ide of Bruton. Vowed before Thomas Bekynton, bishop of Bath and Wells. (*Bek* 1:409)
134. 1464,  
6 Oct. Margaret, widow of Thomas Davell of Bilton. Licence to William, suffragan bishop of York. Reg. sede vacante York. (*TE* 3:337)
135. 1464,  
18 Oct. Euphemia, widow of Richard Chamber, Leeds. Licence to John, bishop of the Isles. Reg. sede vacante York. (*Ibid.*)
136. 1465,  
1 Apr. Dionisia, widow of John Holme of Beverley, merchant. Commission to abbot of Meaux. Reg. sede vacante York. (*Ibid.*)
137. 1465,  
6 June Margaret, widow of John Forrest of Watton. Commission to prior of Watton. Reg. sede vacante York. (*TE* 3:338)
138. 1465,  
21 Oct. Elizabeth Tunstall of Massynghale. Commission to abbot of Cockersand (Richmond). (*recte* 1466?; out of sequence *TE* 3:338)

139. 1466,  
10 June Margaret, widow of Sir Richard Hoghton. Commission from George Neville, archbishop of York, to abbot of Cockersand, to examine and to veil. (*YAJ* 32:245a; *TE* 3:338 [10 July])
140. Ditto Elizabeth, widow of Gilbert Haydock, gentleman, of Preston. Commission as above. (*TE* 3:338)
141. 1467,  
20 June Alice, widow of Henry Brice, sheriff of London. Her will. (PCC 30  
-1499 Horne)
142. 1467,  
15 Aug. Dowce, widow of Walter Strickland, esq., of Kirkeby in Kendale. Commission from George Neville to prior of Cartmell. (*TE* 4:340)
143. 1469,  
2 Sept. Margaret, widow of Sir Geoffrey Pigot. Commission from George Neville to William, bishop of Dromore. (*TE* 3:340)
144. 1471,  
16 Nov. Agnes Overton, widow. Commission as above. Form in English. (*TE* 3:341)
145. 1473,  
8 Feb. Katherine Rippelingam, "Videwe Advowes," widow of William Southcote of London. Her will. (PCC 16 Wattys)
146. 1473,  
12 Feb. Alice Scargill. Commission from George Neville to William, bishop of Dromore. (*TE* 3:341)
147. 1473,  
28 Feb. Cecilia Wencelagh, widow. Commission as above. (*TE* 3:342)
148. 1473,  
7 June Alice, widow of William Fleming of Warmfield. Commission as above, and profession. (*Ibid.*)
149. 1473,  
23 June Margaret, widow of Thomas Langton of Ulleskell. Commission as above. (*Ibid.*)
150. 1473,  
2 Aug. Elizabeth, widow of Richard Burton. Commission from George Neville to abbot of Selby. (*Ibid.*)
151. 1474,  
30 Apr. Elizabeth, widow of William Babington. Commission from George Neville to William, bishop of Dromore. Form in English. (*Ibid.*)
152. 1474,  
4 July Emmot, widow of Edmund Martin of Worksop. Commission from George Neville to abbot of Welbeck. Form in English. (*Ibid.*)
153. 1474,  
29 July Joan Marton of Hemsworth, widow. Commission from George Neville to William, bishop of Dromore, and profession. (*Ibid.*)
154. 1475,  
1 Feb. Elizabeth, widow of Sir Robert Danby. Commission as above. (*Ibid.*)
155. 1475,  
8 May Margery, widow of Lord Wells. Commission from George Neville to abbot of St. Mary's, York. (*TE* 3:343)
156. 1475,  
20 July Alice Moulton, widow. Commission from George Neville to William, bishop of Dromore. Form in English. (*Ibid.*)

157. 1477,  
2 Aug. Margaret, widow of Fulk Springhouse. Vowed before Thomas Myllyng, bishop of Hereford, at Carmelite priory, Ludlow. Form in English. (*Myl* 33–34)
- \*158. 1477, ?  
4 Oct.–  
21 Dec. Margaret, widow of John Croke, London alderman. (PRO E 122/73/40; C 1/64/1048; *Stonor* 2:28; C 119)
159. 1479,  
5 Jan. Ellen, widow of William Palmes of Naburne. Commission from Laurence Booth, archbishop of York, to suffragan. (*TE* 3:343)
160. 1479,  
2 May Alice and Henry Andrew (vowess and hermit). Vowed before Laurence Booth. Audience. (*TE* 3:343–34)
161. 1480,  
20 Oct. Joan, widow of Sir William Plumpton. Commission from Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York, to William, bishop of Dromore, and profession. Form in English. (*TE* 3:344; *Roth*, nos. 8, 9)
162. 1480,  
22 Nov. Agnes, widow of Thomas Witham. Commission as above. (*TE* 3:345)
163. 1481,  
30 May Isabel, widow of Robert Hyatt. Vowed before Thomas Myllyng, bishop of Hereford, in chapel of his manor of Whitburne. (*Myl* 62)
164. 1481,  
5 Sept. Agnes, widow of Robert Wilson of Bargrange, parish of Leeds. Commission from Thomas Rotherham to William, bishop of Dromore. (*TE* 3:345; *Roth*, no. 1544)
165. 1481,  
24 Sept. Joan, widow of Benjamin Worsley. Commission as above, and profession. (*TE* 3:345; *Roth*, nos. 1555–56)
166. 1482,  
28 Mar. Joan, widow of Robert Byfeld, London ironmonger. Husband's death; her vow. (PCC 5 Logge; *Cely* 310)
167. 1482,  
3 July Alice, widow of Sir John Savile. Vowed as in 163, with profession. (*TE* 3:345; *Roth*, no. 156)
168. 1482,  
8 Oct. Margaret, widow of Robert Bothe, wife of Robert Singleton of the diocese of York and Coventry/Lichfield. Mandate to archbishop of York to absolve Margaret of breaking vow with Robert and to absolve him of incest with Margaret's daughter. (*CPL* 13.2:835–36)
169. 1483,  
22 Feb. Joan Neville alias Glasyn, widow of John, merchant of York. Commission from Thomas Rotherham to William, bishop of Dromore. (*TE* 4:341; *Roth*, no. 222)
170. 1483,  
18 Apr. Elizabeth Overton of Helmsley, widow. Commission as above. (*TE* 3:347; *Roth*, no. 245)
171. 1483,  
28 May Joan, widow of Brian Routh of Driffild. Commission as above, and her profession. (*TE* 3:347; *Roth*, no. 255)
172. 1483,  
3 Sept. Alice, widow of Brian Redman. Commission as above. (*TE* 3:347; *Roth*, no. 308)

173. 1483,  
3-5  
Dec. Cecilia, widow of Robert English of Nottingham. Cited for having received the veil from bishop of Lincoln's suffragan "without the archbishop's licence" (*Roth*, 40, no. 317, Mar. 1484); "She pays the fees, and the case is dismissed." (*TE* 3:348)
174. 1484,  
12 Jan. Elizabeth, widow of John Bingham of Wadnall. Licence to her to receive the veil from any bishop, abbot, or other suitable person. (*TE* 3:348; *Roth*, no. 329)
175. 1484,  
20 Apr. Margaret Newport of Beverley. Commission from Thomas Rotherham to William, bishop of Dromore (*TE* 3:348; *Roth*, no. 368, dated 1485)
176. 1484,  
1 July Elizabeth Dracote of Wistow, widow. Commission as above. (*TE* 3:348; *Roth*, no. 1617)
177. 1484,  
14 Oct. Alice Hompton, diocese of Worcester. Permission to have Mass and Office celebrated in her oratory at Dartford. (*CPL* 15:32-33)
178. 1485,  
5 Jan. Margaret Simms of Barnsley, widow. Commission from Thomas Rotherham to William, bishop of Dromore. (*TE* 3:348; *Roth*, no. 1647)
179. 1485,  
20 Sept. Alice, widow of Sir Richard Ratcliff. Commission as above. (*TE* 3:350; *Roth*, no. 388)
180. 1486,  
2 Aug. Agnes, widow of Robert Tempest of Staneford. Commission as above. (*TE* 3:351; *Roth*, no. 1707)
181. 1486,  
17 Sept. Agnes, widow of John Hunt of Carlton, parish of Rothwell. Vowed before Thomas Rotherham at Southwell, with profession. (*TE* 3:351; *Roth*, nos. 1713-14)
182. 1486,  
30 Sept. Elizabeth, widow of William Beckwith of Beverley. Commission from Thomas Rotherham to William, bishop of Dromore. (*TE* 3:351; *Roth*, no. 1720)
183. 1487,  
30 Apr. Agnes, widow of John Thomlinson of Walkington. Commission as above (*TE* 3:352 [29 Apr.]; *Roth*, no. 1756)
184. 1488,  
3 Feb. Anne, widow of John Beverley of York. Commission as above. (*TE* 3:353; *Roth*, no. 459)
185. 1488,  
27 May Mable, widow of Sir Richard Tempest of Giggleswick. Commission as above, or to any abbot in the diocese with the necessary powers. (*Roth*, no. 474)
186. 1488,  
10 July Joan, widow of John Sharp of Leckonfield. Commission from Thomas Rotherham to William, bishop of Dromore. (*TE* 3:353; *Roth*, no. 1780)
187. 1488,  
10 Sept. Joan, widow of Sir John Pilkington. Commission as above. (*TE* 3:353; *Roth*, no. 1788)
188. Ditto Alice, widow of Ralph Gascoigne, esq. Commission as above. (*TE* 3:353; *Roth*, no. 1788)

189. 1489, 23 Dec. Joan, widow of William Chamberlain of Bugthorpe. Commission as above. (*TE* 3:355; *Roth*, no. 510)
190. †1489 Lady Margaret Davy, widow. Her will leaves profession ring. (PCC 168 Milles; see H)
191. 1490, 15 Jan. Alice, widow of Robert Hunt of Hartfield. Commission from Thomas Rotherham to abbot of St. Mary's, York. (*TE* 3:355 [Hatfield]; *Roth*, no. 516)
192. 1490, 2 Oct. Widow of Sir John Constable. Commission from Thomas Rotherham to William, bishop of Dromore. (*TE* 3:355; *Roth*, no. 1837)
193. After 1491 Alice, widow of Robert Hesketh of Rufford, Lancs. (1594 pedigree: R)
194. 1492 Jane, widow of William Chamberlayne. Her will. (PCC 11 Doggett)
195. 1492, 1 Feb. Isabel, widow of Thomas Fletcher of Calthorne. Commission from Thomas Rotherham to William, bishop of Dromore. (*TE* 3:356-57; *Roth*, no. 556)
196. 1492, 4 Mar. Margaret, widow of William Fox of Chesterfield, diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. Vowed before William, bishop of Dromore, in the conventual church of the friars at Pontefract. (*TE* 3:357; *Roth*, no. 558)
197. 1493, 10 June Margaret, widow of John Swift of Tinsley, parish of Rotherham. Commission from Thomas Rotherham to William and John, bishops of Dromore and Rochester. (*TE* 3:357; *Roth*, no. 1870)
198. 1493-1501 Agnes Salmon, widow, of Southampton. Certification by suffragan of Thomas Langton, bishop of Winchester. (Thom 113 n. 55)
199. 1494, 19 Sept. Elizabeth, widow of Christopher Thoresby of Barden. Commission from Thomas Rotherham to William, bishop of Dromore. (*TE* 3:358 [29 Sept.]; *Roth*, no. 638)
200. 1495, 12 June Margaret, widow of Henry Boynton of Acclom. Commission as above. (*TE* 3:359; *Roth*, no. 666)
201. 1496-1503 Margaret, widow of Richard Middlemore of Edgbaston, Warw. Commission from John Arundel, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (Dug 2:895); her will (PCC 1 Thower, 1531).
202. 1497 Margaret, vowess at Crabhouse nunnery. Bequest of 10s. in the will of Katherine Kerre. (NRO NCC 90-91 Multon)
203. 1499 and ca. 1504 Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby. Vowed before and after husband's death (3 Aug. 1504). (Cooper 72)
204. 1499, 30 June Joan, widow of Thomas Carlton of Carlton. Commission from Thomas Rotherham to William, bishop of Dromore. (*TE* 3:361; *Roth*, no. 1931)



205. 1500, Elizabeth Palmer of Thorne, parish of Hatfield. Commission from  
16 Mar. Thomas Rotherham to abbot of Meaux. (*TE* 3:362)
206. 1500, Isabel, widow of John Rither of Ottringham. Commission to suf-  
7 Nov. fragan. Reg. sede vacante York. (*Ibid.*)
- \*207. Ca. Juliane Anyell, vowess, Witton, near Norwich. (C 131)  
1500
208. 1501, Elizabeth, widow of Nicholas Portington of Anlaby. Commission  
9 Nov. to suffragan. Reg. sede vacante York. (*TE* 3:362)
209. Ditto Elizabeth, widow of Ralph Constable of Burton. Commission as  
above. (*Ibid.*)
210. Ditto Ellen, widow of John Percy of Scarborough. Commission as above.  
(*Ibid.*)
211. 1501, Joan, widow of Edmund Skerne of Hutton Cranswick. Commission  
16 Dec. from Thomas Savage, archbishop of York, to William, bishop of  
Dromore. (*TE* 3:363)
212. 1501, Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Calverley of Eccleshall. Commission  
18 Dec. as above, and her profession. (*Ibid.*)
213. 1501, Alice, widow of John Casse of Beverley. Commission from  
31 Dec. Thomas Savage to John, bishop of Ross. (*Ibid.*)
214. 1502, Beatrix Greystock, widow of Robert Constable, serjeant-at-law, of  
12 Jan. Holme in Spaldingmore. Commission as above, and to the prior of  
Watton. (*Ibid.*)
215. 1503, Alice, widow of John Vavasor of Newton-on-Nidd. Commission  
18 Jan. from Thomas Savage to John, bishop of Negropont. (*Ibid.*)
216. 1503, Agnes, widow of Richard Burton of Taunton. Her will. (PCC 7  
24 Jan. Holgrave)
217. 1503, Margery, widow of Robert Holme of Paul-home. Commission  
28 Oct. from Thomas Savage to John, bishop of Negropont. (*TE* 3:363)
218. 1504, Elizabeth, widow of Sir William Elmeden. Commission as above.  
4 Apr. (*TE* 3:364)
219. 1505 Alice, widow of Richard Chester, skinner, London alderman. Her  
will. (PCC 35 Holgrave)
220. 1506, Tamsyn Dawbeney, widow. Vowed before Thomas, bishop of  
2 Apr. Tenos, suffragan of Hadrian de Castello, bishop of Bath and  
Wells. (*Cast* 115)
221. 1506, Elizabeth, widow of Roger Legh. Commission from Thomas  
19 June Savage to John, bishop of Negropont. (*TE* 3:365)
222. 1506, Joan, widow of Sir Richard Yorke, mayor of York, 1469, 1482. Will  
20 Aug. summary (*TE* 4:24)

223. 1507, Eleanor, wife of Richard Gille, gentleman. Notification by vicar-general to Hadrian de Castello, bishop of Bath and Wells, of her permission to Richard to enter a monastery. (*Cast* 121)  
 26 Jan.
- 1507, Ditto. Notification by vicar-general that Eleanor has taken a vow of chastity before himself and a suffragan, and intends to complete her vow in the nunnery of Canonsleigh, diocese of Exeter. (*Cast* 122)  
 27 Mar.
224. 1507, Anne, widow of Thomas Davell of York. Commission from Thomas Savage to John, bishop of Negropont. (*TE* 3:365)  
 22 June
225. Before Katheryn, widow of Henry Langley, esq., of London. Her will. (G'hall 9531/9, fols. viii-x [3d ser.])  
 1510
226. 1510, Alice, widow of William Swift of Skeftling. Commission from Christopher Bainbridge to John, bishop of Negropont. (*TE* 3:366)  
 22 May
227. 1511, Katherine, countess of Devon, widow of William Courtney, earl of Devon. Vowed before Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London. (G'hall 9531/9, fol. 30v)  
 13 July
228. 1511, Jane Harby of Lincoln, "Wowes," "mantulata." Her will (*LW* 1:44)  
 15 Sept.
229. Before Agnes, widow of Richard Mellars, mayor of Nottingham, 1499-1500, 1505-6. (*VCH Notts* 2:218-21)  
 1512
230. 1513, Eleanor Twisill, widow, of North Newbald. Commission from Christopher Bainbridge to John, bishop of Negropont. (*TE* 3:367)  
 2 July
231. 1513, Isabel, widow of Brian Tunstall. Commission as above, and her profession. (*Ibid.*)  
 6 Nov.
232. Ditto Alice Dyneley of Manston. Commission as above. (*Ibid.*)
- \*233. After Susan, widow of John Kyngeston, esq., of Childrey, Berks. (C 131). Her will. (PCC 28 Alenger, 1541)  
 1514, 16 Apr.
234. 1515, Elizabeth, widow of Robert Harrison of Ferrybridge. Commission from Thomas Wolsey, archbishop of York, to John, bishop of Negropont, and her profession. (*TE* 3:368)  
 27 Apr.
- \*235. †1516, Alice Hampton, Minchinhampton, Glos., and Halliwell nunnery, London (C 137). Her will. (G'hall 9171/9, fol. 5v, 1516)  
 27 Sept.
236. 1516, Elizabeth, widow of John Bradford of Heath, parish of Warmfield. Commission from Thomas Wolsey, archbishop of York, to Richard, bishop of Negropont. (*TE* 3:369)  
 28 Nov.
- \*237. 1519, Joan, widow of Sir John Braham of Frenze, Norfolk. "Vidua ac deo dicata." (C 131)  
 18 Nov.
238. 1520 Dorothy Curson, vowess, had the farm of the anchorhouse at Carrow nunnery, Norfolk. (NRO Hare 5955 227 xl)

239. 1520, Agnes, widow of William Pawgier of Hatfield. Commission from  
13 June Thomas Wolsey, archbishop of York, to Richard, bishop of  
Negropont. (*TE* 3:368)
240. 1524, Joan Thurescrosse, Kingston on Hull, "vidua velata." Her will. (*TE*  
22 Jan. 5:170-72)
241. 1525, Elizabeth Frogmarton. Vowed, diocese of London. (Vicar-  
26 June general's book "Foxford," GLRO DL/C/330, fol. 94v)
242. 1525, Margaret Sutton of Burton, "vowas." Her will. (*LW* 2:17-19)  
1 Oct.
243. 1526, Alice, widow of William Beselles of Besellesleigh, Berks. Her will.  
19 June (PCC 8 Porche)
244. 1526, Anne, widow of John Vavasour, esq., of Haslewood. Commission  
9 Dec. Thomas Wolsey, archbishop of York, to Matthew, bishop of Chal-  
cedon. (*TE* 3:374)
245. After Joan, widow of Richard Marler, mayor of Coventry, 1509. Her will.  
1527, 26 (PCC 2 Thower, 1531)  
June
- \*246. After Joan, widow of John Cooke, mayor of Gloucester (C 119). Her  
1528 will. (PCC F4 Alen)
247. 1529, Jane Armstrong "vowys" of Corby. Her will. (*LW* 2:143)  
20 Oct.
248. 1535-36 Jane, widow of Sir Arthur Pole. Vowed before William Barlow,  
prior of Bisham and bishop of St. Asaph. (*L&PH* 18.1:48-49, no.  
67)
249. 1536, Margery Baxster or Page, Heveningham, Suffolk. Her will. (Suff  
30 Jan. Arch Will Reg. 12/169)
250. 1536, Agnes Wigston, widow, Leicester. Vowed before John Longland,  
8 Sept. bishop of Lincoln, in chapel of his manor of Buckden. (*LDD*  
209-10)
251. 1537, Margaret Raynkynne, widow of London. Previous tenant in a lease  
2 Dec. from nunnery of St. Helen's Bishopsgate. (PRO E303/8/16)

I am indebted to Caroline Barron for nos. 70, 71, 166, and 193; to Marilyn Oliva for nos. 202, 238, and 249; to Catherine Paxton for nos. 219 and 251; to Susan Wabuda for no. 241.

## ADDENDA

The following three vowess names have been discovered since the completion of this essay; they have not been included in the statistics.

- 1413, Margaret widow of Sir Leonard Hakeluyt, knight, vowed before  
2 Oct. Nicholas Bubwith, bishop of Bath and Wells, in the conventual church of the Friars Minor at Bridgewater. Form in French. (*The Register of Nicholas Bubwith, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1407–1424*, ed. Thomas Scott Holmes, 2 vols., Somerset Record Society 29–30 [London, 1914], 1:148; appointment of her confessor, 1:167)
- 1458, Christine, widow of Walter Portman. Commission from Thomas  
8 Apr. Bekynton, bishop of Bath and Wells, to James, bishop of Bangor, to examine and to veil if she is constant, has means of support, and has no canonical impediment. (*Bek* 1:301)
- 1491, Cecily, widow of Sir Thomas Gerard, knight, of the parish of Win-  
22 May wick. Commission from John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, to Robert, bishop of Achonry, to veil. (*The Register of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury 1486–1500*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill, vol. 2, Canterbury and York Society 78 [Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1991], no. 21)

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## WHAT THE NUNS READ: LITERARY EVIDENCE FROM THE ENGLISH BRIDGETTINE HOUSE, SYON ABBEY\*

*Ann M. Hutchison*

DURING its pre-Reformation life, Syon Abbey, though a late foundation, was held in high esteem both on account of the rigour of its religious observance and on account of the learning of its members. Evidence of the latter, however, is chiefly traced to the brothers of this remarkable double monastery. Although there are references to a library and librarian for the sisters, no inventory of its contents survives. There are, however, other sources, and this study represents an attempt to draw upon these in order to form some idea of the kinds of books the nuns would have read. Evidence has been sought from the Rule, from *The Myroure of oure Ladye*, and from wills and other documents, as well as from existing books known to have belonged to the nuns.<sup>1</sup>

When Henry v laid the foundation-stone of the Bridgettine house, Syon Abbey, at Twickenham, in Middlesex, on 22 February 1415, he was said to have been fulfilling an obligation on behalf of his father, Henry iv.<sup>2</sup> In

\* While checking the proofs of this article, I was deeply saddened to hear of the death of Sister Frances Nims, I.B.V.M. An inspiring teacher whose natural modesty never quite managed to conceal the vast scope of her learning, a deft but constructive critic, an encouraging mentor and a generous friend, Sister Frances has been for me an important and pervasive influence. I would like to dedicate this article to her memory.

<sup>1</sup> Since I began this project, which was originally given as a conference paper, two scholars have approached this topic from other angles; their work complements, and indeed has enriched, my own. Christopher de Hamel's survey of surviving manuscripts from both the men's and women's libraries at Syon and his discussion of how they were used brings the pre-dissolution community very much to life; see "The Library: The Medieval Manuscripts of Syon Abbey, and Their Dispersal," in *Syon Abbey: The Library of the Bridgettine Nuns and Their Peregrinations after the Reformation*, The Roxburghe Club 1991 (Otley, 1993), 48–158. David N. Bell has prepared a list of all surviving books (manuscripts and printed books) from women's monastic houses in England; see *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries*, Cistercian Studies Series 158 (Kalamazoo, 1995). I would like to thank both Dr. de Hamel and Dr. Bell for reading an earlier version of this paper and for their numerous helpful comments. In addition, I would like to acknowledge their generosity in sending me drafts of their work prior to publication.

<sup>2</sup> Although the latter had been exonerated by Pope Gregory XII in 1408 from responsibility for the deaths of Richard II and Archbishop Scrope of York, he had undertaken to found three strict monastic houses as an act of expiation. The Carthusian house of Jesus of Bethlehem of Sheen was also founded in 1415, but the projected third house, for the Celestines (to be named

addition, Henry V was, no doubt, concerned to have completed this deed when he set out for France and what was to become the celebrated battle at Agincourt in the autumn of that year. In this respect, the choice of a house of the Bridgettine order was particularly suitable, since it was believed that the prayers of its members were especially efficacious in bringing peace and well-being.<sup>3</sup> Royal interest did not, however, stop with the foundation of Syon Abbey.<sup>4</sup> In his will of 10 June 1421 (a copy of which was only recently discovered at Eton College), Henry stated, "volumus quod abbatissa de Syon habeat et gaudeat ad usum illius monasterii libros nostros sibi accom[m]odatos," although, apart from specifying that they were "suitable," he did not indicate the exact nature of these books.<sup>5</sup> A notable exception is the "magna biblia" which had belonged to his father, Henry IV. Henry V had given this to the abbess, but wished to have it returned for his successor.<sup>6</sup> A specific gift was made to the monastery, however, in 1426, four years after Henry's death, when his brother, John, duke of Bedford, laid the foundation-stone of the new church at Isleworth (the more spacious and less marshy site to which Syon Abbey moved in 1431): "Dedit . . . duos pulcros libros officii sororum et vnam legendam."<sup>7</sup>

Recently, Christopher de Hamel has identified the hand of the scribe of the Bedford Hours on eight leaves of a Breviary that he suggests are part of one of these *pulchri libri*.<sup>8</sup> Seven of the leaves now make up Cambridge, University Library Add. 7634; the eighth, which only came to light in 1988, is in private hands.<sup>9</sup> If de Hamel's identification is correct, the eight leaves belong to the earliest recorded book that can be traced specifically to the

Jerusalem), never materialized. See David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1955), 175–81.

<sup>3</sup> See *Regula Salvatoris* 31 (ed. Sten Eklund, *Sancta Birgitta Opera minora I* [Stockholm, 1975], 139); also quoted in English in *The Myroure of oure Ladye*, ed. John Henry Blunt, EETS, extra series, 19 (London, 1873), 61.

<sup>4</sup> The foundation charter of 3 March 1415 (*Charter Roll*, 2 Hen. V, pt. 2, m. 28) clearly indicates that the community would have the special task of praying for the king and his family.

<sup>5</sup> Patrick and Felicity Strong, "The Last Will and Codicils of Henry V," *English Historical Review* 96 (1981): 94. In a codicil made on 26 August 1422, just five days before he died, Henry added that he did not wish either the abbess or confessor-general of Syon (or the prior or community of Sheen) to keep any duplicate copies of his books (*ibid.*, 100).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 93. I would like to thank Jenny Stratford for drawing this reference to my attention.

<sup>7</sup> Recorded in the Martyrology, London, British Library Add. 22285, fols. 5v (date of laying foundation stone), 14v (gift of books; also of the duke's gift of rings for the sisters to be newly professed). See A. Jefferies Collins, *The Bridgettine Breviary of Syon Abbey*, Henry Bradshaw Society 96 (Worcester, 1969), iv n. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Syon Abbey*, 62–64. The Breviary is No. 71 in de Hamel's list (*Syon Abbey*, 114–24); in Bell's it is A.5. Hereafter, surviving books from Syon will be referred to by their numbers in de Hamel's and Bell's lists.

<sup>9</sup> Formerly Maggs, *Bulletin* 14, 1988, no. 56.

Syon nuns. The Breviary, however, is a service book, and the interest of this paper lies mainly in the books the nuns read in connection with their meditations.

Syon Abbey is the only house of the Bridgettine order to have been established in England—and, I might add, the only house not to have been dissolved at the time of the dissolution. (When Syon shut its doors on 25 November 1539, the community went underground and abroad.<sup>10</sup>) The order's founder, the fourteenth-century Swedish mystic, St. Bridget, received its rule by divine revelation and then went to Rome to seek papal approval.<sup>11</sup> According to the divine specifications, this was to be an enclosed double order, intended primarily for contemplative nuns. Its full complement was to have been sixty nuns, thirteen priests, four deacons, and eight lay brothers, making a total of eighty-five, symbolic of the post-Ascension community. The role of the priests (who symbolized the twelve apostles plus St. Paul) was to take the services, preach sermons (on Sundays they were to preach to the public in the vernacular), and assist the nuns with their devotions. The deacons, who could also be priests, represented the four principal doctors of the Church—Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome—and their role too was to assist the nuns in their learning and devotional life. Thus it is interesting to see an emphasis on learning in the very structure of the order.<sup>12</sup>

Though part of the same house, the women and men were strictly segregated; communication took place through a grill. The chapel was divided into upper and lower levels and arranged so that the nuns and brothers could hear, but not see, each other. Otherwise there were to be separate facilities; included among these were the libraries, each to be presided over by its own librarian. An important catalogue of books from the brothers' library survives,<sup>13</sup> but so far no list of the contents of the pre-dissolution nuns' library has been discovered. Nevertheless, as I shall

<sup>10</sup> A good account is given by John Rory Fletcher, who, having thoroughly culled the Syon Abbey papers and other relevant documents, published a summary of his findings in *The Story of the English Bridgettines of Syon Abbey* (South Brent, 1933). A fuller, but earlier, account is given in George James Aungier's *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery, the Parish of Isleworth, and the Chapelry of Hounslow* (London, 1840).

<sup>11</sup> See *Regula Salvatoris* (ed. Eklund, *passim*).

<sup>12</sup> For a fuller discussion of the significance of the order's composition, see Roger Ellis, "Viderunt Eam Filie Syon": *The Spirituality of the English House of a Medieval Contemplative Order from its Beginning to the Present Day* (vol. 2 of *The Contemplative Life in Great Britain: Carthusians, Benedictines, Bridgettines*), *Analecta Cartusiana* 68 (Salzburg, 1984).

<sup>13</sup> Mary Bateson, ed., *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery, Isleworth* (Cambridge, 1898). A new edition is being prepared by A. I. Doyle and Vincent Gillespie for the British Academy's *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*.

demonstrate, from other sources we have evidence of the importance attached to reading in the daily devotional life of this contemplative order, and indeed some of the books they read still survive.

A remarkable feature of the Bridgettine Rule, a rule in which poverty is stressed, is the provision made for an unlimited supply of books for study. This liberality is all the more striking when one realizes that even the number of service books is stringently restricted to "as many as be necessary to doo dyvyne office and moo in no wyse," as the Middle English version of the Rule puts it.<sup>14</sup> A text which gives some hint of the reading habits of the nuns is *The Myroure of oure Ladye*, a treatise on the nuns' devotional practices, along with a translation of the Bridgettine Breviary and an explanation of its significance. As well as being a primary source of evidence, *The Myroure* is itself one of the books belonging to the nuns' library. Today only one manuscript copy is known to have survived (and a fairly late one),<sup>15</sup> but in 1530 the abbess and confessor-general of the time considered it necessary to commission a printed edition.<sup>16</sup> At least thirteen copies of this version of *The Myroure* published by Richard Fawkes are known to survive.<sup>17</sup>

The date and authorship of *The Myroure* have not been precisely established, but the author was certainly a member of the order, as can be determined from his direct and intimate knowledge of the house, from his clear understanding of the Bridgettine liturgy, and especially from inclusive statements he makes from time to time (e.g., "we that are professed in her relygyon," with reference to St. Bridget [164])<sup>18</sup> and the deeply caring way in which he addresses the nuns (e.g., "moste dere and deuoute sys-

<sup>14</sup> Chap. 18, Cambridge, University Library Ff.6.33, fols. 62v–63r; printed in facsimile in James Hogg, *The Rewyll of Seynt Sauoure*, Salzburger Studien zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik 6, vol. 2 (Salzburg, 1978), 49–50.

<sup>15</sup> This copy, made sometime in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century by Robert Tailour for sister Elyzabeth Montoun (or Moutoun), survives in two manuscripts: Aberdeen, University Library 134 contains the first part of the text (ending on p. 174 of Blunt's edition [see n. 3 above]), and Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawl. C. 941, the second (pp. 175–332 of Blunt's edition). See de Hamel, Nos. 65, 14; Bell, A.1. Citations from *The Myroure* are from Blunt's edition. I am currently preparing a new edition of this text.

<sup>16</sup> Agnes Jordan was the Lady Abbess (1520–46) and John Fewterer, the confessor-general (1523–36).

<sup>17</sup> *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland . . . 1475–1640*, ed. A. W. Pollard, G. R. Redgrave, et al., 2d ed., 3 vols. (London, 1976, 1986, 1991) [hereafter cited as *STC*], no. 17542. These may be found in the Cambridge University Library; the Bodleian; the British Library; Lambeth Palace; Bishop Cosin's Library, Durham; Peterborough Cathedral (now in the Cambridge U.L.); Warwick; Manchester; and in the Folger (2); the Huntington Library, San Marino, California; the University of Illinois, Urbana; the Pierpont Morgan Library.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *The Myroure*, 12, 62, 72.



tres" [4]).<sup>19</sup> Moreover, he tells his readers that he has been to the house in which St. Bridget lived in Rome. These hints have led A. J. Collins, the editor of the Latin Bridgettine Breviary, to propose two candidates: Thomas Fishbourne, the order's first confessor-general, elected when the house was enclosed in 1420, or his contemporary, priest-brother Simon Wynter.<sup>20</sup> Fishbourne died in 1428 and Wynter in 1448, and if Collins's hypothesis is correct, then *The Myroure* was composed either late in the first quarter, or before the end of the second quarter, of the fifteenth century.<sup>21</sup> A piece of internal evidence suggests the work was composed when both the order and its English house were still fairly "young." The author refers to the Bridgettine hymns, anthems, responses, and so on, which were, like the service itself, received through divine inspiration; concerning this part of the service he says, "For ye haue nye all suche thynges made and set to you of *new* in your seruice in suche a meruelous and gracycous wyse. . . ."<sup>22</sup>

*The Myroure* is divided into three parts: Part I describes the divine origin of the Bridgettine service and provides a rationale of divine service generally; Part II, the major section, translates and explains the "Hours" as they are said, or sung, on each day of the week and is preceded by a short treatise on "how ye shall be gouerned in redyng of this Boke and of all other bokes" (65); and Part III translates special masses and offices observed at Syon Abbey. Of particular interest here is the short treatise on reading, which begins "Deuoute redyng of holy Bokes. ys called one of the partes of contemplacyon" (65). The author establishes the importance of reading, discusses the best methods, suggests times, and offers guidance on the choice of reading material. In other words, he takes for granted that a large part of the nuns' day is devoted to reading, not only this book but other edifying books as well.

Some of these books are, in fact, referred to in *The Myroure*. Richard Rolle's translation of the Psalter, for example, is mentioned in the first prologue, where the author states that he has not considered it necessary to translate many of the psalms "for ye may haue them of Rycharde ham-

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 52.

<sup>20</sup> Collins, *Bridgettine Breviary*, xxxix.

<sup>21</sup> In a forthcoming article, "Further Thoughts on the Spirituality of Syon Abbey," Roger Ellis has pointed out (n. 65) that if *The Myroure* is dependent on British Library Harley 612 (dated 1435–57), a possibility suggested by Collins (*Bridgettine Breviary*, xx n. 3), Thomas Fishbourne (d. 1428) cannot have been the author. I would like to thank Dr. Ellis for drawing this note to my attention.

<sup>22</sup> *The Myroure*, 37. Italics are mine.

poules drawynge" (3).<sup>23</sup> In addition, he implies that the nuns have English bibles, which would also make translation unnecessary, for in the same place he adds "if ye haue lysence thereto," referring to Archbishop Arundel's constitutions of 1407–9 concerning the necessity of obtaining permission to possess translations of the Scriptures. (We know, in fact, that the men's library possessed a Wycliffite bible.<sup>24</sup>)

In discussing the value of singing—as opposed to reciting—divine service, our author notes that it sometimes causes "deuoute soulles to be rauyshed and to receyue spyrituall gyftes of god *as ye rede in saynt Mawdes boke*" (33, italics mine). This is the first of several references (see 38–39, 276–77) to "Mawdes boke," or *The Booke of Gostlye Grace*, a Middle English translation of the *Liber specialis gratiae* by the thirteenth-century mystic from the Benedictine convent in Helfta, Mechtild of Hackeborn.<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, selections from Mechtild are often found in devotional compilations which also contain excerpts of the Revelations of St. Bridget.<sup>26</sup> Not unexpectedly, the author of *The Myroure* frequently quotes and alludes to St. Bridget's Revelations, both those contained in the version presented for the canonization proceedings, or the *Liber celestis* (e.g., 35), and the extra revelations, or *Extravagantes* (e.g., 16, 59). Although he does not provide absolute proof of their ownership of these works, as he does in the case of "Mawdes boke," it would, I think, be extraordinary for nuns of St. Bridget's order to possess the one and not the other. Certainly by 1495 they had a copy, for the seventh prioress, Anne de la Pole (d. 1501), re-

<sup>23</sup> Item F48 in the men's library is an English Psalter which Bateson speculates may be Rolle's version (*Catalogue*, 58 n. 4). It is important to note, however, that the nuns also read the Psalter in Latin—this is always the case in choir. De Hamel lists eleven surviving manuscript copies of Latin Psalters (*Syon Abbey*, 74–75; also Nos. 1, 4, 12, 35, 43, 45, 56, 67, 73, 74, 80), eight of which belonged to the nuns (12, 35, 45, 56, 67, 73, 74, 80; these correspond to Bell, A.24, A.28, A.15, A.44, D.1, A.18, A.33, A.4).

<sup>24</sup> Manchester, John Rylands Library Eng. 81 (R.4995), as de Hamel (following notes of N. R. Ker) points out, is a Wycliffite New Testament which can be traced to the brothers' library at Syon (*Syon Abbey*, 82 and No. 40).

<sup>25</sup> The Middle English translation has been edited by Theresa A. Halligan, *The Booke of Gostlye Grace of Mechtild of Hackeborn*, Studies and Texts 46 (Toronto, 1979); see esp. 1, 50, 51. Halligan (51) points out that the inventory of the men's library includes three early sixteenth-century printed copies in Latin (M47, M107, M121), three manuscripts of the Latin (one complete—M59—and two in part—M22, M94), as well as a manuscript "in anglico" (M98); see also Bateson, *Catalogue*, 105, 114, 115; 107, 102, 112; 113.

<sup>26</sup> Cicely, duchess of York, read—or, at least, heard—and owned both; see "Orders and Rules of the House of the Princess Cecill, Mother of King Edward IV," *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household*, The Society of Antiquaries (London, 1790), 37–39, esp. 37. Durham, University Library Cosin V.iii.16, which will be discussed later (see pp. 221–22 below), contains excerpts from both Bridget and Mechtild.

ceived such a bequest from her grandmother, Cicely, duchess of York.<sup>27</sup> (Again we know that the brothers' library had several copies.<sup>28</sup>)

Similarly, one would expect that the nuns had copies of St. Bridget's *Vita*, another work referred to by *The Myroure's* author. Versions of the *Vita* are often found together with the Revelations, both in Latin and in Middle English manuscripts. In contrast to the dearth of information concerning the Revelations and the *Vita*, there is evidence concerning the Rule. Once a week, according to the Additions to the Rule for the nuns, the "legister" was to read in the refectory "the rewles of seynt sauour, and of seynt austyn, hoole, and also a parte of thes addicions."<sup>29</sup> Although no complete copies are known to survive, medieval fragments of both the Rule (in English) and the Additions for the sisters can still be found at Syon Abbey today (de Hamel, Nos. 81, 82; Bell, A.48).<sup>30</sup> In addition, a copy of the Rule translated into Middle English survives in Cambridge, University Library Ff.6.33 (de Hamel, No. 57; Bell, B.3). Dr. A. I. Doyle has identified the copyist as William Darker, monk of the Carthusian house of Sheen, just across the Thames from Syon. Although there are no marks of possession on the manuscript itself, Dom Darker, as we shall see, executed several manuscripts for the nuns.<sup>31</sup> A Middle English manuscript of the "Additions" to the Rule for the sisters also survives as London, British Library Arundel 146 (de Hamel, No. 48; Bell, A.22). Erasure and later reinstatement of references to the pope suggest that the manuscript may have remained with the Bridgettines after the suppression.<sup>32</sup> The surviving copy of the Martyrology, London, British Library Add. 22285, which seems to have originally belonged to the brothers,<sup>33</sup> but which was taken into exile and brought back to England by the nuns in 1809, bears similar indications of the deletion and later reinstatement of references to the pope, Cardinal Pole, and others.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Wills from Doctors' Commons*, ed. John Gough Nichols and John Bruce, Publications of the Camden Society 83 (London, 1863), 3.

<sup>28</sup> M64-69 (Bateson, *Catalogue*, 107-8); M115 (*ibid.*, 115).

<sup>29</sup> Chap. 50 (ed. James Hogg, *The Rewyll of Seynt Sauoure*, vol. 4 [Salzburg, 1980], 161).

<sup>30</sup> Although not all the manuscripts found at Syon Abbey today can be assigned to the pre-dissolution library, it is generally agreed that these particular fragments originated in the nuns' library. James Hogg has also described these fragments in "Brigittine Manuscripts Preserved at Syon Abbey," in *Studies in St. Birgitta and the Brigittine Order*, vol. 2, *Spiritualität Heute und Gestern* 19 (Salzburg, 1993), 228-42, esp. 232.

<sup>31</sup> See Hogg, *The Rewyll of Seynt Sauoure* 2:iii.

<sup>32</sup> See *ibid.* 4:vi. In 1667 the manuscript was given to the Royal Society by Henry Howard, sixth duke of Norfolk (1628-84).

<sup>33</sup> See Collins, *Bridgettine Breviary*, iv n. 1.

<sup>34</sup> The Martyrology was brought back to England in 1809 by a splinter group of nuns wishing to leave Lisbon and reestablish Syon Abbey in England. Unfortunately, the attempt was unsuccessful, and the treasures they brought with them, which included the Martyrology, were

In the course of his treatise on divine service and of his explanation of the parts of their own service, the author also refers to works by Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, Isidore, Bede, Chrysostom, Innocent III, Hugh of St. Victor, Caesarius of Heisterbach, and others, in particular, St. Bernard. Clearly this does not indicate that he expects the nuns to have read their complete works, but he certainly assumes a knowledge of their thought.<sup>35</sup> When one remembers that the four deacons of the order represent the four "principal" fathers of the western Church, a first-hand knowledge of some of the works of Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, and Gregory would not necessarily be out of the question.

Though we have no certain evidence from the pre-dissolution period, we do know that in the period of their wanderings abroad the nuns took very good care of their books.<sup>36</sup> Prominent among those they still possess today are works by Augustine, Jerome, and Bernard, though, of course, we have no means of establishing when such books were acquired.<sup>37</sup> One book about which we do have information survives from the time of their first exile (the order returned to its house in the time of Mary and was re-enclosed in 1557). This is a Latin edition of the works of the German mystic and popular preacher, John Tauler (1290–1361), printed in Cologne in 1548, and it bears the name of Catherine Palmer.<sup>38</sup> A comparatively junior

bought by the sixteenth earl of Shrewsbury to assist the nuns financially. The British Museum subsequently acquired the manuscript from his estate in 1858. See de Hamel, No.66; Bell, C §4 (p. 207).

<sup>35</sup> Although the men's and women's libraries were completely separate, the catalogue of the men's library may, if used with caution, be helpful in suggesting what might have been available to the community as a whole, since we also know that the priests assisted the nuns in their devotions. The brother's library possessed, for example, at least one copy of Caesarius's *Dialogus miraculorum*, K62 (Bateson, *Catalogue*, 88). Also, one copy of Hugh of St. Victor's commentary of the Rule of St. Augustine, M17 (*ibid.*, 101), contained an English life of St. Jerome—probably the Life written by Simon Wynter for Margaret, duchess of Clarence, a sister-in-law of Henry V, who, as a widow, came to Syon for spiritual direction; the presentation copy of the Life is now in New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library 317.

<sup>36</sup> From the time of the move to Rouen from the Spanish Netherlands in 1580 there is a record of the shipment of, among other effects, "a cask of books" and "5 crates of unbound books" (Certificate Book, fol. 425, Archives Communales d'Auvers; see *Poor Souls' Friend*, July–August 1966, p. 107). Subsequently, however, books were lost as a result of fire and other vicissitudes (see Bateson, *Catalogue*, xvii).

<sup>37</sup> The books have recently been placed on permanent loan at the University of Exeter, where a list has been compiled.

<sup>38</sup> *D. Joannis Thavleri Praeclarissimi viri, sublimisque Theologi . . .* (Cologne: Joannis Quentel, 1548. Quarto). I am grateful to the Lady Abbess and Sister Mary Bridget who showed me this book when I first began my research on the reading habits of the nuns of Syon Abbey. The book is now with the other Syon books at the University of Exeter, and has recently been unpacked. It bears two inscriptions in the same hand: the first, originally the label but now pasted on the first flyleaf, reads "vsui sororis Katherine Palmer"; the second, at the top of the title page, reads "Ad vsum sororis Katherine palmere." See also Bell, under A.13.

sister at the suppression, Palmer led a group of the nuns abroad and, on the death of Agnes Jordan in 1546, became the eighth abbess, a position she occupied with courage and distinction for the next thirty years.<sup>39</sup> The existence of this book among the possessions of the nuns indicates something of both the nature of their interests and the seriousness of their dedication to study, even during periods of uncertainty in their day to day life.

From this and other evidence, we can with some confidence interpret literally the recurring statement of the author of *The Myroure*, "As ye rede . . ." (e.g., 33).<sup>40</sup> This phrase is often repeated in connection with exempla or "sentences," undoubtedly taken from a devotional compilation that the nuns possessed. Remarks concerning the Paternoster at the beginning of his translation of the Sunday service provide further indication of the existence of such compilations.<sup>41</sup> The author acknowledges, "The exposycyon of thys holy prayer ye haue in dyuerse bokes. whiche yf ye study bysely to vnderstonde wyll gyue you cause to fynde grete comferte & deuocyon in the sayng therof" (73).<sup>42</sup>

We know of other books associated with the nuns of Syon through wills and from the names inscribed on them, though this latter practice seems to be more frequent after 1500. A work that the Syon nuns had in the early fifteenth century in manuscript, and then after 1494 in printed form, is Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, one of the most widely circulated devotional texts. Sometime not long after Syon was founded, Margery Pensax, an anchoress near Bishopsgate, bequeathed ("legavit") a copy of the *Scale*; it survives as London, British Library Harley 2387.<sup>43</sup> Another manuscript of the same work (now Oxford, All Souls College 25; de Hamel, No.

<sup>39</sup> Although she headed the community after the death of Abbess Jordan, Catherine Palmer was only "officially" elected abbess at the time of the reenclosure under Queen Mary on 1 August 1557. An inscription of 1546 does, however, refer to her as "pia mater" (see n. 46 below).

<sup>40</sup> *The Myroure* itself, of course, was written specifically for the nuns to read and reread (e.g., 4), and, as noted above, the author includes a short treatise to instruct the nuns on reading (*The Myroure*, 65–71; see p. 209 above).

<sup>41</sup> A late example is Cambridge, Magdalene College 13 (de Hamel, No. 39; Bell, A.10), originally owned by a Dominican friar, but by 1521 in the possession of Elizabeth Crutchley, one of four lay sisters at the time of the suppression; this manuscript contains, among other devotional material, a commentary on the Lord's Prayer.

<sup>42</sup> On this occasion, however, he will offer his own explanation for the nuns to "laboure therabout" when saying "thys holy prayer," but, he concludes, he does not intend them to "haue mynde on all the wordes that I haue wryten. but on the sentence" (*The Myroure*, 77).

<sup>43</sup> Noted in *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, ed. N. R. Ker, 2d ed. (London, 1964), 309; de Hamel, No. 52; Bell, A.26.

55; Bell, A.38) once belonged to Rose Pachet, or Paget, the tenth prioress of Syon, who was professed sometime before 1518;<sup>44</sup> whether she brought it with her or acquired it in the monastery is not known.<sup>45</sup> A copy of Wynkyn de Worde's printed edition of 1494 (*STC* 14042), now Cambridge, University Library Inc.3. J.1.2. 3534, was given by Catherine Palmer to Anthony Bolney in 1546, the year in which Agnes Jordan, the last abbess of the pre-dissolution community, died and Sister Palmer became her successor.<sup>46</sup> A more celebrated example is the copy (also of Wynkyn de Worde's 1494 edition) presented to Sister Joanna Sewell on the occasion of her profession on 28 April 1500 by James Grenehalgh, monk of the Carthusian house of Sheen. (This copy is now H 491 in the Rosenbach Museum and Library in Philadelphia; Bell, A.43.) Grenehalgh appears to have trained Sewell during the period of her noviciate and perhaps worked with her for three or four years after her profession, for their combined monograms and marginal comments can still be seen in a number of devotional works, most notably Richard Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* (now Cambridge, Emmanuel College 35 [I.2.14]; Bell, A.7). Marginal notes from Grenehalgh to Sewell also appear against the texts of Rolle's *Judica Me Deus* and *Contra Amatores Mundi*, both in Emmanuel College 35 (I.2.14), and of the *Speculum Inclusorum* by an anonymous monk of Sheen (London, British Library Royal 5.A.v).<sup>47</sup> Apart from speculations about the nature of the relationship between the two, it is of interest to note Sewell's ability to read and understand Latin as well as English texts—an ability presumably shared by Catherine Palmer and, as new evidence suggests, by others as well.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> The list of members of Syon Abbey who in 1518 elected the sixth abbess, Constance Browne, survives and has been reprinted in Aungier, *History and Antiquities*, 81–82.

<sup>45</sup> S. S. Hussey, "The Audience for the Middle English Mystics," in *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Cambridge, 1989), 119, notes that All Souls 25 is one of three copies of the *Scale* in which Part I is divided into twenty-eight chapters, rather than the more usual ninety-two, or ninety-three. Hussey speculates that this may have been done to create "convenient sections for daily reading in a religious house." This would suggest that Rose Pachet acquired the manuscript at Syon. See also A. G. Watson's forthcoming catalogue of manuscripts at All Souls College, Oxford.

<sup>46</sup> The inscription on the title page reads "Katehrin [*sic*] Palmer. . . . Dedit hunc librum in Ihu Christi dilectione Antonio bolney pia mater Katherina Palmere Anno dni M.D.xlvj." See Bell, under A.13.

<sup>47</sup> For an extended discussion of the annotations and monograms, see Michael G. Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 85 (Salzburg, 1984), esp. 1:85–109. London, British Library Add. 24661, containing, among other things, three Rolle texts, has the "J G S" monogram on fol. 18 against the *Incendium Amoris*, and thus is another possible candidate (Bell, A.21, lists this manuscript with a query).

<sup>48</sup> Two books now in Durham are inscribed with the name of Clemence Tresham, a nun on the 1518 election list and again on that of 1557, at the time of the Marian restoration (see Aungier, *History and Antiquities*, 82, 97). Durham, University Library Cosin V.v.12 (de Hamel,

There is speculation that more crude renderings of the "I S" monogram and notes which appear in British Library Add. 37790, another manuscript annotated by Grenehalgh, might possibly relate to Joanna Sewell (though customarily Grenehalgh's hand is elegant, often alternating the "humanist" with a cursive style).<sup>49</sup> Such notations appear against "The Golden Epistle of Saint Bernard," a Middle English translation of *Notabile documentum*, spuriously attributed to St. Bernard, and in the verses which conclude *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, the Middle English translation of Marguerite Porete's *Mirouer des simples ames*.<sup>50</sup>

Apart from the Revelations of St. Bridget, Cicely, duchess of York, bequeathed to her granddaughter, the prioress of Syon, two treatises bound together in a single volume: "a book of Bonaventure and Hilton in the same in English."<sup>51</sup> The former is probably *The Mirroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, a translation of the Latin of Pseudo-Bonaventure, by Nicholas Love, prior of the Carthusian house, Mount Grace, while the latter is Hilton's *Epistle on the Mixed Life*, a treatise actually recommended within Love's work. A copy of Love's translation printed by Caxton in 1490 (STC 3260), now British Library IB 55119, bears the inscription "Susan purefeye owethe thys booke." Susan Purefoy was professed after 1518 and remained with the community until her death in exile in 1570. This edition also contains a short treatise and a prayer (in English) on the sacrament.<sup>52</sup>

By the early sixteenth century, there is evidence of individual nuns receiving books as gifts. Margaret Windsor, the ninth prioress (1513–39), was given a printed French translation of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* (Lyons, 1483), in which she has twice—once in English and once in French—claimed her ownership. This volume is now in New York

No. 49; Bell, A.16) contains *The Sawter of Mercy* in Latin with English rubrics. Dr. Bell notes that the work was written in 1495 by John Cressener and that this "appears to be the unique copy." Latin prayers with English rubrics follow the *Sawter*, and the final work is the *Meditations on the Life and Passion of Jesus Christ*, an English translation of *Meditationes de passione Christi/ Articuli lxx de passione Domini cum theorematibus et documentis* by Jordan of Quedlinburg (or Jordan of Saxony, O.S.A.). The second book, printed in Paris, 1523 (Durham, Dr. A. I. Doyle; Bell, A.17), entirely in Latin, contains twenty-six of the shorter works of Thomas à Kempis and five of Jean Gerson (see *Imprimeurs & libraires Parisiens du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 2, ed. Philippe Renouard [Paris, 1969], 217, no. 524). I am grateful to Dr. Bell for pointing out the importance of these books to me.

<sup>49</sup> See Sargent, *James Grenehalgh* 1:87.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 2:503–7. Sargent (1:69) notes that E. Colledge seems to have been in two minds about the attribution to Grenehalgh; his final word, however, is that the monogram is not written by Grenehalgh (Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, *A Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich*, 2 vols., Studies and Texts 35 [Toronto, 1978], 1:4 and n. 14).

<sup>51</sup> *Wills from Doctors' Commons*, 3.

<sup>52</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Bell for drawing this book to my attention; this is his A.27.

(The Pierpont Morgan Library 600).<sup>53</sup> Her name also appears in *A Deuout Treatyse Called the Tree & XII Frutes of the Holy Goost*, another printed book (STC 13608) now in Cambridge (Trinity College C.7.12).<sup>54</sup> Somewhat later, on 1 July 1534, Susan Kingstone, a vowess of Syon, became the dedicatee of two works translated by her stepbrother, the humanist Sir Thomas Elyot: *De mortalitate*, a sermon by St. Cyprian, and *Regulae XII*, the "rules of a Christian lyfe" by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (London, 1534; STC 6157).<sup>55</sup> In the course of his dedication, Elyot entreats Susan to "communicate" the translations with two other sisters, Dorothy and Eleanor, both nuns at Syon.<sup>56</sup> He urges this "as welle for theyr instructyon as myne," for during troubled times it is especially important to be prepared "agaynst naturall and worldly afflictions." Elyot's desire to pass on to his stepsisters a work which he himself "liked so well" is interesting, for it suggests an atmosphere of shared intellectual interests and mutual respect among men and women in educated circles in this period.

<sup>53</sup> This book was given to Margaret by Henry Parker (one of the priest brothers, according to de Hamel, *Syon Abbey*, 97; his first name, however, appears as Richard in J. R. Fletcher's "Who's Who," notes on the members of the Syon community to be found with his collected papers at the University of Exeter Library). The book is mentioned by N. R. Ker in his notes on Syon's books (No. 43), a copy of which is now with the Fletcher papers in the University of Exeter Library. See also de Hamel, *Syon Abbey*, 97 and n. 102; Bell, A.31.

<sup>54</sup> See Bell, A.14. Her name is also found in a Psalter made especially for her, a gift from her brother, Lord Andrew Windsor (see de Hamel, No. 74; Bell, A.33).

<sup>55</sup> The dedication, addressed to "my ryghte worshypfull suster dame Suzan Kyngestone," speaks of the merits of the work, "whiche I haue dedycate and sente unto you for a token: that ye shall perceyue, that I doo not forgeat you: and that I doo unfaynedly loue you, not onelye for our allyaunce, but also moche more for your perseuerance in vertu & warkes of true faith, praieng you to communicate it with our two susters religieuse Dorothe & Alianour. . . ." I am grateful to James P. Carley for drawing this book to my attention.

<sup>56</sup> Susan, the eldest daughter of Richard Fetiplace and Elizabeth (née Bessells), became a vowess after the death of her husband, John, in 1514. She was the stepsister of Sir Thomas Elyot through her mother's second marriage to Sir Richard Elyot sometime after her father's death in 1511. Dorothy, the fourth Fetiplace daughter, became a nun after the death of her husband, John Godrington (sometimes written Codryngton), in 1518. The name "Dorothe Coderynton" is found in a copy of *A Deuout Treatyse Called the Tree & XII. Frutes of the Holy Goost* printed in 1534–35 (STC 13608), now Ampleforth Abbey C.V.130 (Bell, A.3); this latter must be the Dorothy of Elyot's dedication, who may have been a stepniece, or sister-in-law, to Elyot, since there seem to have been two nuns named Dorothy Godrington at Syon, one Dorothy Fetiplace Godrington, who died in 1531, and the other, who remained with the community after the suppression and died in Rouen in 1586. Eleanor Fetiplace, the next daughter after Dorothy, never married and must have been professed sometime after 1518, since her name is not on that election list. For further reference to books associated with Eleanor, see pp. 220–21 below. For the Fetiplace family, see Fletcher's "Who's Who" and, more recently, Mary Erler, "The Books and Lives of Three Tudor Women," in *Privileging Gender in Early Modern England*, ed. Jean R. Brink, *Sixteenth-Century Essays and Studies* 23 (Kirkville, Mo., 1993), 5–17.



In 1502 Elizabeth Gibbs (abbess 1497–1518) commissioned Dom William Darker, the above-mentioned Carthusian from Sheen, to copy an English version of Thomas à Kempis' *Musica ecclesiastica*, as the *Imitation of Christ* (*Imitatio Christi*) was called.<sup>57</sup> This manuscript survives as T.6.18 in Glasgow's Hunterian Museum (de Hamel, No. 11; Bell, A.19). Abbess Gibbs seems also to have commissioned printed texts, for a woodcut bearing the initials "E" "G" under the figure of St. Bridget, who is seated at a desk receiving divine dictation, appears in a number of texts with Syon connections. One such example is Richard Pynson's 1516 edition of the *Kalendre of the newe Legende of Englande* (STC 4602), a collection of English saints' lives (often attributed to John Capgrave, but perhaps by John of Tynemouth), which is printed with Walter Hilton's *Epistle on the Mixed Life* and an abridged version of the life of St. Bridget. The same woodcut also appears in Richard Fawkes' edition of *The Myroure of oure Ladye*, printed in 1530, twelve years after the death of Abbess Gibbs; we know, however, that it was commissioned by the abbess of the time, Agnes Jordan. Hence, we may conclude that the image was important as a sign of Syon Abbey's patronage. The evidence of printing blocks must be considered with caution, since printers often employed any available woodcut that they deemed suitable; but used judiciously, woodcuts can serve as a guide, as the work of scholars (such as Martha Driver<sup>58</sup> and others) has been recently demonstrating.

Translations of other mystical texts, such as Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* (or *The Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom*, as it was known in Middle English), a work important to St. Bridget herself, or the *Scala Paradisi* of Guigo II rendered in Middle English as *A Ladder of Foure Ronges* are likely to have been known at Syon. One of the three manuscripts in which the latter is found, Cambridge, University Library

<sup>57</sup> Darker is also one of the scribes responsible for London, Lambeth Palace Library 546, a volume of devotions in English and prayers in English and Latin. In the notes to the manuscript, A. I. Doyle has indicated that fols. 57–77v are in Darker's hand. On fol. 29 the heading "IHS MARIA BIRGITTA" links this manuscript with Syon, and the monogram "EW," written on fol. 56, as well as an inscription on the preceding folio, suggest that this manuscript may have belonged to Elizabeth Woodford (the only EW to appear in Fletcher's "Who's Who"), a senior sister in 1518, who died on 5 March 1523 (see Bell, A.29). See also de Hamel, *Syon Abbey*, 98; this manuscript is his No. 34. A part of this manuscript (fols. 52v–55r) was copied by a female scribe, perhaps herself a nun, who requests, "Good Syster of your charyte I you pray remember the srybeler when that ye may . . ." (fol. 55r). See Veronica M. O'Mara, "A Middle English Text Written by a Female Scribe," *Notes and Queries* 235 (1990): 396–98.

<sup>58</sup> "Nuns as Patrons, Artists, Readers: Bridgettine Woodcuts in Printed Books Produced for the English Market," in *Art into Life: Collected Papers from the Kresge Art Museum Medieval Symposium*, ed. Carol Fisher and Kathleen Scott (East Lansing, Mich., 1995), 237–67.

Ff.6.33, was copied by William Darker of Sheen for Syon (see p. 211 above). Excerpts from the former appear in British Library Add. 37790, a manuscript which, as we have seen, is associated with James Grenehalgh, but so far no direct connection can be made with the nuns at Syon Abbey. On the other hand, *The Orchard of Syon*, a fifteenth-century translation of *The Dialogue* of St. Catherine of Siena, can with certainty be linked with the nuns of Syon. In this case the prologue is explicitly addressed to the "Religious modir & deuoute sustren . . . at the hous of Syon."<sup>59</sup> In 1519 Wynkyn de Worde printed an edition of *The Orchard* (STC 4815) at the request of Richard Sutton, steward of Syon.<sup>60</sup>

One of the works of the Dutch Augustinian, Jan van Ruysbroek, translated from the vernacular into Latin by Wilhelm Jordaens and later into Middle English, also has definite Syon connections. A copy of a late fifteenth-century printed edition (Wynken de Worde, Westminster, 1493 [STC 5065]—perhaps commissioned by Syon) of *The Chastising of God's Children*, written as a series of conferences between a nun and her spiritual advisor, was owned by Edyth Morepath, a nun of Syon who died in 1536, and subsequently by Catherine Palmer.<sup>61</sup> Another copy, now in the Göttingen University Library, is inscribed with the names of two other Syon nuns.<sup>62</sup> This is also one of the texts which James Grenehalgh annotated, and thus may have been known by Joanna Sewell as well.<sup>63</sup> The Göttingen volume also contains *The Tretyse of Love* (STC 24234), printed by de Worde at about the same time; it is an English translation of a French adaptation of the *Ancrene Riwe*.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *The Orchard of Syon*, ed. Phyllis Hodgson and Gabriel M. Liegey, EETS 258 (London, 1966), vii.

<sup>60</sup> A copy now in the New York Public Library (Spencer Collection, Eng. 1519) bears the inscription of Sister Elizabeth Strickland, a nun by 1518 whose name also appears on the pension list. (See No. 41 in the copy of Ker's list; also mentioned in de Hamel, *Syon Abbey*, 101, 112; Bell, A.32.)

<sup>61</sup> Now Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College Bb.2.14 (Bell, A.13).

<sup>62</sup> Göttingen, U.L., 4<sup>o</sup> Theol. Mor. 138/53 Inc.; see *The Chastising of God's Children*, ed. Joyce Bazire and Eric Colledge (Oxford, 1957), 38. The nuns named are Audrey (or Etheldreda) Dely, a sister at the time of the suppression who remained with the community until her death in 1579, and Mary Nevill, also a sister at the time of the suppression who died during the time the community was back at Syon Abbey in 1558 and was the last nun to be buried in the old Abbey (Fletcher's "Who's Who"). As the inscription indicates, the book was a gift from Sister Mary to Sister Audrey: "Thys boke ys myne, S<y>ster Awdry Dely, of the gyfte of Syster Mary Nevell. God reward her in heven for yt." I would like to thank Dr. Bell for the reference to the catalogue number and the details of the inscription; this is his A.20.

<sup>63</sup> The same author's *Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God* might possibly have Syon connections; it survives in one manuscript, British Library Add. 37790 (Amherst), which, as noted above, belonged to Grenehalgh.

<sup>64</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Bell for this information.

Middle English treatises, some perhaps influenced by translations of continental treatises, were also familiar to the nuns, for example, the *Disce Mori*, the *Treatise of Discretion of Spirits*, and Hilton's *Eight Chapters on Perfection*. One of the two manuscripts in which the *Disce Mori* is found, Oxford, Jesus College 39 (de Hamel, No. 32; Bell, A.39), belonged to sister Dorothy Slight, whose name appears on folio iii recto as "Dorothe Slygh[t]."<sup>65</sup> Hilton's *Eight Chapters* and the *Discretion of Spirits* are found in a manuscript, London, British Library Harley 993<sup>66</sup> (de Hamel, No. 37; Bell, A.25), on the second flyleaf of which is written "thys boke is ssuster Anne Colvyll," a nun listed in the 1518 election list who died in 1531.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Dorothy Slight was professed after 1518; she received a pension in 1539; she is also listed with those who were members of the order when Syon was briefly restored, 1557–59. Her name appears on the flyleaf of Syon Abbey MS 1 (de Hamel, No. 68; Bell, A.45), a *Processionale*, which also bears the name "C. Browne," or Constance Browne, the sixth abbess (1518–20). Jesus College 39 is the subject of a discussion by Lee W. Patterson, "Ambiguity and Interpretation: A Fifteenth-Century Reading of *Troilus and Criseyde*," *Speculum* 54 (1979): 297–330 (revised and reprinted in *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* [Madison, 1987], 115–53), in which he suggests, on the basis of the manuscript's sixteenth-century ownership and of an annotation added in the lower margin of p. 633 ("of which poison if ye lust more to rede / seep þe storie of Troilus, Creseide & Dyomedes"—a citation which occurs in a three-line format in Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 99), that the nuns of Syon must have read this poem. Patterson also assumes that the *Disce Mori*, which is dedicated to "my best beloved suster" dame Alice ("dame Alice" has been erased in the Jesus manuscript), was written for the nuns of Syon Abbey. In a recent Oxford dissertation, E. A. Jones points out that there is no evidence that the dedicatee, Alice, was a nun (the compiler never refers to her as "Sister Alice," as Patterson repeatedly does, 299 [rpt. 119] and *passim*). In fact, Jones notes that the provisions for a "form of living" in the concluding section of the work, which deals with the specific circumstances of the dedicatee (pp. 538–59 of the Jesus manuscript) rule out a monastic profession, especially one as rigorous as Syon afforded. Instead, Jones suggests that Alice may have been "a vowess living as a recluse (quite possible in Syon's environs)" or "a novice, who would thus be attached to Syon but not yet subjected fully to its discipline" (personal communication; see also "A Critical Edition of the Concluding Part of *Disce Mori*, a Late Medieval Devotional Compilation, with a Study of Some Related Texts," 2 vols. [diss. Oxford, 1994], esp. chap. 1). Thus, while the name "Dorothe Slygh[t]" at the top of p. iii does indicate that the *Disce Mori* was read by a Syon nun, there is no evidence that the work was written for the nuns of Syon, or that it was written at Syon (Patterson, "Ambiguity and Interpretation," 298 [rpt. 118]; Jones also notes that the Laud manuscript of the *Disce Mori* bears "no trace of a Syon connection" [personal communication]). I agree with Patterson's argument that romances were read with a more practical, didactic emphasis in the fifteenth century (324 ff. [rpt. 147 ff.]), but I would emphasize that there is no evidence to connect Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* with the Syon nuns. Indeed, the presence of such a text in the nuns' library would be a striking anomaly. I would like to thank Dr. Jones for his assistance with this discussion.

<sup>66</sup> This manuscript is one of a number of fifteenth-century "common-profit" books; see Wendy Scase, "Reginald Pecock, John Carpenter and John Colop's 'Common-Profit' Books: Aspects of Book Ownership and Circulation in Fifteenth-Century London," *Medium Aevum* 61 (1992): 261–74.

<sup>67</sup> See the Martyrology, British Library Add. 22285, fol. 61v. Sister Anne Colville's name, along with that of Clemence Thraseborough ("of your charyte praye for sustyr clemens trysburch"), who is also on the 1518 list, appears on the end pastedown of a curious miscellany,

Although there is no firm evidence at present, there are some indications that the nuns were familiar with texts such as the Revelations of Julian of Norwich<sup>68</sup> and *The Book of Margery Kempe*.<sup>69</sup>

There are also the books and treatises written by a number of the brothers specifically for the nuns. These works, by William Bonde, John Fewterer, Thomas Prestius, Richard Whytford, and others, appear to constitute a complete programme of religious instruction for the contemplative, both religious and lay.<sup>70</sup> A copy of Whytford's *The Pye, or Tonne, of the Lyfe of Perfection* printed by Robert Redman in 1532<sup>71</sup> survives as Oxford, Bodleian Library, 4° W.2 Th. Seld.<sup>72</sup> This copy belonged to Eleanor Fetiplace (see n. 56 above), whose name is also on a Psalter (de

now Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 416 (de Hamel, No. 31; Bell, A.35). Besides commentaries on the Ten Commandments and seven deadly sins, and the southern version of the *Cursor Mundi*, texts quite appropriate to the interests of the nuns, the manuscript also contains John Clifton's translation of *De re militari* by Vegetius, Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* and *Secrets of Old Philosophers*, as well as two folios of Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls*. It is possible that this book might have been bequeathed to Sister Anne (various names and prices appear throughout; e.g., fol. 70r, "Roger newton for bis boke vj l for sir John iiij l"; the name "John allen" occurs on fol. 99r). A more likely possibility (given that the names of the nuns are on a pastedown), however, is that its present form is a result of changes that were made after the dissolution—a fate that overtook a number of manuscripts belonging to Laud and others. Similarly, Cambridge, Magdalene College 23 (de Hamel, No. 44; Bell, A.11), which begins with a calendar noting obits of Henry V and a number of the nuns, contains texts (chronicle material, and so forth) which seem more suited to the brothers' library (see Bell's discussion of A.11).

<sup>68</sup> The unique copy of the shorter version of Julian's Revelations appears in British Library Add. 37790 (Amherst), which (as noted on p. 215 above) belonged to the Carthusian, James Grenehalgh, and might possibly have been read by Joanna Sewell (see also Sargent, *James Grenehalgh* 1:69, 2:499–510; and nn. 49–50 above).

<sup>69</sup> In about 1501 Wynken de Worde printed what might be called a digest or condensed version of *The Book of Margery Kempe* under the title *A shorte treatyse of contemplacyon* (STC 14924). To illustrate the seven pages of text, de Worde chose a woodcut of the Crucifixion first used by Caxton in his 1491 edition of the *Fifteen Oes*, a text often attributed to St. Bridget (though not by Caxton). Dr. Driver ("Nuns as Patrons") notes that a "little over one-third" of the books in which this woodcut is subsequently used by de Worde "can be traced directly to Syon." Although there is no specific evidence linking de Worde's edition of Margery's *Book* with Syon, the suitability of its subject matter, Margery's connections with St. Bridget and with Syon itself (she visited the monastery in 1434), and de Worde's well-attested commercial relationship with Syon all create the strong possibility that the nuns may have known this abbreviated version at least.

<sup>70</sup> Jan Rhodes of the University Library, Durham, has recently completed a study of these texts: J. T. Rhodes, "Syon Abbey and its Religious Publications in the Sixteenth Century," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44 (1993): 11–25.

<sup>71</sup> STC 25421; reprinted by James Hogg in vols. 2–4 of Richard Whytford's "*The Pye or Tonne of the Lyfe of Perfection*" with an *Introductory Study of Whytford's Works*, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan & Renaissance Studies 89 (Salzburg, 1979).

<sup>72</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Bell for drawing this copy of Whytford to my attention (his A.37).

Hamel, No. 80; Bell, A.4), a Breviary (de Hamel, No. 25; Bell, A.34), and a Sarum Missal (Paris, 1555).<sup>73</sup>

Another of these texts, *The Instruccion of novices, etc.*, a translation and adaptation of the *Formula noviciorum* (also known as *Institutio noviciorum*) by David of Augsburg, was made specifically for the nuns by Thomas Prestius, a deacon brother up to the time of the dissolution. The autograph copy of this work survives as Cambridge, University Library Dd.2.33. The first section contains a chapter "Of devout redyng" (I.I. Chap. 13, fol. 12v), which not only gives instruction on the value of reading, but also suggests the kind of texts to avoid.<sup>74</sup> Another work, a translation (perhaps by Whytford) of the *Speculum monachorum* by Louis of Blois survives in a late copy at Syon Abbey (MS 18). It is reminiscent of *The Myroure* both in title—it is called *A Looking Glace for the Religious*—and in its emphasis on reading, for it urges the reader, "bende thy mynd willingly and wysely to readinge."<sup>75</sup> The presence of texts such as these demonstrates once again the emphasis attached to the reading habits of the nuns at Syon Abbey and even suggests that, if anything, it strengthened in the years leading up to the suppression.<sup>76</sup>

A final example of the importance of reading to the nuns of Syon, who, as Fr. Colledge long ago noted, were especially revered for their "out-standing holiness of life,"<sup>77</sup> can be found in a letter sent to the sisters sometime in the late fifteenth, or more probably early sixteenth, century bound in a manuscript containing devotional treatises in Latin.<sup>78</sup> The let-

<sup>73</sup> In 1556 Eleanor gave this Missal to the parish church at Buckland with a request for prayers for the soul of her younger sister, Elizabeth, who had been a nun at Amesbury, but she retrieved it on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, taking it into exile; it was later returned to England and is now in possession of the bishops of Southwark, Diocesan Archives no. 72 (STC 16217).

<sup>74</sup> The mise-en-page of this text is particularly interesting; it appears to have been set out so as to facilitate the reader's retention of the contents. This item is No. 3 in the Syon copy of Ker's list; see also de Hamel, No. 51; Bell, B.1.

<sup>75</sup> This work has recently been edited by Veronica Lawrence in vol. 1 of *Richard Whytford*, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan & Renaissance Studies 92:18 (Salzburg, 1991). See p. 15 (p. 25 of the manuscript) for this quotation. More recently, James Hogg has presented a facsimile of Syon Abbey MS 18 in vol. 3 of *Richard Whytford* (Salzburg, 1992).

<sup>76</sup> Although books were harder to obtain during the recusancy, reading continued to be important, as can be seen in "The Life and Good End of Sister Marie," found in British Library Add. 18650 (*The Scale of Perfection* is referred to specifically, fol. 6v). "The Life" is an account of one of the ten or twelve young nuns who were sent back to England in 1578 when Spanish Flanders was no longer safe and Syon Abbey was arranging to move to Rouen. I am currently completing a critical edition of this text.

<sup>77</sup> Eric Colledge, "The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God: A Fifteenth-Century English Ruysbroek Translation," *English Studies* 33 (1952): 54.

<sup>78</sup> Dr. Doyle put this manuscript in a special exhibition for the Early Book Society when it met in Durham, and I would like to thank him not only for this, but also for his thoughtfulness

ter, addressed to “Wel biloued susturs,” was bound into Durham, University Library Cosin V.iii.16 (fol. 118). The author sends “goostly writyngis” which he wishes the nuns to have “comon emong you” and to pass on to “them other of religion that dwell nygh you.” Included among these texts are extracts from the Revelations of St. Bridget and from the *Liber specialis gratiae* of Mechtild of Hackeborn. Even if (as the placement of the letter suggests) this volume was not originally in its present form, any item of the collection provides evidence of the seriousness of the nuns’ devotion and the ability of many to read Latin as well as English.

This letter is notable not only in its urging of the nuns to read the texts often, but also in indicating their priceless value—they are to be cared for “as a chefe tresour for your sowlys.” These words take us back to *The Myroure of oure Ladye* whose author reminds the nuns of the need to pay attention to each word “& to fede your soules therwith, for yt is fode of lyfe.”<sup>79</sup> Sacred texts, in what might be seen as a reversal of the Incarnation (i.e., word becoming flesh), take on the value of the “flesh becoming word” as they pass through the mouth and into the heart providing spiritual nourishment and carrying the soul toward God, or to turn again to *The Myroure*: “And therfore thys gostly study to kepe the harte, ys youre chyefe laboure, thys ys youre moste charge and gretest bonde, this maketh the soule to be vertuous. and this causeth all the outwarde beryng to be relygious.”<sup>80</sup>

*Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.*

and generosity in sending me, since I began working in this area, many notes full of new information concerning Syon and its books. Although the complete manuscript cannot with certainty be linked to Syon, Dr. Doyle “is of the opinion that the style and script of this letter resemble those of Thomas Betson, the brothers’ librarian at Syon (c. 1481–1516).” I would like to thank Dr. Bell for passing this information on to me (see Bell, p. 174, item 1).

<sup>79</sup> *The Myroure*, 23.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

## THE ERRANT MORSEL IN *SOLOMON AND SATURN II*: LITURGY, LORE, AND LEXICON

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**A**MONG the many puzzles of *Solomon and Saturn II*, the passage that apparently describes the treatment of a dropped morsel of food (lines 391 ff.)<sup>1</sup> has long presented a particularly obstinate and persistently vexing crux. The poem's many editors have been at odds on how to punctuate the passage, how to translate it, and how to account for its place in Solomon's argument, tasks made no easier by the loss of a leaf immediately preceding the passage. But daunting as this passage has seemed, it requires, I suggest, only the reinterpretation of a single crucial word (*gesyfleð*) not only to make these same editorial tasks manageable but also to extract from the passage as coherent and natural a sense as *Solomon and Saturn II* ever yields, and in so doing, to shed considerable incidental light on the resources of liturgical (and perhaps folkloristic) practice and symbolism on which the Anglo-Saxon poet was able to draw.

When interrupted by the lacuna, Saturn had apparently been discussing water, probably as a preface to a discussion of baptism:

“Ac forhwām winneð ðis wæter geond woroldrīce,  
385 drēogeð dēop gesceaft? Ne mōt on dæg restan,  
neahtes nēðyð, [...?]cræfte tȳð,  
crīstnað and clānsað cwicra manigo,  
wuldre gewlitigað. Ic wihte ne cann  
forhwan se strēam ne mōt stillan neahtes.”<sup>2</sup>

When the poem resumes with the crucial passage, Solomon is speaking, now apparently discussing fire, again viewed in its spiritual aspect:

<sup>1</sup> Robert J. Menner, ed., *The Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, The Modern Language Association Monograph Series 13 (New York, 1941; rpt. Millwood, N.Y., 1973), 99; T. A. Shippey, *Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English* (Cambridge, 1976), 96–97, ll. 222 ff. I use the lineation of Menner's text, but adopt and adapt Shippey's punctuation and translation.

<sup>2</sup> “But why does this water contend throughout the world, / endure a concealed destiny? It cannot rest by day; / by night it goes on, runs craftily (?), / christens and cleanses many of those alive / gloriously brightens them. I do not at all know / why the stream cannot be still at night. ...”

- “...  
 390 his lifes fæðme. Simle hit bið his lārēowum hȳrsum;  
 full oft hit ēac ðæs dēofles dugoð gehnægeð,  
 ðær weotena bið worn gesamnod(.)  
*Don[ne] snottrum men snæd oððglīdeð,*  
*ðā hē be lēohte gesihð, lūteð æfter,*  
 395 *gesegnað and gesyfleð and him sylf frīteð.*  
 Swilc bið sēo ān snæd æghwylcum men  
 sēlre micle, gif hēo gesegnod bið,  
 tō ðycganne, gif hē hit geðencan cann,  
 ðonne him sīe seofon daga symbelgereordu.  
 400 Lēoht hafað hēow and hād hāliges gāstes,  
 Crīstes gecyndo. . .”<sup>3</sup>

Several problems are apparent at the outset, involving the integrity and coherence of the passage, and its relation to the discussions of water and light that precede and follow it. What is the subject of the first sentence that begins after the lacuna? Is the humbling of the devils related to the rescue of the morsel or something separate that light makes possible? Is the lost and rescued morsel of the second sentence the same as the precious morsel of the third sentence? Leaving aside the fragmentary statements of line 390, do we in fact have one passage or three? Between the first and second sentences this is to some extent a problem of punctuation: between *gesamnod* and *ðonne* the manuscript indicates a break (with a space, three dots, and an initial capital), and is followed by Kemble, Dobbie, Laurini, and Shippey; to Assmann, Grein, Menner, and Wild the sense seems to demand a subordinate clause, and they accordingly punctuate with a comma.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> “. . . to his life's extent. It is always obedient to its teachers; / very often, too, it overthrows the devil's host / where a large group of wise men is assembled. / When a morsel slips away from a wise man, / then he sees it by the light, stoops for it, / signs it and <puts *suf*l 'relish'> on it, and eats it himself. / Thus (or, Likewise) is the one morsel much better for anyone / to receive, if it is signed, / if he can remember it (or, knows how to regard it?) / than the seven days' feast would be for him. / Light has the hue and form of the Holy Ghost, / the nature of Christ. . . .”

<sup>4</sup> John M. Kemble, ed., *The Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus, with an Historical Introduction* (London, 1848), 169, l. 802, uses a semicolon; Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* 6 (New York, 1942), 45, l. 402, uses a period, and is followed by Anna Camilla Laurini, *I passi runici della poesia anglosassone «Salomone e Saturno»*, Università di Genova Istituto di Lingue e Letterature Straniere della Facoltà di Magistero, Pubblicazioni 5 (Genoa, 1971), 82, l. 402. Shippey, *Poems of Wisdom and Learning*, 96, l. 223, uses a period and a new paragraph. Menner, *Poetical Dialogues*, 99, l. 393 and comment on p. 137, notes the punctuation of earlier editors; Friedrich Wild, ed., *Salomon und Saturn*, *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 243.2 (Vienna, 1964), 33, l. 392, simply reprints Menner's text, comma and all.



Those who have commented on the passage have tended to break it in two, with the division coming after the second sentence (395b), while usually expressing regret at having to do so. The first two sentences were interpreted by Holthausen (and, following him, by Menner, Wild, and Shippey) as referring to “der glaube . . . daß ein bißen, der einem beim essen aus der hand glitt, dem teufel verfallen sei und erst durch kreuzeszeichen wieder zum verzehren tauglich gemacht werden konnte.”<sup>5</sup> The folk-belief that fallen things belong to the devil (or to the dead) is apparently quite widespread; that signing a fallen morsel with the cross may reverse the effect—may, as the text says, “overthrow the devil’s host”—is a natural, though as far as I know unattested, corollary. Morsels of food fallen to the floor belong to the ἥρωες or dead souls according to the Greeks;<sup>6</sup> among the Prussians they belong to the “poor souls” and should be left for them;<sup>7</sup> an Austrian version of the belief warns children not to eat windfallen fruit because it belongs to the devil;<sup>8</sup> and a Jewish version declares that dropped food portends great misfortune.<sup>9</sup> One Talmudic story reflects belief not only in the devil’s power over fallen objects but in the possibility of frustrating and defeating the devil (or, “the angel of poverty”) with regard to that power:

Abaye also said, At first I thought the reason why one collects the crumbs [from the floor] was mere tidiness, but now my Master has told me, It is because it might lead to poverty. Once the angel of poverty was following a certain man but could not prevail over him, because the man was extremely careful about [collecting the] crumbs. One day he ate some bread upon the grass. “Now,” [said the angel] “he will certainly fall into my hand.” After he had eaten he took a spade, dug up the grass, and threw it all into a river. He

<sup>5</sup> F. Holthausen, “Zu Salomo und Saturn,” *Beiblatt zur Anglia* 27 (1916): 356; see Menner, *Poetical Dialogues*, 137–38; Wild, *Salomon und Saturn*, 44 n. 56; Shippey, *Poems of Wisdom and Learning*, 138 n. 18. For further references to this *Volks Glaube*, see E. Hoffmann-Krayer and Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, eds., *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 10 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927–42) [henceforth *Hdda*], s.v. *fallen* (2:1158–68), which supplied many of those given here.

<sup>6</sup> See Erwin Rohde, *Psyche: Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, 3d ed. (Tübingen, 1903), 245 and n. 1, who notes similar beliefs in Rome (according to Pliny: see further below), and elsewhere; cf. Hermann Usener, *Götternamen* (Bonn, 1896), 249 and n. 2, who likewise notes the ubiquity of such beliefs, e.g., in the Tyrol.

<sup>7</sup> S. C. Hartknoch, *Alt und neues Preussen*, 188 (cited by Rohde).

<sup>8</sup> Amand Baumgarten, *Aus der volksmäßigen Überlieferung der Heimat*, 3 vols. (Linz, 1862–69), 2:102 (cited by *Hdda* 2:1165–67).

<sup>9</sup> B. W. Schiffer, “Alltaglauben und volktümliche Heilkunde galizischer Juden,” *Am Ur-Quell: Monatschrift für Volkkunde* 4 (1893): 95.

then heard [the angel] exclaiming, "Alas, he has driven me out of his house."<sup>10</sup>

Many versions of the belief refer specifically to the fateful effects of dropping a child—in effect, giving him over into the power of the dead or the *chthonische Dämonen*—and to the remedies for it: buying and breaking a chamber pot, having the child walk three times under a ladder, leaving an egg-offering as a substitute for the child, and sprinkling with water and stabbing with a knife the place where the child fell.<sup>11</sup> Though for children such remedies are clearly necessary, for fallen food, less esteemed, few of the extant versions seem to provide remedies.

Aside from this problem—and granted that to bless and eat a morsel fallen to the devil is, as the Talmudic story suggests, in a sense to deny him his due and to achieve a victory of sorts over him—several questions remain unanswered. Does this really constitute an "overthrow of the devil's forces"? (Or is the "overthrow" connected with the morsel at all?) Is the connection with light/fire—presumably the subject of the clause in line 391—merely that it is *light* that enables the wise man to see and pick up the morsel? One might ask also why it is important that the morsel be *gesyfted* or that the wise man should eat it himself (who else would eat it?). Finally, why should such a morsel be described as "much better to receive, when blessed, than (the) seven days' feasting"?

This last point has led most commentators to identify the "much better" morsel of the third sentence with the Eucharistic host, either assuredly (Wild, Shippey) or tentatively (Menner, Vincenti), and in so doing, to dis-

<sup>10</sup> Babylonian Talmud, Tractate *Hullin* 105<sup>b</sup>; *Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Hullin*, trans. Eli Cashdan, under the editorship of Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein, New Edition (London, 1980), 210. An expanded version of this story appears as one of the *exempla* in the sixteenth-century Yiddish collection called the *Ma'aseh Book*: "Every person should be careful not to throw bread upon the ground or to let it stay there, lest anyone should tread upon it. . . . Once upon a time there was a man who was very hard pressed by the demon Nabil, who presides over bread, and who wanted to reduce him to poverty. . . . One day the man took his meal upon the grass. Then the demon . . . thought: 'Now I will get the best of him, for he cannot pick up the bread crumbs from the grass. . . .' But no sooner had the man finished his meal than he took a rake and dug up the grass with the crumbs in it and threw the grass with the crumbs into the water. Then he heard a voice saying 'Woe unto me, this man has driven me away from his house where I have been living. I hoped to get the mastery over him, and now I must desist from him' " (Moses Gaster, *Ma'aseh Book: Book of Jewish Tales and Legends Translated from the Judeo-German*, vol. 1 [Philadelphia, 1934], 103–4, no. 60).

<sup>11</sup> Falling children: E. John, *Aberglaube, Sitte und Brauch im sächsischen Erzgebirge* (Annaberg, 1909), 57; chamberpot: *ibid.*, 56; ladder: Richard Andree, *Braunschweiger Volkskunde* (Braunschweig, 1901), 292; eggs: John, *Aberglaube*, 56; water and knife: E. Friedländer, "Volks-glaube galizischer Juden," *Der Urquell: Eine Monatschrift für Volkskunde*, neue Folge 1 (1897): 271 (all cited by *Hdda* 2:1165–67).

tinguish between the dropped morsel of the second sentence and the much better morsel of the third. Vincenti suggested, admittedly, that the entire passage might refer to the host (or, alternatively, to the *corsnæd* of the ordeal), and the seven days to the paschal season;<sup>12</sup> but the obvious objection was made long ago by Holthausen: one scarcely puts relish on a host. Yet the case for a Eucharistic interpretation of the third sentence remains a strong one, especially if we translate line 398b, with reference to the warning about discerning the Lord's body in 1 Corinthians 11:29<sup>13</sup>, as "[much better to receive] if he knows (rightly) how to regard it," a translation that receives some support from Solomon's words a few lines further on: "Lēoht . . . bið eallenga · corl[e] tō gesihðe / ðām ðe gedælan can · Dryhtnes ðecelan" (400, 409–10; "Light . . . is entirely visible to anyone / who knows how to share in the torch of the Lord"). We are left then with two passages about morsels, linked "by an awkward transition from the dropped crumb . . . to the Host . . ., two things connected only by being blessed."<sup>14</sup>

If we could somehow eliminate this transition, demonstrate the unity of the passage, and refer the whole of it to a consecrated, dropped, and recovered host, how much more intelligible the passage would become, both in itself and in its context. The wise man who should "eat it himself" is of course the celebrant, the assembly of wise men an assembly of Christians, the whole a much clearer, though less than exact, parallel to the interrupted baptismal passage preceding it: the one cleanses by water, the other by the spirit of light and fire; and both overthrow the devil, a sentiment that seems more natural when applied to a host than to a crumb. The laws of Cnut, in the section attributed to Wulfstan, do in fact link baptism and the Eucharist in just this way:

Mycel is seo halsung 7 mære is seo halgung, þe deofla afyrsað 7 on fleame gebringeð, swa oft swa man fullað oððe husel halgað.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Wild, *Salomon und Saturn*, 44 n. 57; Shippey, *Poems of Wisdom and Learning*, 138 n. 18; Menner, *Poetical Dialogues*, 138; Arthur Ritter von Vincenti, *Die altenglischen Dialoge von Salomon und Saturn, Erster Teil*, Münchener Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie 31 (Leipzig, 1904), 77.

<sup>13</sup> "Qui autem manducat et bibit indigne, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit: non diiudicans corpus [var. corpus Domini]." A reference to the words of institution, "hoc facite in meam commemorationem" (1 Cor 11:23, Lc 22:19) is also possible.

<sup>14</sup> Shippey, *Poems of Wisdom and Learning*, 138 n. 18; Menner refers similarly to the lost-morsel passage as "parenthetical" (*Poetical Dialogues*, 138).

<sup>15</sup> "Great is the exorcism and great the hallowing which expels the devils and brings them to flight, whenever one baptizes or consecrates a host." I Cnut 4.2, version G (London, British Library Cotton Nero A.i), in F. Liebermann, ed., *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, vol. 1 (Halle, 1903), 284; the *Quadripartitus* reads at this point, "magna coniuratio multaque benedictio est, quæ diabolus semouet et in fugam redigit, quotiens diuina potentia operante, beatorum spiri-

Furthermore, *Solomon and Saturn*'s "humbling of the devil's *dugoð*" suits well the martial imagery of cosmic conflict that attends descriptions of the sacraments; the same passage in the laws of Cnut expands in just this vein: "Halige englas þær abutan hwearfiað & þa dæda beweardiað & þurh Godes mihta þam sacerdon fylstað, swa oft swa hig Criste ðeniað mid rihte."

The sticking point, clearly enough, the chief impediment to this attractive interpretation, is the "relish," the *gesyfleð* of line 395. How could a priest be said to do service to Christ "mid rihte" (*digne* in the *Instituta Cnuti*) in putting relish on a host, much less dipping it in gravy as seems as likely a translation? Two potential solutions to the problem of *gesyfleð* present themselves, one that finds a gentle way around it, and one, for bolder spirits, that attacks it more directly.

The more conservative approach is to regard as figurative the action represented by the verb, describing the spiritual results of the signing: "he signs it and [thus, spiritually] sweetens it and eats it himself." The phrase would then partially parallel lines 387–88 which declare that water "cristnað and clænsað . . . [and] wuldre gewlitegað." In both, the liturgical gesture (*cristnað*, *gesegnað*) gives an additional, spiritual, meaning to the more mundane words that follow: "water baptizes and [thus, spiritually] cleanses and beautifies." And such a tactic would suit the deliberately mysterious and paradoxical language of the dialogue.<sup>16</sup>

Unfortunately, the semantic range of *sufł/syflan*, both in Old English and in the cognate languages, renders it less than suitable for such use.<sup>17</sup> It seems to be a very homely, pedestrian sort of word, meaning not so much "sweetness" or "flavor" as "that which goes with bread to make a meal." As a noun it translates *pulmentaria* in the Benedictine Rule, the Rule of Chrodegang, and in the Aldhelm glosses; the Old English Heptateuch (Deuteronomy 15:14) uses it to render "dabis viaticum de gregibus, et de area, et torculari [give provision from your herd, your granary, and your winepress]" as "syle him formete on hlafe 7 on sufle 7 on wine," thus implying that *sufł* contained cheese or even meat. In charters it appears—

tuum prosequente custodia, per manus temporalium sacerdotum sacri baptismatis uel eucharistiæ sacrosancta misteria celebrantur" (ibid.); and the *Instituta Cnuti* reads, "Magna enim est adiuratio et maior consecratio, quæ demonia eiciunt et in fugam uertunt, quotiens infans baptizatur aut corpus Domini consecratur" (ibid., 285).

<sup>16</sup> Such an interpretation is perhaps what Kemble had in view when he translated the line "blesseth and leaveneth" (Kemble, *Dialogue of Solomon and Saturnus*, 169).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. ON *sufł*, OHG *suvil(i)*, OS *suval*; the more distantly related verbs, however, include OHG *sof(f)ōn* ("to spice") and Gothic \**supon*, which translates ἁγνύω in Colossians 4:6: "ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν χάριτι, ἑλατι ἡρτυμένος (*gasupōb*)" ("[let] your speech [be] gracious, seasoned with salt").

always together with *hlaf*—as a required food payment to the church: “[I shall give] ten hund hlafa 7 swæ fela sufla”; and in the *Dialogues* of Gregory (3.14.6), again translating *pulment(ari)um*, it seems to mean something like “vegetable stew” or “herb broth”: “go now and boil our *wyrtena sufl* that it might be ready in the morning.” As a verb it appears with a similar range, in similar contexts, and, aside from its supposed use in *Solomon and Saturn*, exclusively as a past participle modifying *hlaf*.<sup>18</sup>

The unrelievedly prosaic use of *sufl* and its relatives should lead us, in fact, to suspect its propriety in *Solomon and Saturn*. A more plausible sense can indeed be given the passage if we regard *gesyfleð* not as a form of the verb *(ge)syflan* from *suf(o)l*—the active form of the verb is found nowhere else in Old English—but as a nonce loan of Latin *sufflare*, “to blow, breathe.” So taken, the word would refer to *(ex)sufflatio*, widespread both in ecclesiastical ritual and in folk practice as an exorcistic gesture, and would form a natural—even, once suggested, inevitable—pair with its alliterative companion *gesegnað*.

If so, it is possible that *\*(ge)sufflað* or *\*(ge)syffleð* was the original form in the text, “corrected” in transmission to the more common, if only marginally appropriate, *gesyfleð*.<sup>19</sup> In general, double consonants in Latin are nearly always borrowed as double consonants in Old English;<sup>20</sup> a single medial *-f-* in particular should normally represent a voiced spirant closer to Latin *-b-* than to Latin *-ff-*:<sup>21</sup> in fact *syfleð* (for *sifleð*) is more nearly what

<sup>18</sup> References are all from Richard L. Venezky and Antonette di Paolo Healey, *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (Newark, Delaware, 1980); for the passage from Gregory, see the Latin text in *Grégoire le Grand: Dialogues*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, vol. 2, Sources Chrétiennes 260 (Paris, 1979), 306.65 (rendered there by Paul Antin as “ragoût”). F. E. Harmer, *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1914), 74–75, discusses *sufl* as it appears in the charters.

<sup>19</sup> The mysterious word *blefla* that appears alongside *gebleou* in the Lindisfarne Gospels as a gloss on *insufflaviv* (Jo 20:22) could conceivably represent at least a movement toward such a loan; the conventional view attributes the form to a scribe accidentally combining a regular form of *blāwan* with the *insufflaviv* of the lemma: so Karl Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik*, 3d ed. (Tübingen, 1965), 306 (§394.1, Anm. 2); and C. Karstien, *Die reduplizierten Perfekta des Nord- und Westgermanischen*, Giessener Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie 1 (Giessen, 1921), 150. For a different view, see Joseph B. Voyles, “Reduplicating Verbs in North-West Germanic,” *Lingua* 52 (1980): 100.

<sup>20</sup> Alois Pogatscher, *Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker 64 (Strassburg, 1888), 171–72; A. Campbell lists exceptions in his *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), 213 (§543).

<sup>21</sup> Pogatscher, *Zur Lautlehre*, 171–72; Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, 211–12 (§536). Note, though, that the Latin commonly appears with only the single *-f-*, e.g., in the Vatican Vulgate text of Ezekiel 21:31 and John 20:22.

we would expect as a loan form from Latin *sibilare*.<sup>22</sup> *Gesyflan* is of course a first class weak verb with umlaut; again, the balance of probability (though only that) for any borrowed verb is that it will be added to the more productive second class; and only by analogy—for instance to such relatively rare verbs as *turnian/tyrnan*, from late Latin *torner*—could it have joined the umlauted first-class verbs.<sup>23</sup>

These phonological (or orthographic) difficulties are clearly serious ones, requiring as they do that we in effect emend to (or consider the orthography to represent) an otherwise unattested form: *\*gesyffleð* or *\*gesufflað*. But these difficulties are nevertheless surmountable ones, given sufficient reason. As a rite of exorcism and consecration (linked, in both of these roles, with *signare*), as a plausible means of correcting the much-discussed “defect” of a dropped host, and above all as a means of making sense of an otherwise obscure passage, a borrowed *sufflare* might well be thought to provide reason enough.

If the dropped morsel is to be identified with a host, two questions immediately arise: was the accidental dropping of a host conceived of in such a way as to make its sufflation an appropriate response? And was sufflation ever the formally prescribed response? To the latter, it appears, the answer must be “no.” The “defect” of a dropped host was one taken quite seriously and accorded considerable attention, chiefly in two areas: the formulation of penalties to be imposed on those who committed the error; and the formulation of rules to remedy it.<sup>24</sup> Penalties for mistreating the host seem first to appear in the sixth-century *Preface of Gildas on Penance* (canon 21): “Si sacrum terratenus negligendo ceciderit, cena careat.”<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> As in ME *syflen* (found in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* 517 and *Patience* 470) from Latin *sibilare* by way of OF *sifler* (“whistle, pipe”); even here, however, a derivation from OE *\*(ge)syfflan* would not only be possible but semantically preferable: in both passages *syflen* describes the “warm” and “soft” blowing of Zephyrus.

<sup>23</sup> Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, 209–10 (§528); Pogatscher, *Zur Lautlehre*, 123–34.

<sup>24</sup> For a brief history of the treatment of such liturgical mistakes (“defects”) as a dropped host, see Peter Browe, “Liturgische Delikte und ihre Bestrafung im Mittelalter,” *Theologie und Glaube* 28 (1936): 53–64. The many examples there may be supplemented by E. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* 1.5.5 and *De antiquis monachorum ritibus* 2.7 (Antwerp, 1736–38), 1:708–20 and 4:210–21 (for a cross-reference guide to the editions of Martène, see Aimé-Georges Martimort, *La documentation liturgique de Dom Edmond Martène*, Studi e testi 279 [Vatican City, 1978]).

<sup>25</sup> “If a consecrated host should fall to the ground through negligence, [the priest] shall miss supper.” F. W. H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle, 1851; rpt. Graz, 1958) [henceforth Wasserschleben], 107; and H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche nach handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt* (Mainz, 1883; rpt. Graz, 1958) [henceforth Schmitz 1], 497. See also the translation in John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York, 1938; rpt. 1990), 177. For a convenient guide to the early penitential literature, see Cyrille Vogel, *Les “Libri Paenitentiales,”* Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 27 (Turnhout, 1978; “mise à jour” by A. J. Frantzen, 1985).

The same penalty appears in the eighth-century additions to the penitential of Cummean known as the *Excarpsus Cummeani* and, borrowed thence, in various continental penitentials including the influential ninth-century *Pseudo-Romanum* of Halitgar: "Si sacrificium terratenus negligendo ceciderit, superpositio fiat."<sup>26</sup> Both Cummean and Halitgar include other penalties as well, for example, a more severe penalty for a recoverable host dropped onto straw: "Si ceciderit sacrificium in stramen, VII diebus poeniteat" (Halitgar).<sup>27</sup>

Actual rules for what to do in such circumstances seem to appear first in Cummean's penitential proper. Note the emphasis on fire as the cleansing medium, to which we might compare the fiery and light-bearing qualities assigned (as we shall see) to the breath of the saints, the strangely vital role assigned in *Solomon and Saturn* to light and fire in the recovery of the morsel, and also the folk custom of consigning left-over bread crumbs to the fire:<sup>28</sup>

Si sacrificium ceciderit de manibus offerantis terratenus et non inueniatur, omne quodcumque inuentum fuerit in loco in quo ceciderit comburetur et cinis eius ut supra [*i.e.*, sub altari] abscondatur; sacerdos deinde demedio anno damnetur. Si uero inuentum fuerit sacrificium, locus scopa mundetur et stramen . . . igne comburetur et sacerdos .xx. diebus poeniteat. Si usque ad altare tantum fuerit lapsus, superponat.<sup>29</sup>

Fire is in fact the preferred solution in the great majority of such directions. The seventh- or eighth-century Penitential of Theodore, for example, though it lacks a rule specifically for the recovery of a fallen host,

<sup>26</sup> The text of Halitgar can be found in Wasserschleben, 371, and in Schmitz 1:483; cf. *Excarpsus Cummeani* 13.5 (Wasserschleben, 489; Schmitz 1:641). In this context, *superpositio* and *superponere* apparently refer to a special fast which "consisted in forgoing the principal meal of the day" (Ludwig Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials* [Dublin, 1963], 240).

<sup>27</sup> Wasserschleben, 371; Schmitz 1:484; cf. *Excarpsus Cummeani* 13.11 (Wasserschleben, 490; Schmitz 1:642).

<sup>28</sup> Paul Drechsler, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube in Schlesien*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1903–6), 2:12 (§365) and 139 (§519): "Dem Feuer . . . gehören dir Brosamen, die nach dem Essen auf dem Tische übrig bleiben; sie werden zusammengerafft und in das (Herd-) Feuer geworfen."

<sup>29</sup> "If the host falls from the hands of the celebrant to the ground and is not found, everything that is found in the place in which it fell shall be burned and the ashes concealed [beneath the altar]; then the priest shall be sentenced to half a year (of penance). If the host is found, the place shall be cleaned up with a broom, and the straw . . . burned with fire, and the priest shall do penance for twenty days. If it only slipped to the altar, he shall keep a special fast." *Paenitentiale Cummeani* 11.23–25 (ed. and trans. Bieler, *Irish Penitentials*, 132–33); cf. *Excarpsus Cummeani* 13.17 (Wasserschleben, 490–91; Schmitz 1:642), which alters the penance to twenty years ("et sacerdos XX annos poeniteat").

nevertheless prescribes for a host corrupted with dirt that "it is always to be burned with fire."<sup>30</sup>

Cummean's rule survives largely unchanged into later Frankish compilations and their derivatives. It is adapted very much verbatim by the *Poenitential XXXV Capitulum* (eighth century),<sup>31</sup> and nearly so by the *Poenitential Parisense* (ca. 750),<sup>32</sup> the *Poenitential Merseburgense* (end of the eighth century)<sup>33</sup> and the *Merseburgense*-based *Poenitential Valicellianum I* (eighth or ninth century).<sup>34</sup> The *Poenitential Bobbiense* (ca. 700–725)<sup>35</sup> and the Carolingian *Pseudo-Romanum* (ca. 830)<sup>36</sup> replace the twenty days' penance with forty.<sup>37</sup> The extent of variation is readily suggested by the text of the *Poenitential Bobbiense*:

Sacerdos, qui offert, et ceciderit de manibus ejus eucharistia in terra, et non invenerit eam, scopam munda scopet et comburat igne, et abscondat cineres ejus sub altare in terra, et dimidium annum poeniteat. Si autem invenerit locum, similiter faciat, et poeniteat quadraginta diebus.<sup>38</sup>

The culmination of this rule-making is the chapter attached, since at least 1570, to the modern Roman Missal, "De defectibus in celebratione missarum occurrentibus."<sup>39</sup>

Rules and penalties of this sort were surely known in England; unfortunately, only the penalties are well attested. The penitential ascribed to Ecgbert prescribes the singing of fifty psalms as penance for dropping a host;<sup>40</sup> and this penalty is adopted by two of the three vernacular peniten-

<sup>30</sup> McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks*, 195 (12.6). See the Latin text in Wasserschleben, 196; H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren nach handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt* (Düsseldorf, 1898; rpt. Graz, 1958) [henceforth Schmitz 2], 554.

<sup>31</sup> *Poenitential XXXV Capitulum*, c. 34 (Wasserschleben, 525; Schmitz 1:675).

<sup>32</sup> Wasserschleben, 417; Schmitz 2:330.

<sup>33</sup> Wasserschleben, 399; Schmitz 2:364.

<sup>34</sup> Schmitz 1:335.

<sup>35</sup> Wasserschleben, 411; Schmitz 2:325.

<sup>36</sup> Wasserschleben, 372; Schmitz 1:485.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. also the late ninth-century *Poenitential Vindobonense "a"* (Wasserschleben, 421; Schmitz 2:355) and the tenth- or eleventh-century *Poenitential Valicellianum II* (Schmitz 1:386; this text is referred to by Wasserschleben as *Poenitential Valicellianum I*, though he does not print the relevant section).

<sup>38</sup> "If the Host falls from the hands of the celebrant, and he does not find it, let him sweep [the place] with a clean broom, and burn [the sweepings] in the fire, and conceal the ashes in the ground beneath the altar, and do penance for half a year. But if he finds the place, let him do likewise, and do penance for forty days." Wasserschleben, 411 (c. 46); Schmitz 2:325 (c. 45).

<sup>39</sup> For a summary of this, see P. Radó, *Enchiridion liturgicum*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1961), 1:343 (§I.F.5.d.4.e).

<sup>40</sup> *Poenitential Egberti* 12.2 (Wasserschleben, 243; Schmitz 1:584). The same penalty appears among the compilations sometimes ascribed to Bede (see Wasserschleben, 269; Schmitz



tials of the later Old English period, the so-called "Confessional" and "Penitential":<sup>41</sup> "Gif seo onsægdnes on eorðan fealle for gymeleaste, singe L sealma." None of these texts—none, in fact, of the native English penitentials—provides rules for restoring a dropped host. Though several of the sources for the Old English penitentials—Cummean and Halitgar in particular—contained such rules, the vernacular manuals, when it came to providing for the Eucharist, were content to follow Ecgbert strictly and prescribe only penalties. It is to these penalties that Ælfric is doubtless referring when he warns forbiddingly, but vaguely, about the penitential compensations to be exacted for careless treatment of the host:

Sume preostas . . . nellað understandan, hu mycele dædbote seo penitentialis tæcð be þam, gyf þæt husel bið fynig oððe hæwen, oððe gif hit forloren bið, oððe gif mys þurh gymeleaste hit etað.<sup>42</sup>

The more detailed rules were nonetheless present in the foreign manuals, of which at least Cummean's and Halitgar's were certainly available.<sup>43</sup>

Nowhere, it will be observed, in either the English penitentials or their foreign models, is blowing on the host mentioned. The question as to whether such exorcistic blowing might have seemed appropriate can, however, be answered much more positively. Though exorcistic blowing has not left its mark on the formal rules for treating a fallen host, which developed otherwise, under the constraints imposed by the system of penance, the supernatural, and often superstitiously regarded, nature of the problem must often have demanded a supernatural and perhaps superstitious solution. Admittedly, it is only in the early Church, if we go by the

2:692). For a discussion of these texts, see Allen J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1983), 69–77; and idem, "The Penitentials Attributed to Bede," *Speculum* 58 (1983): 573–97.

<sup>41</sup> Josef Raith, ed., *Die altenglische Version des Halitgar'schen Bussbuches (sog. Poenitentiale Pseudo-Ecgberti)*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 13 (Hamburg, 1933), 62 (4.40); cf. Robert Spindler, ed., *Das altenglische Bussbuch (sog. Confessionale Pseudo-Egberti)* (Leipzig, 1934), 190–91; there are Latin translations in Wasserschleben, 300–318 and 318–48.

<sup>42</sup> "Some priests . . . refuse to realize how great a penance the penitential prescribes for this, if the host should become moldy or discolored, or if it should become lost altogether, or if mice should eat it, as a result of negligence." Bernhard Fehr, ed., *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in alt-englischer und lateinischer Fassung*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 9 (Hamburg, 1914), 29 (Brief I, §133–34). Cf. the eleventh-century "Northumbrisches Priester-gesetz" (ed. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze* 1:381 [§17]): "Gif preost husl forgime, gilde XII or."

<sup>43</sup> For example, Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 311 (s. x, with OE glosses, from Exeter [?]) contains Cummean's Penitential; and Bodley 516 (Italian, s. ix<sup>3</sup>), which arrived at some unknown time in England, contains Halitgar's complete six-volume penitential; but both works were of course known to the compilers of the vernacular manuals, or to their sources.

documentary evidence, that a fallen host (or the priest who dropped it) was thought of in such a way as to require exorcism strictly speaking. The *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, in all its versions, as well as the derivative *Canons of Hippolytus* show this most clearly: chapter 38 of the *Apostolic Tradition* (in Botte's numbering) urges that nothing be allowed to spill from the chalice, "ut non spiritus alienus (πνεῦμα ἄλλότριον),<sup>44</sup> uelut te contemnente, illud dilingat."<sup>45</sup> Part of the rubric for canon 29 (on the Eucharist) of *The Canons of Hippolytus* reads, "That from the priests and faithful nothing should fall down when they approach, lest some evil spirit should seize possession of it."<sup>46</sup> But this belief probably underlies the anxiety frequently expressed for the host and explains why, among all the things that can go wrong at the Eucharistic celebration, the dropping of the host (or spilling of the chalice) is so often singled out. Tertullian lists this anxiety as one of a series of distinctively Christian peculiarities without precedent in Scripture:

contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo. . . . ter mergitmur. . . . Eucharistiae sacramentum . . . etiam antelucanis coetibus . . . sumimus. . . . Calicis aut panis etiam nostri aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur. . . . quacumque nos conuersatio exercet, frontem signaculo terimus.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> The Coptic (Sahidic or "S") text preserves the original Greek here.

<sup>45</sup> "Lest some alien spirit, because you despised [the blood], should lick it up." Bernard Botte, *La "Tradition Apostolique" de Saint Hippolyte: Essai de reconstitution*, 5. verbesserte Auflage von Albert Gerhards, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 39 (Münster/Westfalen, 1989), 84; see also *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome*, ed. Gregory Dix, reissued with corrections, etc., by Henry Chadwick (London, 1968), 59 (§xxxii.2-4). Both Botte and Dix present a composite and reconstructed text, based at this point chiefly upon the Latin version. Convenient translations of the Ethiopic, Arabic, and Coptic versions may be found in G. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici* (London, 1904), 181, 261, and 326 respectively.

<sup>46</sup> See *Die Canones des Hippolyt*, trans. Wilhelm Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien* (Leipzig, 1900), 218. The canon also appears in a somewhat less reliable Latin translation in Hans Achelis, *Die ältesten Quellen des orientalischen Kirchenrechtes, Erstes Buch: Die Canones Hippolyti*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 6 (Leipzig, 1891), 120. Cf. the *Canons of Basil*, chap. 97: "Die Presbyter . . . und die ganze Gemeinde vor ihnen sollen aufpassen, daß nichts von den Mysterien auf die Erde falle und so ein Gericht auf ihnen ruhe" (trans. Riedel, 275); and Jerome, *Tractatus de Ps 147*: "Si quando imus ad mysterium, qui fidelis est, intelligit, si micula ceciderit, periclitamur" (cited by Browe, "Liturgische Delikte," 54 n. 9).

<sup>47</sup> "We disown the devil. . . . We are thrice immersed. . . . We take also, in congregations before daybreak, . . . the sacrament of the Eucharist. . . . We feel pained should any wine or bread, even though our own, be cast upon the ground. . . . in all the ordinary actions of daily life, we trace upon the forehead the sign [?i.e., of the cross]." Tertullian, *De corona* 3.2-4 (ed. A. Kroymann, CCL 2 [Turnhout, 1954], 1042-43; trans. in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, American rpt. of the Edinburgh edition, rev. A. Cleveland Coxe, vol. 3 [rpt. Grand Rapids, 1986], 94-95).

And Origen feels able also to assume this anxiety in his readers:

Volo uos admonere religionis exemplis; nostis, qui diuinis mysteriis interesse consuestis, quomodo, cum suscipitis corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et ueneratione seruatis, ne ex eo parum quid decadat. . . . Reos enim uos creditis, et recte creditis, si quid inde per negligentiam decadat.<sup>48</sup>

The same superstitious anxiety about fallen food may help to explain the tendency in the later Middle Ages to regard a fallen host or spilled chalice as a portent of disaster and, often, an occasion for a community's joint penance. In one such incident, for example, as Pope Eugene II read Mass in the cathedral at Reims in 1148,

. . . sanguis Domini, nescio qua ministrorum negligentia, effusus est super tapetum ante altare. Quae res sapientiores plurimum perterrui, obtinente indubitata opinione quod huius modi res in nulla contigit ecclesia, cui non immineat undecumque grave periculum; et quia hoc in apostolica sede contigerat, universalis Ecclesiae periculum timebatur. Certe nec fefellit opinio.<sup>49</sup>

England's King Stephen was doomed by a similar event:

Þe box þat heng ek ouer þe weued · Mid godes fless & is blod ·  
 Þe streng brac & he vel adoun · such signe nas noȝt god ·  
 Me Iuggede wat it ssolde be · to tokni þis cas ·  
 Ðat þe king ssolde be ouercome · & al so it was.<sup>50</sup>

That such beliefs may be at root superstitiously, rather than theologically, based is suggested by a curiously parallel passage in Pliny. In describing the superstitions current at Rome, he notes that when food is allowed to fall to

<sup>48</sup> "I wish to admonish you by examples from . . . religion: ye, who have been accustomed to attend the Sacred Mysteries, know how, when you receive the Body of the Lord, you guard it with all care and reverence, that no little part of it fall down. . . . For you believe yourselves guilty, and rightly so believe, if any part thereof fall through carelessness." Origen, *In Exodum hom.* 13.3 (ed. Marcel Borret, *Homélies sur l'Exode*, Sources Chrétiennes 321 [Paris, 1985], 386 [PG 12:391A]; trans. E. H. Gifford, *The Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril of Jerusalem*, in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d ser., ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, vol. 7 [New York, 1894], 156n.); cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis* 23.21 (PG 33:1125/1126A; trans. Gifford, 156).

<sup>49</sup> "The Blood of the Lord, by some negligence of those officiating, was spilled upon the altar cloth. This event greatly terrified the more percipient, since the it was the undoubted opinion that an event of this sort never happened in any church but that thereby some grave peril threatened it. And since it befell the Apostolic See, peril for the universal Church was feared. Nor, certainly, did this opinion prove false." H. Géraud, ed., *Chronique Latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300* . . . , 2 vols. (Paris, 1843), 1:42; cited by Browe, "Liturgische Delikte," 61. Cf. the version of the fallen-item superstition that declares the dropping of anything to portend a death in the family (Baumgarten, *Aus der volksmäßigen Überlieferung* 3:101).

<sup>50</sup> *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, ed. William Aldis Wright, 2 vols., Rolls Series 86 (London, 1887), 2:663, ll. 9352–55.

the floor, “sunt condita auguria, quid loquenti cogitante id acciderit, inter execratissima, si pontifici accidat dicis causa epulanti” (“auguries have been recorded from the words or thoughts of the diner who dropped food, a very dreadful omen being if the Pontiff should do so at a formal dinner [Ernout: ‘un repas rituel’]”).<sup>51</sup>

Such attitudes might well coexist with the theologically more precise concern for the consecrated host. In an anti-adoptionist tract of ca. 785, for example, we learn that if a morsel should fall from the priest’s hand, all tremble, and withdraw from the place where the Eucharist fell while it is diligently looked for and carefully replaced in the paten, for “si ipsa micula, quam eucharisticam diximus, de manu sacerdotis ceciderit, et eam conculcaverit, conculcat et omne corpus Christi.”<sup>52</sup> Already in Origen’s comments we see the germ of these later developments: concern lest any of the *Body of the Lord* should be lost, and guilt on the part of one who lets it happen. The former leads—with the increasing reverence accorded the host and the increasing importance accorded the doctrine of real presence—to the elaborate rules we have seen, designed to prevent the loss of even the slightest crumb of the *Corpus Domini*; the latter similarly to schemes of punishment and penance to be imposed on priests guilty of carelessly treating the host. But the more elusive enemies—bad omens and grasping demons—remained untouched. To the author of a work so conscious of hidden significance and spiritual warfare as *Solomon and Saturn*, the familiar liturgical, and perhaps also familiar folkloric gesture of exsufflation might well have answered this need.

Within the liturgy, where it appears most prominently, sufflation is connected almost exclusively with baptism and other ceremonies of Christian initiation.<sup>53</sup> An act of ritual blowing was incorporated into the liturgies of

<sup>51</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 28.5.27 (ed. C. Mayhoff, *Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII*, vol. 4 [Leipzig, 1897; rpt. Stuttgart, 1967], 284–85; English trans. by W. H. S. Jones, *Natural History*, vol. 8, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., 1963], 21; French by A. Ernout, *Histoire Naturelle*, 28 [Paris, 1962], 27).

<sup>52</sup> *Heterii et s. Beati ad Elipandum Epistola* 1.97 (PL 96:954D).

<sup>53</sup> For discussions of sufflation, see Pietro Siffrin, “Insufflazione,” in *Enciclopedia Cattolica* (Florence, 1949–54), 7:55–56; Franz Jos. Dölger, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufrituel*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 3 (Paderborn, 1909), 118–30, chap. 3 §7, “Die Exsufflatio”; Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* 1.1.6 (“Ritus instituendi catechumenos”), 1:36–39 (§§8–14); Rudolf Suntrup, *Die Bedeutung der liturgischen Gebärden und Bewegungen in lateinischen und deutschen Auslegungen des 9. bis 13. Jahrhunderts*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 37 (Munich, 1978), 307–10; and Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985). In the discussion below, references will be made to these works and to the following other convenient collections of material: W. G. Henderson, ed., *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Society 63 (Durham, 1875) [henceforth *York Manual*], esp. appendix III (“Ordines Baptismi”), 127\*–154\*; Joseph

catechumenate and baptism from a very early period and flourished there, surviving into the modern Catholic, Orthodox, and Coptic rites. From an early period, too, the act had broadly speaking two distinct though not always readily distinguishable meanings: it signified, on the one hand, the derisive repudiation or exorcism of the devil; and, on the other, purification and consecration by and inspiration with the Holy Spirit. The former is conventionally designated "exsufflation" and the latter "insufflation,"<sup>54</sup> but the ancient and medieval texts themselves only occasionally distinguish between the two terms thus, or at all. For instance, they employ not only *in-* and *exsufflare*, but also the simplex *sufflare*, as well as *halare*, *inspirare*, *aspirare*, etc. Magnus of Sens's *Libellus de mysterio baptismatis* (one of the replies to Charlemagne's circular questionnaire on baptism) exemplifies the terminological difficulty. In discussing *insufflatio* as a means of exorcising catechumens, he unhesitatingly combines under that heading a variety of distinct functions:

Insufflantur etenim qui baptizandi sunt a Dei Sacerdote, ut ex eis princeps effugetur peccatorum, et Christo Domino paretur introitus, et per illius insufflationem mereantur accipere Spiritum Sanctum.<sup>55</sup>

What we may neutrally call "sufflation" is found in one form or another in some of the earliest liturgies dealing with the catechumenate: the practice entered the baptismal liturgy proper only as the catechumenate itself, rendered vestigial by the growth of routine infant baptism, was absorbed into the rite of baptism. It is probably *exsufflation* of catechumens that appears in the earliest references (though some are ambiguous); *insufflation* seems to have appeared somewhat later, but certainly both have

Aloysius Assemanus, *Codex liturgicus ecclesiae universae*, I: *De Catechumenis* and II: *De baptismo* (Rome, 1749; rpt. Paris and Leipzig, 1902); J. M. Neale, ed., *The Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church . . . Together with Parallel Passages from the Roman, Ambrosian, and Mozarabic Rites* (London, 1855; rpt. New York, 1970); Enzo Lodi, *Enchiridion euchologicum fontium liturgicorum* (Rome, 1979); Johannes Quasten, ed., *Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima* (Bonn, 1935–37); and E. C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, 2d ed. (London, 1970).

<sup>54</sup> Siffrin, "Insufflazione"; Neale, *Ancient Liturgies*, 266, note m; Whitaker, *Documents*, 256; Kelly, *Devil*, 235. Cf. Dölger's similar distinction between *exsufflation* and *halation* (*Der Exorzismus*, 130). Suntrup cautions, "Allerdings ist diesen Bedeutungen das Begriffspaar *exsufflatio-insufflatio* nicht eindeutig zuzuordnen" (*Die Bedeutung*, 307).

<sup>55</sup> "Those who are to be baptized are insufflated by the priest of God, so that the prince of sinners might be put to flight from out them, and that entry for the Lord Christ might be prepared, and that by his insufflation they might be made worthy to receive the Holy Spirit." PL 102:982D.

become well established by the time of Augustine.<sup>56</sup> Geographically widespread, by the twelfth century sufflation was, or had been, applied not only to sufflating catechumens and baptizands<sup>57</sup> but also to exorcising readmitted heretics<sup>58</sup> and to admitting pagans to the catechumenate,<sup>59</sup> to the renunciation of the devil on the part of catechumens,<sup>60</sup> to the consecration and exorcism of the baptismal font and water,<sup>61</sup> to the consecration or

<sup>56</sup> The earliest liturgical use is that of the *Apostolic Tradition* attributed to Hippolytus (Rome, early third century?): Bernard Botte, *La "Tradition Apostolique,"* 42–45 (chap. 20); Whitaker, *Documents*, 4, reprints the translation of Gregory Dix, *Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition*, 32 (§xx.8). Botte renders the Coptic text here as “exsufflet” (42), though Kelly (*Devil*, 87) points out that the significance of the gesture is in fact uncertain. Geoffrey J. Cuming gives the more neutral “breathe on”: *Hippolytus: A Text for Students* (Bramcote, Notts., 1976), 18.

<sup>57</sup> Nearly universally, e.g., in Egypt (*Canons of Hippolytus*, Canon 19 [or §110], trans. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen*, 211; trans. Achelis, *Die ältesten Quellen*, 93; trans. Whitaker, *Documents*, 88; Horner’s translations of the Ethiopic, Arabic, and Sahidic versions may be found in *Statutes of the Apostles*, 152, 252, and 316); Western Syria (Cyril, *Procatechesis* 9, ed. F. L. Cross, *St. Cyril of Jerusalem’s Lectures on the Christian Sacraments: The “Procatechesis” and the Five “Mystagogical Catecheses”* [London, 1951], 5–6, trans. 45 [PG 33:347–50]; trans. also by Gifford, *Catechetical Lectures*, 3; and Ignatius Ephraem II Rahmani, ed. and trans., *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi* [Mainz, 1899], 125, 127 [rpt. Quasten, *Monumenta*, 266–67]); Spain (Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.21.3, ed. Christopher M. Lawson, CCL 113 [Turnhout, 1989], 96.21 [PL 83:815A]; trans. in Whitaker, *Documents*, 110; Hildefonsus, *De cognitione baptismi* 26, PL 96:122C–123A; *Liber Ordinum*, ed. M. Férotin, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica* 5 [Paris, 1904], cols. 24–25; trans. Whitaker, *Documents*, 117; the Spanish rites in general are discussed by Kelly, *Devil*, 234–36 and 244–52); N. Italy (Kelly, *Devil*, 232–34, 236–38; and Whitaker, *Documents*, 143; see also Cyrille Lambot, ed., *North Italian Services of the Eleventh Century*, Henry Bradshaw Society 67 [London, 1931], 5, 6, 16); and in the Byzantine and other eastern rites (e.g., Lodi, *Enchiridion*, 1303, §2925; cf. Whitaker, *Documents*, 74; the eastern rites are extensive treated by Kelly, *Devil*, 136–200).

<sup>58</sup> Council of Constantinople (381), canon 7 (ed. Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* [based on the text of G. Alberigo et al.], 2 vols. [London and Washington, D.C., 1990], 1:35: “ἐξορκίζομεν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τοῦ ἐμφυσᾶν τρίτον εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ εἰς τὰ ὦτα” (“We exorcise them by breathing thrice in their faces and their ears” [1:35])). This canon is a fifth-century addition: see Kelly, *Devil*, 144; Tanner, *Decrees* 1:22 and n. 8.

<sup>59</sup> E.g., in the Gelasian Sacramentary (ed. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg et al., *Liber sacramentorum romanae ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli . . .* [*Sacramentarium Gelasianum*], 3d ed., *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, series maior, fontes* 4 [Rome, 1981], 93 [1.71 #598]; trans. Whitaker, *Documents*, 192) and the Fulda Sacramentary (ed. Gregor Richter and Albert Schönfelder, *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X*, *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Abtei und der Diözese Fulda* 9 [Fulda, 1912]; rpt. Henry Bradshaw Society 101 [1977], 354 [§477]); cf. Assemanus, *Codex* 1:20.

<sup>60</sup> In Dionysius, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* 2.6 (PG 3:395/396B; rpt. Quasten, *Monumenta*, 281; trans. Whitaker, *Documents*, 57); Ephraem Syrus, *In secundum adventum Domini* (cited by Kelly, *Devil*, 135 n. 30); the Byzantine rite (see Whitaker, *Documents*, 70, 77). The eastern rites are treated extensively by Kelly, *Devil*, 136–200. For western sources, see below.

<sup>61</sup> Very commonly: e.g., in the Byzantine rite (Whitaker, *Documents*, 80); the Ambrosian Manual (Whitaker, *Documents*, 138, 145); the North Italian rites (Lambot, *North Italian Services*, 33); the *Liber Ordinum* (ed. Férotin, col. 29; trans. Whitaker, *Documents*, 118); the Sarum Missal (ed. J. Wickham Legg [Oxford, 1916; rpt. 1969], 129); the *Missale Gothicum*; the Gregorian Sacramentary (Hadrianum); the *Ordo Romanus L*; and numerous English texts (see below).

exorcism of ashes,<sup>62</sup> and to the consecration of the chrism or holy oil.<sup>63</sup>

The texts most relevant to tenth-century England contain most of these variations. John the Deacon's indirectly influential *Letter to Senarius*, which reflects Roman practice around 500, contains an extended discussion of the exsufflation of catechumens.<sup>64</sup> The Irish (but in form largely Gallican) Stowe Missal contains a prebaptismal exsufflation of unclear status.<sup>65</sup> The other Gallican rites are largely devoid of sufflation, though the so-called *Missale Gothicum* contains a triple exsufflation of baptismal water,<sup>66</sup> and the hybrid Bobbio Missal a prebaptismal insufflation of catechumens,<sup>67</sup> found also in the tenth-century Fulda Sacramentary.<sup>68</sup> The eleventh-century North Italian baptismal ritual in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana T 27 sup. makes heavy use of the practice, requiring both insufflation and triple exsufflation of the baptismal candidates *in modum crucis*, and insufflation of the font as well.<sup>69</sup> The Hadrianum version of the Gregorian Sacramentary, sent to Charlemagne and augmented probably by Benedict of Aniane, contains an insufflation of the baptismal font,<sup>70</sup> as

<sup>62</sup> In the Ambrosian Manual (Kelly, *Devil*, 228) and Beroldus (twelfth century, Milan; trans. in Whitaker, *Documents*, 149).

<sup>63</sup> In the Byzantine rite (Whitaker, *Documents*, 81); in the Ethiopic rite (A. Salles, trans., *Trois antiques rituels du baptême*, Sources Chrétiennes 59 [Paris, 1958], 50); in several *Ordines Romani* (e.g., *Ordo XXIV* 18, *Ordo XXVII* 31, *Ordo XXVIII* 22, ed. Michel Andrieu, *Les "Ordines Romani" du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols., Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Études et Documents 11, 23, 24, 28, 29 [Louvain, 1931–61], 3:291, 354, 396; and that quoted by Amalarius, *Liber officialis* 1.12.27–28, ed. Jean-Michel Hanssens, *Amalarii Episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, vol. 2, Studi e testi 139 [Vatican City, 1948], 75–76); and in the nine twelfth-century English pontificals printed by W. G. Henderson as Appendix 3.1 to the Bainbridge Pontifical (*Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge Archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, Surtees Society 61 [Durham, 1875], 254, 256).

<sup>64</sup> John the Deacon, *Epistola ad Senarium* (ed. André Wilmart, "Un florilège carolingien sur le symbolisme des cérémonies du baptême, avec un Appendice sur la lettre de Jean Diacre," in *Analecta Reginensia*, Studi e testi 59 [Vatican City, 1933], 172; trans. Whitaker, *Documents*, 155).

<sup>65</sup> F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881; rpt. with introduction by Jane Stevenson, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1987), 209 (= *The Stowe Missal*, ed. George F. Warner, Henry Bradshaw Society 32 [London, 1915], 25).

<sup>66</sup> Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, ed., *Missale Gothicum*, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, series maior*, fontes 5 (Rome, 1961), 67; Neale, *Ancient Liturgies*, 97.

<sup>67</sup> E. A. Lowe, ed., *The Bobbio Missal: A Gallican Mass-Book*, Henry Bradshaw Society 58 (London, 1920), 72; Neale, *Ancient Liturgies*, 266.

<sup>68</sup> Fulda Sacramentary (ed. Richter and Schönfelder, 332 [§471]); the more common baptismal exsufflation is also to be found in this text (343 [§475]).

<sup>69</sup> Lambot, *North Italian Services*, 5, 11, 16, 33.

<sup>70</sup> Jean Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien*, vol. 1, Spicilegium Friburgense 16 (Fribourg, 1971), 188; the rubric here is reconstructed by Deshusses from a wide variety of variants. On the attribution of the supplemented Hadrianum and its attribution to Benedict of Aniane, see *ibid.*, 63–67, and Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien*, vol. 3, Spicilegium Friburgense 28 (Fribourg, 1982), 66–75, as well as his earlier article, "Le 'Supplément' au sacramentaire grégorien: Alcuin ou saint Benoît d'Aniane?" *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 9.1 (1965): 48–71.

does *Ordo Romanus L*, from the mid-tenth century,<sup>71</sup> the basis of the Roman Pontifical. *Ordo Romanus L* contains also a triple exsufflation of the candidates for baptism, immediately preceding the baptism itself.<sup>72</sup> Most of the numerous Carolingian expositions of baptism treat sufflation to some extent.<sup>73</sup> One anonymous ninth-century catechesis is unusual in distinguishing explicitly between the exsufflation of catechumens and the insufflation of the baptismal water,<sup>74</sup> but most tracts and florilegia, when they treat both, do so without referring one to the other; most often they confine themselves to exsufflation and are usually content to quote extracts from Isidore, and Alcuin, among others.<sup>75</sup> Especially prominent is Isidore's lapidary remark in the *Etymologies* to the effect that it is not God's sinful creature but the prince to whom that sinner is subject that is exsufflated.<sup>76</sup> This is the case, for example, in the responses to Charlemagne's famous circular questionnaire on baptism, based on Alcuin's so-called "Primo paganus." The questionnaire assumes an exsufflation of or on the part of the person to be baptized: "De abrenunciacione satanae et de omnibus operibus eius atque pompis, quid sit abrenunciatio, vel quae opera diaboli et pompe, cur exsuffletur vel cur exorcizetur."<sup>77</sup> "Primo paganus" itself, probably Alcuin's own discussion of the subject, is in turn much dependent on John the Deacon. We have already seen most of it in the passage quoted from Magnus of Sens, since Magnus's *Libellus*, like

<sup>71</sup> *Ordo L* 29.50 (ed. Andrieu, *Les "Ordines Romani"* 5:281).

<sup>72</sup> *Ordo L* 20.5 (ed. Andrieu, *Les "Ordines Romani"* 5:131). This section, though not now present in *Ordo XI*, was probably originally to be found there, according to Andrieu (2:376).

<sup>73</sup> See Jean-Paul Bouhot, "Explications du rituel baptismal à l'époque carolingienne," *Revue des études augustinienes* 24 (1978): 278–301; and Susan A. Keefe, "Carolingian Baptismal Expositions: A Handlist of Tracts and Manuscripts," in *Carolingian Essays*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, D.C., 1983), 169–237.

<sup>74</sup> A. Wilmart, "Une Catéchèse baptismale du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue Bénédictine* 57 (1947): 199, section 9 (= Keefe, text 50).

<sup>75</sup> E.g., Jean-Paul Bouhot, "Alcuin et le 'De catechizandis rudibus' de saint Augustine," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 15 (1980): 224 (= Keefe, texts 34/36); and Wilmart, "Florilège," 158 (= Keefe, text 3).

<sup>76</sup> "Sciendum est quod non creatura Dei in infantibus exorcizatur aut exsufflatur, sed ille sub quo sunt omnes qui cum peccato nascuntur. Est enim princeps peccatorum" (*Etymologiae* 6.19.56, ed. W. M. Lindsay [Oxford, 1911]).

<sup>77</sup> "Concerning the renunciation of Satan and all his works and pomps: What is the renunciation? And what are the works of the devil and his pomps? Why is he breathed upon? Why is he exorcised?" Jean-Michel Hanssens, ed. *Amalarii Episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, vol. 1, *Studi e testi* 138 (Vatican, City, 1948), 236 (= Keefe, text 14; see also Bouhot, "Explications," 286); the text is also readily available, and accompanied by a brief discussion, in Dorothy Bethurum, ed., *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford, 1957), 302–3. See J. D. C. Fisher, *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West* (London, 1965), 59.



many of the seventeen extant direct or indirect responses to Charlemagne's circular letter, quotes extensively from Alcuin.<sup>78</sup>

Among English texts proper, the tenth-century Egbert Pontifical (York) contains no mention of sufflation, but the contemporary, though originally continental, Leofric Pontifical (and Sacramentary) dictates an insufflation of baptizands, a triple insufflation of the baptismal water, and an "exhalation" of holy oil.<sup>79</sup> In the eleventh century, the Salisbury Pontifical (London, British Library Cotton Tiberius C.i) and the Pontifical of Thomas of Canterbury require insufflation of the font;<sup>80</sup> the Missal of Robert of Jumièges (Canterbury) has an erased rubric where it may have done likewise, and it also has an illegible rubric, where it probably dictated the exsufflation of catechumens, and the old *ordo ad caticuminum ex pagano faciendum*, complete with its sufflation ceremony;<sup>81</sup> and an English *Ordo Romanus* (London, British Library Cotton Vitellius E.xii) contains a triple exsufflation of baptizands.<sup>82</sup> Various twelfth-century texts include signing and triple exsufflation of the holy oil (Sarum),<sup>83</sup> triple exsufflation of baptizands (the Ely, Magdalen, and Winton Pontificals), and insufflation of the font "in modum crucis" (Ely and Magdalen, followed by most later texts.)<sup>84</sup>

As most of these texts attest, a recurring feature of exsufflation is, as in *Solomon and Saturn*, its close association with the sign of the cross: in western texts from as early as the Gelasian Sacramentary,<sup>85</sup> the one almost

<sup>78</sup> For the various replies, see Wilmart, "Florilège," 154; Bouhot, "Explications," 286–93; Keefe, "Carolingian Baptismal Expositions," passim. Alcuin's comments are contained in two genuine letters (nos. 134, to Odwin, and 137, to monks in southern France, ed. Ernst Dümmler, *Epistolae Karolini Aevi* 2, MGH *Epistolae* 4 [Berlin, 1895], 202 and 214) and in one of dubious authenticity, to Charlemagne (PL 98:938B)—all of which are nearly verbatim identical in their description of exsufflation: "Primo paganus catechumenus fit, accedens ad baptismum; ut renuntiet maligno spiritui et omnibus dampnis eius pompis. Exsufflatur etiam; ut, fugato diabolo, Christo Deo nostro paretur introitus" (ed. Dümmler, 214 [= Keefe, text 9; see also Bouhot, "Explications," 280–82). The reply of Magnus of Sens is Keefe's text 15 (see also Bouhot, "Explications," 287).

<sup>79</sup> F. E. Warren, ed., *The Leofric Missal As Used in the Cathedral of Exeter During the Episcopate of Its First Bishop, A.D. 1050–1072* (Oxford, 1883), 236–37, 259. A recent summary of opinion on the original home of this text may be found in *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. H. M. J. Banting, Henry Bradshaw Society 104 (London, 1989), xxiii–xxv.

<sup>80</sup> *York Manual*, 144\*, 136\*.

<sup>81</sup> H. A. Wilson, ed., *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, Henry Bradshaw Society 11 (London, 1896), 93, 98, 101; see also *York Manual*, 133\*.

<sup>82</sup> *York Manual*, 142\*.

<sup>83</sup> See *Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge*, 254 (App. 3.1).

<sup>84</sup> *York Manual*, 147\*, 149\*.

<sup>85</sup> "Exsufflas in faciem eius et facis ei crucem in fronte" (ed. Mohlberg, *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, 93 [1.71 #598]). The two gestures are commonly applied together to the baptismal water as well, e.g., in the Gellone Sacramentary (ed. A. Dumas, *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis*, CCL 159 [Turnhout, 1981], 335 [#2317f–2318], 346 [#2379]) and in the North

always precedes the other, or follows the other, or both;<sup>86</sup> and their intended significance is often the same or nearly so. In Rabanus Maurus's discussion of the baptismal liturgy, for example, based again largely on Alcuin, the exsufflation is said to expel the devil in favor of the Holy Spirit, the signing with the cross to keep him from coming back.<sup>87</sup> The two signs are frequently combined, the blowing itself done in the form of a cross. This is true, for example, in the Syrian rite described by James of Edessa,<sup>88</sup> in the modern Coptic rite,<sup>89</sup> and, closer to home, in the late ninth-century *Ordo Romanus XXXI*,<sup>90</sup> in the tenth-century Ambrosian rites for exorcising both catechumen and font,<sup>91</sup> in the eleventh-century North Italian rituals for exorcising and blessing catechumens,<sup>92</sup> in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century English pontificals,<sup>93</sup> in the Sarum Missal, and in the thirteenth-century Roman pontifical, which also illustrates nicely the characteristically dual nature of sufflation.<sup>94</sup>

The practice is also found in Wulfstan's collection of Carolingian baptismal expositions, the *Incipit de baptisma*, and the two vernacular homilies based on it, the *Quando volueris* and the *Sermo de baptisate*. The collection draws on a variety of Carolingian authorities but in this passage quotes almost verbatim the *De ordine baptismi* of Theodulf of Orleans (another of the Alcuin-derivative replies to Charlemagne): "In cuius . . . facie a sacerdote per exsufflationem signum crucis sit, ut effugato diabolo, Cristo Domino nostro preparetur introitus."<sup>95</sup> *Sufflatio* and *signum* again

Italian rituals (ed. Lambot, *North Italian Services*, 33).

<sup>86</sup> Both, e.g., in the *Missale Gothicum* (ed. Mohlberg, 67; Neale, *Ancient Liturgies*, 96–97).

<sup>87</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum* 1.27 (ed. A. Knöpfler, Veröffentlichungen aus dem kirchenhistorischen Seminar München 5 [Munich, 1900], 48; PL 107:311D–312A).

<sup>88</sup> Whitaker, *Documents*, 59.

<sup>89</sup> Lodi, *Enchiridion*, 1337 (§2958-c): "Hic in gloriosae crucis figuram insuffla in faciem ejus. Accipe Spiritum Sanctum. . . ."

<sup>90</sup> "... anhelet in modum crucis in fontem tribus vicibus" (ed. Andrieu, *Les "Ordines Romani"* 3:502 (§80)).

<sup>91</sup> Whitaker, *Documents*, 143, 145.

<sup>92</sup> Lambot, *North Italian Services*, 5, 6, 11, 16.

<sup>93</sup> *York Manual*, 144\* (eleventh century), 149\* (twelfth century), 150\* (thirteenth century), and 153\* (fifteenth century); cf. the Sarum Missal (ed. Legg, 129).

<sup>94</sup> Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain au moyen-âge*, vol. 2, Studi e testi 87 (Vatican City, 1940), 514: "[Sacerdos] ait: Exi ab eo, spiritus immunde, et da locum spiritui sancto paraclito. Hic ad modum crucis [h]alet in faciem cathetizandi et dicat ei: Iohannes, accipe spiritum sanctum per istam insufflationem. . . ."

<sup>95</sup> "On his face let the sign of the cross be made by exsufflation, that, the devil having been put to flight, entry for our Lord Christ might be prepared." Wulfstan, Homily VIIIa (ed. Bethurum, 169, ll. 8–10); cf. Theodulf, *De ordine baptismi* (PL 105:225B [= Keefe, text 16]). For the parallel passages in the vernacular homilies, see Wulfstan, Homily VIIIb (ed. Bethurum, 172, ll. 14–22) and Homily VIIIC (176–77, ll. 29–35); for the relationship of the three pieces, see Bethurum, *Homilies*, 302–4.

appear paired, bound together, it would appear, by alliteration as well as by sense.

This same text, still following Theodulf, exemplifies another recurring feature of exsufflation—its frequent association with imagery of fire and of darkness and light, and, more specifically, with the movement (usually of the baptizand) from the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of light:

Exorcizatur etiam idem malignus spiritus, ut exeat et recedat ab illo plasmate quod iamdudum per peccatum primi hominis possidebat, dans locum spiritui sancto, quia non est iuxta apostolum conuentio Cristi ad Belial nec societas luci ad tenebras.<sup>96</sup>

Though Theodulf and Wulfstan here quote 2 Corinthians,<sup>97</sup> most other commentators prefer to cite Colossians 1:13 in this connection: “qui eripuit nos de potestate tenebrarum et transtulit in regnum filii dilectionis suae.” Thus, for example, John the Deacon in the *Ad Senarium*:

Exsufflatus igitur exorcizatur, ut, fugato diabolo, Christo domino nostro pareatur introitus, et a potestate erutus tenebrarum transferatur in regnum gloriae caritatis Dei,<sup>98</sup>

so also Augustine, frequently, especially in the *Contra Julianum* and its sequel, the *Contra Julianum (opus imperfectum)*:

cur non credis baptizandos parvulos erui de potestate tenebrarum, cum eos propter hoc exsufflet atque exorcizet ecclesia, ut ab eis potestas tenebrarum mittatur foras?<sup>99</sup>

<sup>96</sup> “The same malign spirit is exorcized, that he might depart and withdraw from that creature of whom long ago, through the sin of the first human being, he took possession, yielding place to the Holy Spirit, since there is, in the apostle’s words, no agreement between Christ and Belial, nor fellowship between light and darkness.” Wulfstan, Homily VIIIa (ed. Bethurum, 169, ll. 10–14); Theodulf, *De ordine baptismi* (PL 105:225B–C).

<sup>97</sup> 2 Cor 6:14b–15a: “quae societas luci ad tenebras? Quae autem conventio Christi ad Belial?”

<sup>98</sup> “The exsufflated person is therefore exorcised so that the devil having been put to flight, entry for our Lord Christ might be prepared; and so that having been delivered from the power of darkness, he might be translated into the kingdom of the glory, of the love of God.” Wilmart, “Florilège,” 172; thence also in many of the Carolingian expositions, e.g., in Keefe’s text 32 (ed. Friedrich Stegmüller, “Bischof Angilmodus über die Taufe: Ein Beitrag zur spätkarolingischen Tauftheologie,” *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 52 [1957]: 20) and text 25, the tract by Archbishop Leidrad of Lyon (PL 99:856D).

<sup>99</sup> “Why do you not believe that little ones undergoing baptism are delivered from the power of darkness, though for this very reason the church exsufflates and exorcises them, that the power of darkness might be cast out from them?” *Contra Julianum (opus imperfectum)* 1.50 (ed. Michaela Zelzer, CSEL 85.1 [Vienna, 1974], 43 [PL 45:1073]); cf., at greater length, 3.182 (ed. Zelzer, 482 [PL 45:1323]), and *Contra Julianum* 1.4.14 (PL 44:649), 1.5.19 (PL 44:653), 3.3.8 (PL 44:705), 3.5.11 (PL 44:707–8), and 6.5.11 (PL 44:828–29); see also Augustine’s *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 76.4 (ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCL 39 [Turnhout, 1956], 1055).

and Isidore:

Potestas autem diabuli exorcizatur et insufflatur in his, ut ei renuntient atque eruti a potestate tenebrarum in regnum sui domini per sacramentum baptismatis transferantur.<sup>100</sup>

Quodvultdeus has a similar and elaborate exposition of the exorcism involved in baptism, this time quoting Romans 13:12, though he makes no explicit mention of exsufflation:<sup>101</sup>

Si enim, dilectissimi, opera transactae noctis consideremus, et quid egerimus, domino donante, explicare ualuerimus, inueniemus nos in nocte non opera noctis sed diei peregissee. . . . uigilando, orando, psallendo, contra aduersarium diabolium dimicando, et magnam lucem infusam cordibus nostris sensimus, et in nocte opera diei peregimus. Quid enim egimus in hac nocte? Diabolium fugauimus et Christum introduximus. Quid egimus in hac nocte? Captiuatorem captiuauimus. Quid egimus in hac nocte? Tenebras diabolicas de cordibus uestris excussimus, lumen uerum hauriendum esse demonstrauimus. . . . Quid actum est in hac nocte? Princeps omnium uitiorum expulsus est, fons omnium bonorum susceptus est. . . . *Deponentes itaque opera tenebrarum, induite uos arma lucis.*<sup>102</sup>

Moreover, breath and blowing enjoy an association with fire, as opposed to light, that is more basic, and more biblical. Jesse of Amiens speaks of exsufflated catechumens as "warmed by the breath of God,"<sup>103</sup> but the breath of God carries with it the fire of his wrath as well as the life-giving fire of his Spirit: "Ramos eius arefaciet flamma et auferetur spiritu oris

<sup>100</sup> "The power of the devil is exorcised and insufflated in them, so that they may renounce him and, 'being delivered from the power of darkness, might be translated unto the kingdom of their Lord' through the sacrament of baptism." Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.21.3 (ed. Lawson, 96.20–23 [PL 83:815A]), and thence in various Carolingian texts, e.g., Pseudo-Maxentius, *Collectanea* (PL 106:54C [= Keefe, text 37]).

<sup>101</sup> Quodvultdeus does include sufflation in his more summary remarks, e.g., in *De symbolo* III 1.3 (ed. R. Braun, CCL 60 [Turnhout, 1976], 349; PL 40:661).

<sup>102</sup> "For if we consider the works of the past night, and attempt to explain what, by God's gift, we then did; we shall find that in the night we performed the works, not of the night but of the day. . . . Watching, praying, psalm-singing, contending against our enemy the devil, we felt a great light infusing our hearts, and in the night we performed the works of the day. For what did we do in the night? We put the devil to flight and brought Christ in. What did we do in the night? We took the captor captive. What did we do in the night? Diabolic darkness we cast out from your hearts; we showed the true light being drunk in. . . . What was done in the night? The chief of all evil was expelled, the fount of all goodness received. . . . 'Casting off therefore the works of darkness, put on the armour of light.' " Quodvultdeus, *Contra iudaeos, paganos et arrianos* 1.5–10 (ed. Braun, CCL 60:227–28 [= *Sermo de symbolo*, PL 42:1117]; trans. Whitaker, *Documents*, 106–7, here modified and augmented).

<sup>103</sup> Jesse, *Epistola de baptismo* (PL 105:786D [= Keefe, text 30]): "calefactus flatu divino."

sui" (Job 15:30); "in igne furoris mei sufflabo in te" (Ezech 21:31). When Cyril of Jerusalem discusses exsufflation in the *Procatechesis*, rather than stressing the movement from darkness to light seemingly natural to baptism and the catechuminate, he develops the imagery of fire associated with the Holy Spirit, here active in sufflation and perceived as a cleansing and refining agent:

whether thou art breathed upon or exorcized, the Ordinance is to thee salvation. . . . without Exorcisms, the soul cannot be cleansed. . . . For as the goldsmith . . . , as it were breathing on the gold which is hid in the hollow of the forge, stimulates the flame it acts upon, and so obtains what he is seeking; so also, exorcizers, infusing fear by the Holy Ghost, and setting the soul on fire in the crucible of the body, make the evil spirit flee, who is our enemy . . . ; and henceforth the soul, cleansed from its sins, hath salvation.<sup>104</sup>

Fire appears also as a common theme in later liturgical exorcisms; devils, as Nicetas of Remesiana is reported to have said, "are purged by exorcisms as by fire":<sup>105</sup> "Adgredimur aduersus te, diabole, spiritualibus uerbis et igneis sermonibus. Latebras tuas quibus occultaris incendimus";<sup>106</sup> "da honorem . . . domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui uenturus est iudicare . . . te inimice per ignem. . . . da locum spiritui sancto, quia in ipsius nomine tibi interdicimus, qui uenturus est iudicare . . . te inimice per ignem."<sup>107</sup> But more importantly perhaps, it is physically and symbolically associated with liturgical sufflation because of the traditional placement of baptism during the Paschal vigil, a setting heavy with symbolism of light and fire: the blessing of the Paschal candle, the lighting of the "new fire," the singing of the *Exultet* and the *Lumen christi*. Benedict of Aniane's preface to the Easter vigil mass refers back to the preceding baptismal ceremony in just this way:

<sup>104</sup> *Procatechesis* 9 (ed. Cross, 5–6 [PG 33:347/48–349/50]; trans. Cross, 45): "καὶ ἐμφυσηθῆς, καὶ ἐπορκισθῆς, σωτηρία σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα. . . ἄνευ ἐπορκισμῶν οὐ δύναται καθαρῆναι ψυχή. . . . Ὅν γὰρ τρόπον οἱ τῆς χρυσοχοικῆς ἐργασίας ἐμπειροί, . . . τὸ ἐν τῇ κώνῃ κεκρυμμένον χρυσίον ἀναφυσῶντες, τὴν παρακειμένην ἐπεθίζοντες φλόγα εὐρίσκουσι τὸ ζητούμενον· οὕτω τῶν ἐπορκιζόντων, διὰ πνεύματος θείου ἐμβαλλόντων τὸν φόβον, καὶ ὡς περ ἐν κώνῃ, τῷ σώματι, τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναζωπυροῦντων· φεύγει μὲν ὁ ἐχθρὸς δαίμων . . . , καὶ λοιπὸν ἡ ψυχὴ καθαρθεῖσα τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἔχει τὴν σωτηρίαν."

<sup>105</sup> Nicetas, quoted in Bouhot, "Alcuin et le 'De catechizandis rudibus,'" 225 (§67): "Per exorcismos enim ueluti per ignem purgantur, quia ignita sunt eloquia Domini [cf. Ps 118:140], ex quibus sunt exorcismi compositi."

<sup>106</sup> "We come against you, devil, with spiritual words and fiery speech. We ignite the hiding places in which you are concealed." *Liber Ordinum* (ed. Férotin, col. 75; trans. Kelly, *Devil*, 248; cf. *ibid.*, 237–48).

<sup>107</sup> "Give honor . . . to our Lord Jesus Christ who shall come to judge . . . thee, Foe, by fire. . . . Give way to the Holy Spirit, for we ban thee in the name of the one who shall come to judge . . . thee, Foe, by fire." Lambot, *North Italian Services*, 16.

O noctem quae finem tenebris ponit, et aeternae lucis uiam pandit. . . . In qua baptisate delectorum turba perimitur, filii lucis oriuntur.<sup>108</sup>

His version (to become the vulgate version) of the *Exultet*, or blessing of the Paschal candle, is likewise, and naturally enough, imbued with themes of light and fire.<sup>109</sup> We might note at this point that the words quoted above from Benedict's preface, in keeping with the continuity of Passover and Easter, evidently allude to the Exodus, and particularly to the crossing of the Red Sea and drowning of the Egyptian pursuit through the agency of the breath of God, common themes also in the *Exultet*, in which, for example, the Paschal candle is explicitly identified with the *columna ignis* by which the Israelites were led.<sup>110</sup> If the passage in *Solomon and Saturn* really does concern the events at Mass, following as it does the passage on baptism, it is reasonable to suppose that it is specifically the mass of the Paschal vigil that was in view: in such a context, the overthrow of the devil's host, like that of Pharaoh by means of a Spirit-filled breath, and the wise being guided by a veritable pillar of fire no longer seem extravagant or esoteric notions, but natural extensions of the events and symbolism of the occasion. The catechumens, processing behind the Paschal candle(s), then passing through baptism, in the familiar typology, are prefigured by the passage of the Israelites: "Illa columna praecedebat filios Israhel, ante quam transirent Mare Rubrum. Nostra columna, scilicet cereus, praecedat et nostros catecuminos . . . qui venturi sunt ad baptismum."<sup>111</sup> The intimate connection between divine breath and divine fire appears in its most visually arresting form during the baptism, specifically, during the *benedictio fontis*, in which, according to most orders, the Paschal candle (or its baptismal fellow) is dipped in the font whilst the priest declares the power of the Holy Spirit to have descended into the water: the sufflation of the font in most cases directly precedes or in fact accompanies the immersion of the candle.<sup>112</sup> Their close connection can again be readily illustrated

<sup>108</sup> "O night that puts and end to darkness, and opens the way of eternal light. . . . on which, in baptism, a host of sins perishes, the sons of light arise." Supplementum Anianense #1588 (ed. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien* 1:523).

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. ##1021–22 (ed. Deshusses, 360–63).

<sup>110</sup> Amalarius, *Liber officialis* 1.18.1 (ed. Hanssens, 111); see also his discussion of the lections, especially the second, 1.19.4–5 (ed. Hanssens, 115–16), and of the Paschal candle, 1.33.1–2 (ed. Hanssens, 165–66). For many additional references, see Suntrup, *Die Bedeutung* 416 nn. 26–28.

<sup>111</sup> "That pillar preceded the children of Israel, before which they passed the Red Sea; our pillar, i.e., the candle, precedes our catechumens . . . as they come to baptism." Amalarius, *Liber officialis* 1.18.5–6 (ed. Hanssens, 112).

<sup>112</sup> See, e.g., ibid. 1.25.2 and 1.26 (ed. Hanssens, 134–35, 136–38); the Gellone Sacramentary (ed. Dumas, 99 [#704d]); many manuscripts of the Hadrianum (ed. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien* 1:188 [#374e]); *Ordo L* 29.50 (ed. Andrieu, *Les "Ordines Romani"*

from Wulfstan's baptismal homilies:

þurh þa orðunge þe se sacerd on þæt font orðað þonne he þone font halgað,  
sona wyrð se deofol þanon afyrseð. And þonne se sacerd on þæt wæter deð  
þone gehalgodan tapor, þonne wyrð þæt wæter samnunga mid þam halgan  
gaste þurhgoten.<sup>113</sup>

If the confluence of baptism, light, fire, exsufflation, and the Eucharist be taken as pointing toward an Eastertide setting for the morsel passage in *Solomon and Saturn*, some further features of the passage find immediate explanation. First, the seven days' feast (399) has been identified by Vincenti as an allusion to the *Osterfest*, the morsel therefore with the host of the Easter mass, an identification we can now confirm, though the *Osterfest* in question seems more likely to be that of the Jewish feast of unleavened bread than that of the eight-day Christian pasch that superseded it.<sup>114</sup>

Second, if it be accepted that the relationship of the "much better" morsel to the (less worthy) "seven-day feast" is that of the Eucharistic host to its typological predecessor, the feast of unleavened bread, we must allow for the possibility of bilingual word-play. The morsel may be, in effect, "suffled" ("leavened"?) as well as sufflated. Even a reference to the "dipped" morsel of the Last Supper cannot be excluded.

Third, the seemingly abrupt transition from the excellent morsel to the rather metaphysical description of light and fire beginning on line 400 ("Lēoht hafað hēow and hād · hāliges gāstes, / Crīstes gecyndo . . .") may appear less so when it is recalled that the two meanings here assigned to light and fire (the Holy Spirit and Christ) are particularly prominent in expositions of the Paschal candle and the "new fire" of the Easter vigil

5:280–81); *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, 98–99; *York Manual*, 15, 136\*, 144\*, 149\*, 153\*; Suntrup, *Die Bedeutung* 417–18.

<sup>113</sup> "By the breath that the priest breathes into the font when he blesses it, the devil is straightway driven out from it. And when the priest dips the consecrated candle in the water, then that water forthwith becomes imbued with the Holy Ghost." Wulfstan, Homily VIIIb (ed. Bethurum, 173, ll. 39–43); cf. Homily VIIa (170, ll. 36–40) and Homily VIIc (179, ll. 73–76).

<sup>114</sup> On the relationship between the Easter octave and the *solemnitas azymorum*, see Bede, *De temporum ratione* 63 (ed. Charles W. Jones, *Bedae Opera de temporibus* [Cambridge, Mass., 1943], 285–86). The most common interpretation of the Jewish feast sees it as fulfilled, certainly, in the Easter feast, but also in the Christian life as a whole, freed and emptied of the leaven of malice (1 Corinthians 5:8) from its inception at baptism, "primo die solemnitatis nostrae." See Rupert of Deutz, *De Sancta Trinitate XI: In Exodum* 2.15 (ed. H. Haacke, CCM 22 [Turnhout, 1972], 652); Isidore, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum: In Exodum* 17.1–2 (PL 83:295D); Bede, *In Marci evangelium expositio* 4 (ed. D. Hurst, CCL 120 [Turnhout, 1960], 604–5) and *In Ezram et Neemiam* 2 (ed. D. Hurst, CCL 119A [Turnhout, 1969], 305–6); and Rabanus Maurus, *In Exodum* 1.23 (PL 108:53–4) and *In Leviticum* 6.21 (PL 108:502–3).

(though they, of course, also appear elsewhere). With respect to the dipping of the candle in the font, for example, Wulfstan quotes Amalarius:

cereus benedictus deponitur in aquam. Quare hoc, nisi ut demonstretur modo cereus significare spiritum sanctum? Legitur unam columnam fuisse in itinere filiorum Israel, quando egressi sunt ex Egipto per Mare Rubrum, que eis lux esset in nocte et protectio nubis in die. Habuit ergo mare formam aque, nubes uero spiritus sanctus.<sup>115</sup>

The last sentence refers to Paul's own piece of Exodus allegorization in 1 Corinthians 10:1–2, "patres nostri omnes . . . in Mose baptizati sunt in nube et in mari." According to Gregory Nazianzen's oft-quoted analysis, since the sea evidently represents the water of baptism, the cloud must represent the Spirit (as in John 3:5). Amalarius, indeed, undertakes a fuller exposition both of the baptismal candle as emblematic of cloud (with reference to the pillar of cloud in Exodus) and of cloud as emblematic of the Spirit (with reference to Luke 1:35: "virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi").<sup>116</sup> Amalarius's further comments on the practice of dipping the candle suggest other associations of candle and Spirit, noting, for example, that just as the extinguished candles of the neophytes remain so until they are relit along with all the other candles of the church, so the Spirit, having purged their hearts, illumines them and, by virtue of his special function of joining and unifying (even the Godhead), introduces them into the unanimity of the Church. Amalarius concludes this section by reiterating:

Dictum est, ut estimo, quare cerei deponantur in aquam ad invocationem Spiritus Sancti: quoniam ipsi Spiritus Sancti personam aliquo modo monstrant.<sup>117</sup>

It is no doubt overly subtle, but nevertheless curious, to note that just as the relationship Amalarius establishes between Spirit and fire, that of a kind of functional identity of *persona*, is reflected nicely in the abstract word *had* ("person, character, nature, office") used by the *Solomon and Saturn* poet, so also is the characterization that Amalarius most commonly gives to the relationship between Christ and fire reflected perfectly by

<sup>115</sup> "The consecrated candle is dipped in the water (of the font). Why so, save that the candle might thus be shown to signify the Holy Spirit? It is written that there was a single pillar on the journey of the children of Israel when they went out of Egypt by the Red Sea, a light for them by night and a shield of cloud by day. The water therefore had the form of the sea, but the cloud that of the Holy Spirit." Wulfstan, Homily VIIIa (ed. Bethurum, 170, ll. 40–45).

<sup>116</sup> Amalarius, *Liber officialis* 1.18.4 and 1.26.4 (ed. Hanssens, 112, 137).

<sup>117</sup> "It has been declared, as I judge, why the candles are dipped in the water at the invocation of the Holy Spirit: that they somehow display the person of the Holy Spirit." Ibid. 1.26.6 (ed. Hanssens, 138).



the poet's more concrete *gecyndo* ("natural origin, race, ancestry"). For Amalarius most commonly assigns to the baptismal candle the meaning not simply "Christ," but "the human nature of Christ." True, he does cite simpler and more functional correspondences, but it is specifically the human nature of Christ to which he returns repeatedly, and which he contrasts with the *persona* of the Spirit:<sup>118</sup>

Si . . . cereus rutilans illam humanitatem designat, quae inluminavit omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum, profecto et personam Spiritus Sancti in eodem cerco debemus intellegere. . . . Iste cereus, qui praefigurat humanitatem Christi, inluminatus benedicitur, quia humanitas Christi, postquam assumpta est a divinitate, semper fuit inluminata, cui semper benedicitur.<sup>119</sup>

Even if this interpretation of *had* and *gecyndo* might seem to give too much weight to these words—as well as too much importance to Amalarius—or if, indeed, a Paschal setting for the *Solomon and Saturn* passage might not commend itself, nevertheless, it still appears that many of the most prominent features of exsufflation suit it for the context of *gesyfleð* in *Solomon and Saturn*: it is used primarily in the baptismal liturgy (our passage follows a section on baptism); it is closely associated with signing, and often paired with it in various ways as a rite of exorcism and consecration (as it arguably is in our passage); and it is regarded as introducing the object of the sufflation into the kingdom of light and thereby defeating the kingdom of darkness—and as a purifying gesture bearing the power of the Holy Spirit of fire—exactly the roles it (again, arguably) plays in *Solomon and Saturn*'s discussion of light and fire. If we may think of the poem as operating on such a level of symbolism—typical, in fact, of liturgical symbolism—in its choice of subjects, we may well regard the morsel-passage, so interpreted, as more thoroughly integrated into the argument, less of a parenthesis, than it has always seemed.

Restricted as it is to specific roles, and those largely within the baptismal liturgy, can exsufflation ever actually or supposedly have been used to consecrate, cleanse or exorcise a host, fallen or otherwise? In fact, exsufflation is not so bound to the liturgy. Biblical and apocryphal references to the

<sup>118</sup> Though some similar remarks appear in Amalarius, the simple identification given by Hugh of St. Victor in his *De sacramentis* 2.9.5, "Hic cereus Christum designat, in cera humanitatem, in igne divinitatem" (PL 176:474A), seems to appear only after our period; see Suntrup, *Die Bedeutung* 413 n. 12.

<sup>119</sup> "If the glowing candle symbolizes that humanity which illumines every human being coming into this world, surely we ought also to recognize the person of the Holy Spirit in the same candle. . . . This candle, which prefigures the humanity of Christ, when lit is blessed, because the humanity of Christ, after it was taken into the divinity, was ever illuminated, for which it is ever blessed." Amalarius, *Liber officialis* 1.18.4–5 (ed. Hanssens, 112).

breath of God (or of Jesus) as a means of creation or destruction were always available.<sup>120</sup> Furthermore, in the patristic period at least, and probably in Anglo-Saxon England as well, the practice seems to have enjoyed a currency outside the liturgy. Tertullian seems to be speaking about an (extralitururgical) casting out of demons by means of exsufflation and signing when in his *Apology* he declares that the pagan gods “subiciuntur servis dei et Christi. Ita de contactu deque afflatu nostro, contemplatione et repraesentatione ignis illius correpti etiam de corporibus nostro imperio excedunt.”<sup>121</sup> He is talking not about baptism, but about an ordinary gesture of aversion and scorn, when he asks of a hypocritically Christian frankincense-seller, passing through pagan temples, “Quo ore Christianus turarius, si per templa transibit, quo ore fumantes aras despuet et exsufflabit, quibus ipse prospexit? Qua constantia exorcizabit alumnos suos?”<sup>122</sup> His comments to his wife in the *Ad uxorem* suggest that exsufflation was a common practice among Christians: “Latebisne tu, cum lectulum, cum corpusculum tuum signas, cum aliquid immundum flatu explodis, cum etiam per noctem exurgis oratum?”<sup>123</sup> The existence of such a practice brings into clearer focus the obscure comments of Eusebius about the

<sup>120</sup> We have already noted two of the many passages in which God’s breath is the agency of his judgment; others, not so obvious, were interpreted in terms of a divine exsufflation, e.g., Psalm 34:5, cited by Jesse of Amiens as descriptive of the fate of exsufflated devils (PL 105:786D); the same power is attributed to Christ in 2 Thessalonians 2:8 and (perhaps significantly, in the context of a baptismal ritual) in the *Acts of Thomas*, §157 (in Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson, revised ed., 2 vols. [Cambridge, 1991–92], 2:401): “Jesus, . . . let the gift . . . come by which, breathing upon thine enemies, thou didst make them draw back and fall headlong” (the reference evidently to John 18:6). A more creative and inspirational power is attributed to God’s breath in, e.g., Genesis 2:7, Wisdom 15:11, Ezechiel 37:9–10, and to Christ’s in John 20:22. See Dölger, *Der Exorzismus*, 121–24.

<sup>121</sup> “They are subject to the servants of God and Christ. Thus from our touch and from our breath being carried away by the thought and vision of that fire [of judgment], they even leave the bodies of men at our order.” Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 23.15–16 (ed. H. Hoppe, CSEL 69 [Vienna, 1939], 67; translation from *Tertulliani Apologeticus*, the text of Oehler, ed. John E. B. Mayor, trans. Alex Souter (Cambridge, 1917), 82/83. Cf. Tertullian, *De anima* 1.5 (ed. J. H. Waszink [Amsterdam, 1947], 2; CCL 2 [Turnhout, 1954], 782).

<sup>122</sup> “With what mouth will a Christian incense-dealer . . . , with what mouth, I ask, will he spit and puff in front of the fuming altars for which he himself provided? With what constancy will he [thus] exorcise his foster-children . . . ?” Tertullian, *De idololatria* 11.7 (ed. and trans. J. H. Waszink and J. C. M. Van Winden, *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 1 [Leiden, 1987], 42–45, with commentary on 210; also ed. A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissowa, CCL 2 [Turnhout, 1954], 1111; trans. S. Thelwall, *Ante-Nicene Fathers* 3:68).

<sup>123</sup> “(If you marry again, to a non-Christian) shall you escape notice when you sign your bed or your body; when you blow away some impurity; when even by night you rise to pray?” Tertullian, *Ad uxorem* 2.5.3 (ed. Charles Munier, *Tertullien: A Son Épouse*, Sources Chrétiennes 273 [Paris, 1980], 138; also ed. E. Kroymann, CCL 1 [Turnhout, 1954], 389; trans. S. Thelwall, *Ante-Nicene Fathers* 4:46).

breath of the saints ("there were men who, . . . though they only breathed and spoke, were able to scatter the councils of sinful demons"<sup>124</sup>), and of Irenaeus about the appropriate response to gnostic doctrine ("rightly reviling and anathematizing that doctrine . . ."<sup>125</sup>). Cyril of Jerusalem is dealing with temptation and possession, not baptism, when he speaks of repelling demons by breathing: "the mere breathing of the Exorcist becomes as fire to that unseen foe."<sup>126</sup> Augustine speaks about the criminality of blowing on images of the emperor (noting the correspondingly more severe crime of lese majesty that would be involved in ecclesiastical exsufflation, were it in fact directed against infants—images of God—and not against the devil who bound them in sin); this suggests not only that he knew a similar practice, but that its significance was so established as to be actionable:

Tu autem, qui eam negas a diabolo possideri, procul dubio negas a potestate erui tenebrarum . . . , et accusas universam catholicam ecclesiam magno crimine maiestatis. Non enim legibus huius mundi alio crimine tenetur reus, quisquis imaginem, quamvis non vivam, tamen imperatoris exsufflat. Exsufflantur autem parvuli in exorcismo, priusquam baptizentur; exsufflantur igitur vivae imagines, non regis cuiuscumque, sed dei; immo vero exsufflatur, sed diabolus, qui contagione peccati tenet parvulum reum, ut illo foras misso parvulus transferatur ad Christum. Exsuffletur itaque Iuliani amentia, ne maiestatis rea in parvulorum mundatione et exsufflatione dicatur ecclesia.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>124</sup> "ἦσαν ἱκανοί . . . μόνον ἐμπνέοντες καὶ φθεγγόμενοι διασκηδᾶσαι τὰς τῶν ἀλιτηρίων δαιμόνων ἐπιβουλὰς" (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7.10.4, ed. Eduard Schwartz, *Eusebius Werke* 2.2, Die Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 9.2 [Leipzig, 1908], 650 [PG 20:660]; trans. Arthur C. McGiffert, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d ser., vol. 1 [New York, 1890], 298).

<sup>125</sup> "Ἦν γνώμην ὀρθῶς καταφυσήσαντας καὶ καταθεματίσαντας: Quam sententiam digne exsufflantes et catathematizantes" (*Adversus haereses* 1.16.3, ed. Adelin Rousseau and Louis Doutreleau, *Irénee de Lyon: Contre les Hérésies Livre 1*, vol. 2, Sources Chrétiennes 264 [Paris, 1979], 262–63).

<sup>126</sup> "τὸ ἀπλοῦν ἐμφύσημα τοῦ ἐπορκίζοντος πῦρ γίνεται τῷ μὴ φαινομένῳ" (*Catechesis* 16.19, PG 33:945A–B; trans. Gifford, 120). Cyril does, however, make similar remarks about the exsufflations involved in baptism: "the breathing of the saints [ἐμφυσήματα τῶν ἁγίων], and the invocation of the name of God, like fiercest flame, scorch and drive out evil spirits" (*Catechesis* 20.3, PG 33:1080; trans. Gifford, 147).

<sup>127</sup> "You, however, who deny that [the infant] is possessed by the devil, surely deny that he is delivered from the power of darkness . . . , and accuse the catholic Church universal of the great crime of lese majesty. For of no other crime is he held guilty, according to the laws of this world, who blows upon an image, which though not a living one, is yet one of the emperor. But infants are blown upon prior to being baptized; living images, therefore, are blown upon, images not of some king or other, but of God. On the contrary, the one blown upon is rather the devil, who binds the infant in guilt through the contagion of sin, so that when the devil is dismissed the little one may be translated unto Christ. Even so let the madness of Julian be blown upon, lest the Church be called guilty of treason in the purification and exsufflation of infants." Augustine, *Contra Julianum (opus imperfectum)* 3.199 (ed. Zelzer, 498 [PL 45:1333]).

Through such passages as this, as well as through the liturgy, the ancient practice of exsufflation must surely have been known in England. Bede employs *exsufflare* to mean "revile, cast off, reject" in contexts certainly suggesting that for him it was a living metaphor. He portrays the South Saxons, for example, as turning to Christianity, "*abiecta prisca superstitione, exsufflata idolatria*"; Essex, conversely, is said to have recovered the Christian faith that it "*olim exsufflauerat*."<sup>128</sup> In perhaps the most relevant passage, Benedict of Aniane quotes as from the *Regula Fructuosi* a provision that the meager bread taken to an excommunicate should be "*ab abbate exsufflatum, et non sanctificatum*,"<sup>129</sup> which I take to mean "blessed and cleansed (of demonic pollution), but not consecrated," exactly the kind of informal exsufflation we are looking for.

Hagiography carries another tradition of extraliturgical exsufflation to England. Sulpicius Severus's *Life of Martin*, current in England at least through Ælfric's translation, describes Martin as exorcising a demon by blowing at it;<sup>130</sup> and the Vercelli *Homily XIX* has been shown to contain the same motif, elevated briefly to the status of cosmological myth.<sup>131</sup> Perhaps through the influence of the *Vita Martini*, the unmasking and putting to flight of tempting demons by means of the saint's breath becomes a common motif in later saints' lives. Of St. Pachomius, for example, it is said, "*Mox signo crucis frontem muniens exsufflavit in eum [daemonem] moxque fugatus est. . . . Et exsufflans in eum dixit: discede a me, diable*."<sup>132</sup> In the life of Goswin, "*daemon accedens stetit ante sanctum Goswinum, dicens: . . . 'Nonne vides quia ego sum Christus. . . .'*" et . . . *Exsufflavit igitur cum vi Goswinus, dicens: 'Recede, inimice, non suadens servo Christi.'* Statim diabolus mutavit colorem, et factus est sicut taurus; et ibat rugiens super sanctum Goswinum; deinde evanuit."<sup>133</sup> Justina is

<sup>128</sup> Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 4.13 and *praef.* (ed. C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera historica*, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1896], 1:231, with note on 2:226, and 1:7).

<sup>129</sup> PL 103:1019B.

<sup>130</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Vita s. Martini* (ed. C. Halm, CSEL 1 [Vienna, 1866], 206–7; Ælfric, *Vita s. Martini episcopi* 42 (ed. Walter W. Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of the Saints*, vol. 2, EETS, o.s., 76 [1890], 292): "*þa geseah he sittan ænne sweartne deofol / ormætne on his hrycge . and he him on ableow*"—cited by Thomas D. Hill, "When God Blew Satan out of Heaven: The Motif of Exsufflation in *Vercelli Homily XIX* and Later English Literature," in *Sources and Relations: Studies in Honour of J. E. Cross*, ed. Marie Collins, Jocelyn Price, and Andrew Hamer, Leeds Studies in English, n.s., 16 (Leeds, 1985), 135.

<sup>131</sup> Hill, "When God Blew Satan out of Heaven," 132–41.

<sup>132</sup> "Straightway defending his brow with the sign of the cross, he blew upon [the demon] and forthwith he fled. . . . And blowing upon him, he said 'depart from me, devil.'" Quoted in a note to Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum* (PL 103:1020C–D).

<sup>133</sup> "Drawing near, a demon stood before Saint Goswin saying 'surely you see that I am Christ . . . ' and . . . therefore Saint Goswin exsufflated vigorously, saying, 'depart, foe, for you have not persuaded the servant of Christ.' Immediately the devil changed color, became as a

reported to have similarly unmasked and dispelled a series of increasingly subtle and powerful demons, culminating with the prince of demons himself: “quis esset, qui secum loqueretur, intelligens continuo se cruce munivit et in dyabolum sufflans ipsum instar cerae protinus liquefecit et ab omni tentatione statim liberatam se sensit.”<sup>134</sup> St. Felix is reported to have destroyed idols and uprooted sacred trees by similar means.<sup>135</sup>

Exsufflation also appears as a means of magical or miraculous healing from an early period, especially in the East—healing considered as a form of exorcism; and liturgical exsufflation itself may have even have originated in non-Christian magic and been adapted to Christian use. Tertullian concludes the rhetorical questions to his wife that we quoted above with the question, “non magiae aliquid uideberis operari?”<sup>136</sup> Celsus (as quoted by Origen) reports the use of exsufflation by Egyptian magicians.<sup>137</sup> Plotinus seems to attack its use by Roman ones.<sup>138</sup> One of Lucian’s tall tales includes a Chaldean sorcerer who rids an estate of toads and snakes by use of sufflation: having summoned the vermin by an incantation and some burning sulphur, he causes them to vanish by blowing on them.<sup>139</sup> Moreover, in one story that is a virtually constant feature

bull, rushed roaring at Saint Goswin, and then vanished.” *De codicibus hagiographicis Iohannis Gielemans canonici regularis in rubea valle prope bruxellas adiectis anecdotis* (Brussels, 1895), 111 (*Sanctilogium* 9.2).

<sup>134</sup> “Realizing who it was that was speaking with her, she immediately defended herself with the cross and, blowing upon the devil, she immediately melted him like wax and felt herself straightway freed from all temptation.” Th. Graesse, ed., *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea vulgo Historica Lombardica dicta ad optimorum librorum fidem*, 3d ed. (Bratislava, 1890), 634, chap. 142, “De sancta Justina virgine” (cf. 633).

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 575, chap. 126, “De sanctis Felice et Adaucto”; 102–3, chap. 19, “De sancto Felice.”

<sup>136</sup> *Ad uxorem* 2.5.3 (ed. Munier, 138). For additional references to blowing in ancient magic, see Waszink’s and Van Winden’s notes to *De idololatria* 11.7 (210).

<sup>137</sup> Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.68 (ed. Marcel Borret, *Origène: Contre Celse*, vol. 1, Sources Chrétiennes 132 [Paris, 1967], 266 [PG 11:787/788A]): “καὶ δαίμονας ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐξελαυνόντων, καὶ νόσους ἀποφυσόντων, καὶ ψυχὰς ἡρώων ἀνακαλούντων” (“daemonia ex hominibus profligant, exsufflant morbos, heroum animas evocant”).

<sup>138</sup> Plotinus, *Enneads* 2.9.14 (ed. and trans. A. H. Armstrong, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 278/79: “. . . καὶ ἡχος καὶ προσπνεύσεις καὶ σιγμοὺς τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἐκεῖ μαγεύειν γέγραπται. . . νῦν δὲ ὑποστησάμενοι τὰς νόσους δαιμόνια εἶναι καὶ ταῦτα ἐξαρεῖν λόγῳ φάσκοντες δύνασθαι” (“. . . songs and cries and aspirated and hissing sounds and everything else which their writings say has magic power. . . But . . . they assume that the diseases are evil spirits, and claim to be able to drive them out by their word”).

<sup>139</sup> Φιλοψευδεῖς ἢ Ἀπιστῶν (ed. M. D. Macleod, *Luciani Opera*, vol. 2 [Oxford, 1974], 182): “ἐπεὶ δὲ συνηλίσθησαν, ἐνεφύσησε μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, τὰ δὲ αὐτίκα μάλα κατεκαύθη ἅπαντα ὑπὸ τῷ φουσήματι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐθαυμάζομεν”; “Having got them all together, he blew upon them; and imagine our astonishment when every one of them was immediately consumed!” (“The Liar,” *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, trans. H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler, vol. 3 [Oxford, 1905], 236).

of the infancy gospels, Jesus himself seems to be portrayed as a magician using exsufflation in order to heal his brother James of a snakebite, and simultaneously to kill the snake. It appears in the Greek text of the Gospel of Thomas, in Tischendorf's Recension A, chap. 16,<sup>140</sup> and in the Latin version of the Gospel, chap. 14.<sup>141</sup> Thence it appears in the vastly influential Pseudo-Matthew, chap. 41,<sup>142</sup> as well as in the Syriac infancy gospel discovered by Budge and published under the title *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*,<sup>143</sup> and no doubt in others as well. Christianization of the practice appears also in Syria, where such magical healing became formalized as part of the ecclesiastical rite of visitation of the sick. Ephraem Syrus advises that "if it happen that medicine fail you when you are sick, then the *Periodeutae* (visitors) will help, will pray for health, and one of them *in os tuum insufflat*, the other *te signat*."<sup>144</sup> Miracle-working breath was attributed, naturally, to saints. Gregory of Nyssa reports of Gregory Thaumaturgus that he needed to resort to "no finicking and laborious" magic, but "there sufficed, for both the casting out of demons and the healing of bodily ailments, the breath of his mouth."<sup>145</sup> Like the motif of

<sup>140</sup> Constantin von Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1876), 154–55. There are translations in Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha* 1:448, and Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), 53–54.

<sup>141</sup> Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 178; James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 65.

<sup>142</sup> "Et die quadam vocavit Ioseph ad se filium suum primogenitum Iacobum, et misit illum in hortum olerum ut colligeret olera ad faciendum pulmentum. Et subsecutus est Iesus Iacobum fratrem suum in hortum, et hoc Ioseph et Maria nescierunt. Dumque Iacobus colligeret olera, subito exivit de foramine vipera et percussit manum Iacobi, et ipse prae dolore nimio coepit clamare. Et iam deficiens dicebat cum vocis amaritudine: Heu, heu, vipera pessima percussit manum meam. Iesus vero stans ex adverso ad vocis amaritudinem accurrit ad Iacobum et tenuit manum eius, et nihil aliud fecit sed tantum sufflavit in manum Iacobi et refrigeravit eam. Et statim Iacobus sanatus est, et serpens mortuus est" (Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 110). In the following chapter as it appears in the Paris manuscript, it is worth noting, the boy Jesus raises a boy from the dead by breathing, in a passage in which the other manuscripts, and the Latin Gospel of Thomas, have Jesus "smiting" (*pulsare*) rather than "breathing on" (*sufflare*) the child (*ibid.*, 178n.).

<sup>143</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, ed. and trans., *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the History of the Likeness of Christ . . . : The Syriac Texts . . . with English Translations*, 2 vols. (London, 1899), 2:73: "a certain venomous viper bit James, but Jesus drew nigh and blew a breath upon the wound, and it was made whole; and the viper dried up, but James was healed and lived."

<sup>144</sup> Quoted by Dölger, *Der Exorzismus*, 125 n. 1: "Si contingat aegrotanti tibi defieri medentium pharmaca, pie succurrunt Periodeutae, salutem et incolumitatem precantur, et alius quidem in os tuum insufflat, alius vero te signat."

<sup>145</sup> PG 46:944A: "τοῦτο τῶν μεγάλων ἐκείνου θαυμάτων ἐστὶ, τὸ μηδεμᾶ τινι περιεργίᾳ κατὰ τὰς ἰάσεις ἐπιτελεῖν θαύματα· ἀλλ' ἄρκειν πρὸς τε τὴν τῶν δαιμόνων ἀπαλλαγὴν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἵασιν τῶν ἄρρωστημάτων τοῦ σώματος τὸ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἄσθμα." Cf. the powers attributed to the breath of the Irish saints: C. Plummer, ed. *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1910), 1:clxxviii.

exorcistic blowing, that of curative blowing persists in later hagiography and quasi-hagiographic texts, appearing for example in the *Estoire del saint graal* in connection with the miraculous restoration of a madman.<sup>146</sup> Nor was this ability unknown to Anglo-Saxon writers: Felix reports of Guthlac that in order to give relief to a boy tormented and wasted by madness, "sacrati fontis undis abluit, et, inflans [*var.* insufflans] in faciem eius spiritum salutis, omnem valitudinem maligni spiritus de illo reppulit."<sup>147</sup> And the miracle that Bishop John performed, according to Bede, on behalf of Herebald involved a sufflation seemingly exorcistic, catechetical, and curative at once.<sup>148</sup>

F. J. Dölger reports similar methods of healing persisting ("im Volke") into modern times: in Westphalia, the healing of a wound by triple signing and triple cruciform exsufflation, or by exsufflation accompanied by a rhyme; and in Holland the alleviation of toothache by similar means.<sup>149</sup> According to P. Drechsler, "Krankheiten . . . werden . . . durch Anhauchen weggeblasen. Hat sich ein Kind gestossen, so bläst . . . man dreimal auf die Stelle, dann 'fliegts fort.' Auch bohrt der Kranke in einen Baum ein Loch, pufet dreimal hinein und schlägt schnell einen Pflock in das Loch; die Krankheit ist verspindet."<sup>150</sup> Burns and conditions that in some fashion resemble burns, such as fevers, boils, sore throats and rashes, are the most common objects of blowing among modern folk-remedies,<sup>151</sup> but everything from jaundice, convulsions, and colic to bad luck and evil spells can

<sup>146</sup> Eugène Hucher, ed. *Le Saint-Graal*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1875–78), 3:182–83 ("soffla au duc enmi le viaire"); cf. Henry Lovelich, *The History of the Holy Grail*, chap. 45 (ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS, extra series, 28, 30, 95 [1878–1905; rpt. as one vol., Millwood, New York, 1973], 187, l. 682).

<sup>147</sup> "He washed him in the water of the sacred font and, breathing into his face the breath of healing, he drove away from him all the power of the evil spirit." Bertram Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956), 130/131.

<sup>148</sup> Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 5.6 (ed. Plummer, 1:291); see also Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), 468 and n. 1.

<sup>149</sup> Dölger, *Der Exorzismus*, 125.

<sup>150</sup> Drechsler, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube* 2:280; cf. 298, and chap. 14, *passim*.

<sup>151</sup> See *Hdda* 1:1357–58, s.v. *blasen*. See also, from the Puckett collection, nos. 6943, 8329, and 8401 (alleviation of a burn); 2750, 2889, 2890, 10566, and 2898 (thrush and sore mouth); and 9277 and 9279 (erysipelas): *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions: A Compendium of American Folklore from the Ohio Collection of Newbell Niles Puckett*, ed. Wayland D. Hand, Anna Casetta, and Sondra B. Thiederman, 3 vols. (Boston, 1981). Cf. the Shetland charm: "Here come I to cure a burnt sore. / If the dead knew what the living endure, / The burnt sore would burn no more," to be said while thrice blowing on the burn: T. F. Thiselton-Dyer, *English Folklore*, 2d rev. ed. (London, 1880), 170.

apparently be alleviated by a bit of blowing.<sup>152</sup> X. F. M. G. Wolters points out that exorcistic blowing was found still (in 1935) in the custom of blowing over bread that is about to be eaten.<sup>153</sup> Moreover,

a Syrian blows over his child to avert the evil eye. Some still blow three times over a strange spoon before using it, and in Alaska the medicine man blows into the nose and mouth of a patient to drive out the daemon of disease.<sup>154</sup>

In one example clearly derived from the liturgical use, it is said that if at the baptism of a baby one turns at the door and blows three times, one can successfully prevent the devil from ever coming between that baby and the altar.<sup>155</sup> Pliny, reporting the customs of people who prefer honoring and appeasing the spirits to exorcising them, notes the belief that one should not blow on fallen morsels of bread, presumably out of piety, since the *lar* has already seized possession of such fallen bread and blowing on it would dispossess him of it.<sup>156</sup>

Though one can clearly not place a lot of weight on the specific practices of ancient magic, medieval hagiography, or modern folklore, such comparative evidence does suggest that, far from being bound to the baptismal liturgy, exsufflation—like signing, and often in combination with it—is a practice readily and frequently adapted to any ideologically suitable situation, that is, to any circumstance thought to require exorcism (the banishing of alien and intrusive presences of any kind), restoration, and revivification. Given the widespread belief that fallen food belongs to the devil or other malicious spirits, the superstitious fear that attended the fallen host, the compulsion to restore it completely, and the liturgical familiarity, significant associations, and dramatic appeal of exsufflation, is it not a manifestly appropriate gesture for cleansing, exorcising, and restoring to life and light the fallen sacramental host, even as it puts to flight the devil's? We may safely add a new word to the lexicon of Old

<sup>152</sup> *Hdda*, s.v. *blasen*; cf. also the Puckett collection, nos. 9215, 9563, 19545, 23714, 23956, 23957, 25571, etc.

<sup>153</sup> X. F. M. G. Wolters, *Notes on Antique Folklore on the Basis of Pliny's Natural History L. XXVIII. 22–29* (Amsterdam, 1935), 102. Wolters cites Drechsler *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube* 2:15, a passage that describes how to avert the bad luck attendant on biting into a piece of bread already bitten.

<sup>154</sup> Wolter, *Notes on Antique Folklore*, 102. Drechsler also reports the spoon custom (*Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube* 2:12).

<sup>155</sup> Puckett Collection, no. 3294 (this respondent was from Cleveland, Ohio, 1956).

<sup>156</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 28.5.27 (ed. Mayhoff, 4:284–85). This passage is difficult and perhaps corrupt; I have followed the emendation and interpretation suggested by Wolters, *Notes on Antique Folklore*, 96–102.



English, and in so doing at least a footnote to the histories of liturgy and folklore.<sup>157</sup>

*Middle English Dictionary, University of Michigan.*

<sup>157</sup> This paper made its first appearance in an Old English seminar conducted by Thomas D. Hill, to whose suggestions, here gratefully acknowledged, it owes its inception.

## ENVISIONING THE *CENOBIIUM* IN THE OLD ENGLISH *GUTHLACA*

*Christopher A. Jones*

IN an illuminating discussion of Bede's ideal of church reform, Alan Thacker has drawn attention to the ways in which the Latin Lives of St. Cuthbert reflect differing views of ecclesiastical structure and discipline. The anonymous *Vita*, written at Lindisfarne ca. 700, depicts a Cuthbert very much at home in the Irish monastic traditions of *peregrinatio* and *anachoresis*. Bede's reworking of this material for his own prose *Vita*, however, serves up a Cuthbert more agreeable to Romanized tastes, especially in the saint's reconciliation of his pastoral duties with the *vita regularis*.<sup>1</sup> In a more recent study of Bede's Cuthbert, Clare Stancliffe explores this revisionist tendency, citing as one example the way in which the Lives variously represent the saint's departure from Melrose in 664. Where the earlier Lindisfarne *Vita* relates that Cuthbert "secularem gloriam fugiens clam et occulte abscedens enauigauit,"<sup>2</sup> Bede reports that the saint's departure from Melrose was at Abbot Eata's order and was, in effect, a canonically valid transfer to Lindisfarne.<sup>3</sup> Stancliffe analyzes the difference between the accounts:

[Bede] was inclined to pass over such doings of churchmen as set unfortunate examples. From this viewpoint it would not do to show the prior of Melrose, who was probably in charge of that monastery on a day-to-day basis, slipping away in pursuit of the eremitical life.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alan Thacker, "Bede's Ideal of Reform," in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. Patrick Wormald et al. (Oxford, 1983), 140.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita sancti Cuthberti auctore anonymo* 3.1 (ed. Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life* [Cambridge, 1940], 94).

<sup>3</sup> Bede, *Vita sancti Cuthberti* 16 (ed. Colgrave, *ibid.*, 206): "Cum ergo uenerabilis Domini famulus multos in Mailrosensi monasterio degens annos, multis uirtutum spiritualium claresceret signis, transtulit eum reuerentissimus abbas ipsius Eata in monasterium quod in Lindisfarnensium insula situm est, ut ibi quoque regulam monachicae perfectionis et praepositi auctoritate doceret, et exemplo uirtutis ostenderet."

<sup>4</sup> Clare Stancliffe, "Cuthbert and the Polarity between Pastor and Solitary," in *St. Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, ed. Gerald Bonner et al. (Woodbridge, 1989), 32–33. See also Thacker, "Bede's Ideal," 140.

The clear case of Bede's revisionism not only reveals much about the uses of the Cuthbert legend in the forty years after the saint's death in 687 but also emphasizes the need to examine more carefully Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards eremitism in the centuries after Whitby and the decline of Irish influences in the northern church.<sup>5</sup>

An interesting case for comparison with Bede's Cuthbert is that of the Mercian hermit, Guthlac (d. 714), as he is represented in the Old English poem which modern editors have dubbed *Guthlac A*.<sup>6</sup> Because the exact relationship between the *A*-poem and Felix's Latin *Vita Guthlaci* remains disputed, we are not on such firm ground here as when weighing Bede's treatment of his known source. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the *A*-poet knew, if not Felix's work, then at least the outlines of Guthlac's life much as Felix represents it.<sup>7</sup> This study will show that, just as Bede's prose *Vita Cuthberti* enlists its hero in the expression of an ecclesiastical ideal, so *Guthlac A* evidences a deliberate, sustained effort to dissolve the tension between two very different understandings of sanctity, and to claim the glory of the desert for a more conventional, accessible form of the monastic life: the *vita communis*, or *cenobium*.

Even though the aims and methods of the *Guthlac A*-poet are not exactly identical to Bede's, an analysis of the poem's "cenobitizing" tendencies might profitably begin with the episode which, in its implications, recalls Cuthbert's departure from Melrose. Felix recounts how, after a violent, adventurous youth, the aristocratic Guthlac embraced Christianity

<sup>5</sup> An essay on this subject by Mary Clayton, "Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England," is to be published in *Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contexts* (Albany, forthcoming).

<sup>6</sup> I am following the virtual consensus among recent editors that fols. 32v–52v of the Exeter Book preserve a single poem, complete except for the loss of a folio between 37v and 38r. A review of the editorial controversies surrounding the poem lies outside the scope of this essay, but for summaries see George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, eds., *The Exeter Book*, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 3 (New York, 1936), pp. xxx–xxxiii, and Jane Roberts's introduction to her new edition of the poem in *The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book* (Oxford, 1979), 15–19. A single, unified poem of 818 lines, including the prologue and epilogue, was finally vindicated in two pivotal essays by Laurence K. Shook, "The Burial Mound in *Guthlac A*," *Modern Philology* 58 (1960): 1–10, and "The Prologue of the Old-English 'Guthlac A,'" *Mediaeval Studies* 23 (1961): 294–304.

<sup>7</sup> On the source debate, see the discussion, notes, and bibliography in Roberts's edition, *Guthlac Poems*, 19–23, and her follow-up article, "*Guthlac A*: Sources and Source Hunting," in *Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane*, ed. Edward Donald Kennedy et al. (Woodbridge, 1988), 1–18. Cynthia E. Cornell, in her "Sources of the Old English Guthlac Poems" (Diss., Univ. of Missouri-Columbia, 1977), offers a more nuanced though still not wholly convincing argument for the poet's use of Felix. For now it seems safest to embrace Roberts's conservative view that, if the *A*-poet knew Felix's *Vita*, he drew upon it only in so general a way as to make us question the fitness of the term "source" to describe the relationship.

and entered the monastery of Repton, where he received the Petrine tonsure and submitted himself to the regular life.<sup>8</sup> After only two years in the monastery, he departed, with the community's blessing, to become a hermit in the dismal fens that separated the kingdoms of Mercia and East Anglia. Turning to the Old English poem, however, we read of no such period of testing in any monastery before the young *miles Christi* departs for the fens. In marked contrast to Felix's narrative, *Guthlac A* collapses into a single event the Latin *Vita*'s three-stage conversion to the Christian, the cenobitic, and finally the eremitic life:

... Guðlac his in godes willan  
 mod gerehte, man eall forseah,  
 eorðlic æþelu, upp gemunde  
 ham in heofonum. Him wæs hyht to þam,  
 sippan hine inlyhte se þe lifes weg  
 gæstum gearwað, ond him giefte sealde  
 engelcunde, þæt he ana ongan  
 beorgseþel bugan, ond his blæd gode  
 þurh eaðmedu ealne gesealde,  
 ðone þe he on geoguðe bigan sceolde  
 worulde wynnum (95a–105a).<sup>9</sup>

At first glance, this telescoping of events and omission of all references to Guthlac's novitiate at Repton seem to run counter to the reformist emphases revealed in Bede's appropriation of Cuthbert. If the *A*-poet is concerned to bring about an analogous transformation of Guthlac, why would he omit details (presuming he knew them) which Felix provides for the express purpose of legitimizing Guthlac's *anachoresis*, viz., the novitiate at Repton, the Petrine tonsure, and the receipt of his superiors' blessing?

To answer this question we must reexamine certain details of *Guthlac A* with an eye to the context in which the poet understands and, accordingly, represents Guthlac's vocation. While the poet might share Bede's ambivalence towards the eremitic life—a sincere admiration of its holiness, mixed with a suspicion of its remoteness from the doctrinal and disciplinary authority of the church—he cannot, as Bede does, simply diminish the role of saintly *anachoresis*; to do so would make for a very short poem indeed. Cuthbert, after all, went on to become Bishop of Lindisfarne, so Bede has only to emphasize those aspects of Cuthbert's career that high-

<sup>8</sup> *Vita sancti Guthlaci* 20–23 (ed. Bertram Colgrave, *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac* [Cambridge, 1956], 84/86).

<sup>9</sup> All quotations from the poem are taken from the edition of Krapp and Dobbie, *Exeter Book*, 49–72.

light his own vision of the church, while suppressing the Irish-influenced, eremitic sympathies of his source, the anonymous *Vita*:

Not surprisingly Bede omits Cuthbert's anachoresis [from Melrose] and all negative phraseology about pastoral care and the episcopacy, emphasizing instead Cuthbert's obedience to his abbot [and emphasizing] that the solitary life was not necessarily superior to the cenobitic. . . .<sup>10</sup>

The *A*-poet faces a more difficult task; the essence of the historical Guthlac's sanctity was his withdrawal from the world, and the novitiate at Repton was but a stepping stone to something loftier. Ironically, then, Repton's absence from *Guthlac A* may be seen as a reflection of the poet's desire not to relegate the *cenobium* to this ancillary role. Because the *Guthlac A*-poet cannot, by the very nature of his subject, afford to sidestep Guthlac's eremitism, he must somehow transform it, endow it, however subtly, with qualities of the regular life, with the images and vocabulary of the *cenobium*. His sustained efforts to do so provide the broader context in which the poem's description of Guthlac's conversion and the conspicuous absence of Repton can be appreciated. Before returning to this puzzling detail—or rather lack of detail—we must examine all those features of the poem which justify our speaking of a “cenobitizing” tendency in the first place. In the course of this investigation, explanations will present themselves not only for the absence of Repton, but for several other peculiar features of the poem's structure and emphases.

Until quite recently, critics have tended to accept the content of *Guthlac A* at face value, namely, as the depiction of a hermit, solidly in the tradition of Athanasius's Life of St. Antony—even though the poem, admittedly, lacks the “psychological” or human dimension so admired in the enormously influential account of the great desert saint.<sup>11</sup> To be sure, many have taken the quite natural step from Guthlac the Antonian figure to generalizations about the poem's “monastic” ethos, most often with regard to its authorship and intended audience.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, even the

<sup>10</sup> Stancliffe, “Cuthbert,” 40.

<sup>11</sup> See Benjamin P. Kurtz, “From St. Antony to St. Guthlac: A Study in Biography,” *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 12 (1925–26): 103–46. Daniel G. Calder, however, asserts that *Guthlac A* does, in its own way, endow the hero's struggles with psychological significance; “*Guthlac A* and *Guthlac B*: Some Discriminations,” in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation for John C. McGalliard*, ed. Lewis E. Nicholson and Dolores Warwick Frese (Notre Dame, 1975), 65–80.

<sup>12</sup> The unspecified “monasticism” of the poem has become a largely unexamined commonplace. See, for example, Alexandra Hennessey Olsen, *Guthlac of Croyland: A Study of Heroic Hagiography* (Washington, D.C., 1981), 20–21, 26; Thomas D. Hill, “The Middle Way: *Idel-Wuldor* and *Egesa* in the Old English *Guthlac A*,” *The Review of English Studies*, n.s., 30 (1979): 182–87; Paul F. Reichardt, “*Guthlac A* and the Landscape of Spiritual Perfection,”

best criticism has used the term “monastic” so loosely as to mean almost anything. Monastic virtues are, the reasoning seems to go, monastic virtues, and what is good for the hermit is good for cenobite, at least in the sort of vague, didactic literature to which *Guthlac A* is so often likened. But apart from being a typical *miles Christi* or example of ascetic piety—roles which many a saint could, by definition, play—what would the Guthlac of the *A*-poem represent to an Anglo-Saxon audience? What meanings would a depiction of the eremitic life hold after the time of Bede,<sup>13</sup> in an era when the customs of Irish monasticism were losing a slow war of attrition or even being forcefully suppressed? With this historical background in mind, one begins to suspect that the “Antoninian” aspect of the poem is not likely to be the simple and uniform thing so often taken for granted. The gravitational pull of Felix’s early *Vita* and its literary models has confined our understanding of *Guthlac A* to rather too close an orbit, even though evidence for the *Vita* as a direct source is equivocal. It seems far more likely that, in order to find a context for the poet’s language and themes, we must look not backwards to the spirit of sixth- and seventh-century Irish asceticism, but rather to the flowering of Anglo-Saxon “Benedictine” monasteries (*cenobia*) in the eighth century and especially in the tenth. The implications of the tenth-century “Benedictine” reform for our understanding of the poem and its origins have proven especially compelling in light of Patrick W. Conner’s extensive studies of the Exeter Book and his recent publication of an article devoted to the very issue of the monastic element in *Guthlac A*.<sup>14</sup> Conner’s work has now opened the way for a more detailed reading of the poem with an eye to its informing ideology. A great deal still remains to be said about the

*Neophilologus* 58 (1974): 331–38; Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, 145 (n. to lines 412 ff.); Theodor Wolpers, *Die englische Heiligenlegende des Mittelalters*, Buchreihe der Anglia 10 (Tübingen, 1964), 115; see also the works by Patrick Conner cited in n. 14 below.

<sup>13</sup> According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Guthlac died in 714. Felix’s *Vita* probably belongs to the period shortly thereafter. The Old English *A*-poem could not antedate Felix by much, and probably followed later—some argue much later—as the saint’s cult achieved widespread popularity.

<sup>14</sup> Relevant works by Patrick W. Conner are “A Contextual Study of the Old English Exeter Book” (Diss., Univ. of Maryland, 1975); *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 4 (Woodbridge, 1993); and especially “Source Studies, the Old English *Guthlac A* and the English Benedictine Reformation,” *Revue bénédictine* 103 (1993): 380–413. Neither of the latter two works had yet appeared when I completed the original version of this study. Although I have revised some particulars of my argument to take account of Conner’s recent contributions and, when significant, to acknowledge where our views intersect or part ways, our respective approaches to *Guthlac A* overlap only in their general concerns, not in their methods or the details of their readings.

way in which this "Benedictine" ethos manifests itself both in the poem's overarching themes and in details of its language and structure.

The much-banded terms "monastic" and "Benedictine" could mean quite different things in reference to different places and periods in Anglo-Saxon England, and the use of these terms requires greater precision and historical sensitivity than has generally been the norm. Accordingly, one critic's notion of what are "monastic" qualities in the poem may differ markedly from others'. I propose first to review some past discussions of the poem's allegedly monastic elements, and then to reconsider the poet's language in order to show how the cenobitic associations of certain words actually distance the poem from the Antonian tradition. Finally, I will consider some ways in which the monastic spirituality of *Guthlac A* belongs more properly to the *cenobium* than to the hermitage. Far from being extraneous, these elements all touch upon the essence of the poem and, if I am correct, suggest a more immediate significance for the self-consciously communal narrative voice, to which the first-person plural asides call our frequent attention.<sup>15</sup> As Conner has astutely recognized, the monastic element, rightly understood, provides a key link between the poem's themes and the reforming ideals of those responsible for its being copied ca. 970 for inclusion in the Exeter Book.<sup>16</sup> My reading of the poem, it is hoped, will strengthen and advance Conner's in a number of specific ways and, moreover, sharpen our awareness that the monastic element in *Guthlac A* is of a very particular sort, with crucial implications for the poet's narrative method and ideological emphases.

Independently of Conner's work, several analyses have very nearly identified the distinction between the poem's ostensible subject (the hermit) and its overlying ethos (the cloister) without defining precisely the terms of this coexistence. Thomas D. Hill has pointed out, for example, that the extremes of vainglory and despair, the common monastic sins, pro-

<sup>15</sup> E.g., lines 32 ff., 49, 93, 108, 182, 401, 526 ff., 750 ff. It is not necessary to take these references literally, much less to enter the fray of the "oral sources" debate. As appeals to authority and reminders of the larger communion of saints, living and dead, their rhetorical power does not depend on a literal interpretation. Conner rightly disregards the value of such references as evidence for an early dating of the poem, and offers a satisfying alternative reading; see his "Source Studies," 386–88.

<sup>16</sup> Conner, "Source Studies," 383, 407–10. In his recent book, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, Conner adduces codicological evidence that the Exeter Book is made up of three independent "booklets" probably written within the period 950–70; for his summary of paleographical features indicative of date, see pp. 76–77. In particular, Conner argues that Booklet I, containing *Christ I–III* and *Guthlac A* and *B*, was written last (i.e., closest to 970) and that its contents reflect a marked shift in literary taste that accompanied the mid-century monastic reform movement; see pp. 148–50, 162–64.

vide a framework for the major temptation scenes in *Guthlac A*.<sup>17</sup> The “middle way” of virtue passes between these extremes and is essential for perseverance in the monastic state; this moral lesson applies equally to hermits and cenobites. Other critics have studied the poem’s monastic qualities in terms of literary motifs. Paul F. Reichardt, arguing that the *beorg* represents the “mountain” of spiritual perfection, locates the poem in the ascetic tradition of Cassian’s *Conferences*. But Reichardt also asserts that Guthlac’s achievements are meant to inspire a wider audience than a select few spiritual athletes. He reads the poem’s conclusion (796a–816a) as a general call to sanctity, not just to the monastic life:

These lines strongly imply that the inward struggle of asceticism and the devotion it requires have their reward, whatever the level on which that struggle is conducted and that devotion practiced. In general outline, such an implicit statement probably represents what the acts of Guthlac would “mean” to an Anglo-Saxon monastic audience. . . .<sup>18</sup>

The underlying assumption appears to be that the saint’s relevance to a larger audience depends on a symbolic or psychological (“inward”) interpretation of the struggle, not on a literal imitation of the saint’s life. Reichardt’s assertion that the *Conferences* “would have been well known to an Anglo-Saxon monastic writing in the eighth or ninth century” is not well supported by manuscript evidence.<sup>19</sup> In passing, however, he does note that the *Conferences* are mentioned and endorsed in the last chapter of Benedict’s Rule,<sup>20</sup> and although Reichardt does not pursue the idea, the influence of the Rule’s brand of monasticism on *Guthlac A* is far more plausible than that of the lesser-known *Conferences*. Cassian writes for and about the spiritually advanced, while Benedict’s Rule intends something much less ambitious: “Constituenda est ergo nobis dominici schola seruitii. In qua institutione nihil asperum, nihil graue nos constituturos spera-

<sup>17</sup> Hill, “The Middle Way,” 184–85.

<sup>18</sup> Reichardt, “*Guthlac A*,” 337–38 (quotation from 338).

<sup>19</sup> For Reichardt’s statement, see *ibid.*, 338 n. 6. For manuscript evidence, see Helmut Gneuss, “A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 9 (1981): 1–60 at item 152; and Michael Lapidge, “Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England,” in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), 79–80.

<sup>20</sup> Reichardt, “*Guthlac A*,” 338 n. 6. See *Benedicti Regula* 73.5 (ed. R. Hanslik, 2d ed., CSEL 75 [Vienna, 1977], 180). Note, however, that Benedict’s reference is vague (“collationes patrum”), and could be lost even on the learned. Nothing in Æthelwold’s translation of the Rule, for instance, suggests an awareness of the title of Cassian’s work; see Arnold Schröer, ed., *Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerregel*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 2 (Kassel, 1885–88; rpt. Darmstadt, 1964), 133, lines 7–8.



mus.”<sup>21</sup> Again we see the importance of a “middle way,” weaving between the blandishments of the world and the pitfalls of undisciplined enthusiasm.

Even among the few critics who have ventured, like Conner, to suggest a “Benedictine”<sup>22</sup> context for *Guthlac A*, the trail was never pursued very far or argued very convincingly. In her book on the Guthlac legend, Alexandra Hennessey Olsen approaches the subject, but limits herself to only one concrete example:

[The poem] has been influenced by the most important of early monastic texts: St. Benedict’s *Regula Monachorum*. *Guthlac A* is not concerned with the everyday details of monastic life, and, because it describes none of the details of Guthlac’s eremitical routine, it contains no passages which correspond to those which in the *Regula* describe the governance of a monastery. Instead, it follows those passages which present the purpose and psychological underpinnings of monasticism. For example, the very beginning of the *Regula* is an invitation to the reader to become a soldier for Christ.<sup>23</sup>

Unfortunately, Olsen (or her source) has chosen a weak example, since the *miles Christi* motif flows into Old English literature from any number of directions. Even so, she is right to make the larger connection, and even her equivocal example may yet be instructive. After all, the eremitic and cenobitic traditions both employ this motif, but with different emphases and, ultimately, to different purposes. The former might promote the dramatic bravery and glory of single combat, while the latter emphasized

<sup>21</sup> *Benedicti Regula*, prol. 45–46 (ed. Hanslik, 9).

<sup>22</sup> This common term is, strictly speaking, inaccurately used of monastic foundations before the rise of the religious “orders” in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Until ca. 1100, the term “monastic” should denote all cenobitic foundations, in which Benedict’s Rule, as is now recognized, competed with a number of others. See Sarah Foot, “What Was an Early Anglo-Saxon Monastery?” in *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition*, ed. Judith Loades (Bangor, 1990), 48–57; Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3d ed. (University Park, Pa., 1991), 154.

The textual history of Benedict’s Rule in England has generally supposed that a copy accompanied Augustine on the first mission, and was used in the foundation of a “Benedictine” community at Canterbury, while the later introduction of the Rule to the North is attributed to Wilfrid. See Bertram Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927), 161; cf. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary* (Oxford, 1988), 217. The transmission of the Rule-text in England and the relationship of the extant manuscripts is thoroughly discussed by Mechthild Gretsch, *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti in England und ihre altenglische Übersetzung*. Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie 2 (Munich, 1973), chaps. 2–3.

<sup>23</sup> Olsen, *Guthlac of Croyland*, 53. She appears to base this discussion on two works cited in her notes, one of which, Thomas R. Post’s “The Benedictine Influence on *Guthlac A*,” is an unpublished paper; the other is Zacharias P. Thundyl’s *Covenant in Anglo-Saxon Thought* (Madras, 1972).

the discipline and security of fighting, as it were, “in formation.” A *miles Christi* under Benedictine observance must embrace the discipline of the Roman legions—a significant contrast to the looser organization of early Irish monasticism and the ideal of solitary heroism.<sup>24</sup>

But there are, needless to say, many other aspects of Benedictine monasticism besides this common motif. Conner’s concern with this aspect of the poem can be traced back to a few brief remarks in his 1975 dissertation, where he links *Guthlac A* (and, indeed, the entire Exeter Book) to the era of Anglo-Saxon monastic reform led by Dunstan, first as abbot of Glastonbury (from ca. 940) and later as archbishop of Canterbury (960–88).<sup>25</sup> Given the much broader concerns of his dissertation, there Conner can only cite a few specific instances from the poem in support of his assertion. He suggests, for example, that lines 60–80 (the prologue’s admonition that holy works, contempt for earthly riches, and a longing for heaven are the marks of true sanctity) constitute “a description of monastic life as Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald intended it to be lived in the tenth century,” with vague allusions to the “monastic vow of poverty” and the “regular life of the monastery.”<sup>26</sup> In all, he confines his reading of “Benedictine” elements to the prologue, the epilogue, and lines 412–20, the episode in which the saint is shown the “rume regulas” (489) of a corrupt minster.<sup>27</sup> Most importantly, Conner’s dissertation at last offered criticism of *Guthlac A* a chance to break free of its earlier preoccupations (the his-

<sup>24</sup> I use the term “Irish monasticism” advisedly, fully aware that it encompasses a great diversity of practices, the austerity of which should not be categorically presumed. Irish monasteries, patterned largely after Eastern models, exhibited a type of communal life, but one less strictly defined than that of the Benedictine tradition. See Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 79–82.

<sup>25</sup> Conner, “Contextual Study,” 48–49.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. 163–69. Conner’s reading of the corrupt-minster scene as a “cultural statement” of “tenth-century pride, or even chauvinism” (p. 167), and his interpretation that “the notion of youth in this speech [at line 419] is better applied to a tenth-century concept of the earlier monasticism as an immature institution” (p. 168), invites criticism. On the contrary, there is strong evidence that the reformers saw themselves as trying to restore English monasticism’s golden age, as it was in the time of Benedict Biscop and Bede. See, for example, Patrick Wormald, “Æthelwold and His Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast,” in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), 40–41, and, in the same volume, Alan Thacker, “Æthelwold and Abingdon,” 57; also David N. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar* (Woodbridge, 1992), 193. Notably, when Conner discusses the same passage in his recent article (“Source Studies,” 405–7), he appears to have dropped this earlier interpretation in favor of a more convincing and historically plausible one: the episode, he now claims, illustrates the inadequacy of unreformed monasteries, wherein “þæs ealdres egsa ne styreð” (line 420). Prior to the tenth-century reform, in other words, abbots often lacked the financial and political independence necessary to exercise fully the authority of their office.

torical saint, Felix's *Vita*, etc.) and move to more fertile soil—i.e., the historical and intellectual context in which the only extant copy of the poem was written and, presumably, read.

With the publication of his 1993 article and deeper exploration of these issues, the ideas first expressed in Conner's dissertation have come to their fruition. Although direct verbal parallels ("sources" in the traditional sense) are largely wanting, he now argues, the poem undeniably shares a common store of ideas and images—a "sign system"—with an identifiable "community of texts"<sup>28</sup> at the very core of tenth-century reform. Conner would include in this "community" the Rule of Benedict as well as Smaragdus of St. Mihiel's *Expositio in regulam sancti Benedicti*.<sup>29</sup> The Rule in particular, he claims, "permeates the poem's diction and imagery the way Petrarch's diction and imagery permeate the Elizabethan sonnet even when an English renaissance poet is attempting an original composition and not an imitation or translation."<sup>30</sup> In a close reading of the first ninety-two lines of the poem, as well as lines 412–20 (the vision of the corrupt minster), Conner points to a number of thematically related passages in the poem, the Rule and Smaragdus's commentary. As convincing as some of the parallels are, however, many remain vague or contingent upon a particular interpretation of the Old English.<sup>31</sup> More importantly, Conner's interpretation is still fundamentally a literal one, and he therefore restricts his reading to those portions of the poem (esp. lines 1–92 and 412–20) that state or imply a distinction between the kind of monk Guthlac was and the kind of monk, presumably, the author and his audience would have been. From this reading it follows that, however much the thought and language of the Rule might inform the poem, the cenobitic life as such remains a peripheral concern for the poet, who mentions it only as a kind of foil to his real interest. In Conner's own words, "The reader or auditor

<sup>28</sup> Conner, "Source Studies," 382–85.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 384–85.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 389.

<sup>31</sup> Particular strengths are (1) his revised interpretation of the corrupt-minster scene at lines 412 ff. (see n. 27 above) and (2) his discussion of line 58, "He fela findeð, fea beoð gecorene," the poem's echo of Mt 20:16—a verse quoted in Smaragdus's commentary, but not in the Rule itself ("Source Studies," 393–94). On the other hand, Conner's attempts (pp. 398–400), for example, to link the function of angels in the poem, as well as the motif of the ascending soul, to portions of chap. 7 of the Rule (Benedict's *gradus humilitatis*) ignore some fundamental differences: the Rule intends a mystical/moral union with the God during this present life, while the poem's opening scene refers to the journey of a blessed soul after death; as for the angels, Benedict's brief mention of them in the Rule (7.6 and 7.13) casts them in the role of—to put it crudely—supernatural spies, whose job it is to tattle on sinners; this notion is a far cry from the poem's angels (including St. Bartholomew), who intercede for men as their advocates and fight beside them as comrades-in-arms.

is reminded of the nature of the monk's sacrifices in order to understand better the much more trying sacrifices of the hermit."<sup>32</sup> For all the strengths of that reading, the larger relevance of Guthlac's brand of sanctity to the *cenobium* remains unaddressed; as a celebration of Benedict's monastic ideal, *Guthlac A* is in fact more vivid in its language, more systematic in its plan, and more unified in its theme than even Conner has surmised.

I would suggest, then, that a reading of the cenobitic elements in the poem should extend beyond previously set boundaries to encompass the poet's whole treatment of Guthlac himself—his *anachoresis*, his temptations, and his ultimate victory. Nor should we limit our consideration of "sources" to such monumental Latin texts as Benedict's Rule or Smaragdus's commentary; monasticism of the tenth or any century was a complex phenomenon, fed from many springs and prompting many responses. We should not expect references to the day-to-day monastic "routine" or "governance"—references which Olsen noted as missing. The poem has, after all, introduced Guthlac as a hermit, a single example from one of the "monge . . . hadas under heofonum" (30, 31); historical accuracy (repeatedly asserted by the poet himself, e.g. 748 ff.) and artistic decorum forbid the wholesale recasting of the saint into some other *had*. The poem's task, rather, is to claim Guthlac, by subtle yet decisive means, for the cenobitic tradition generally and, quite plausibly, for one specific community—the poet's own house, perhaps. This theory explains much about the poet's method, especially his avoidance of the kind of detail to which Olsen refers. Frances R. Lipp, like Olsen and Reichardt, sees in the poet's aversion to narrative or historical detail an attempt to make the ascetic's life into an accessible model, not just for every other kind of monk, but for Christians of every *had*.<sup>33</sup> The context of ever-narrowing focus established at the poem's beginning (*monge* to *sume* to *sum*) clearly does work in two directions at once, and Lipp argues that this structure bridges the gap between the saint's austere holiness and a "popular audience." This assumption of a "popular audience," however, is unwarranted, especially since the poet often uses *had* in the more limited sense of "ecclesiastical rank" (*gradus*).<sup>34</sup> Lipp correctly identifies the poem's generalizing ten-

<sup>32</sup> Conner, "Contextual Study," 166.

<sup>33</sup> Frances Randall Lipp, "*Guthlac A*: An Interpretation," *Mediaeval Studies* 33 (1971): 46–62.

<sup>34</sup> Conner ("Source Studies," 389–91) interprets *hadas* in the context of Benedict's chapter on the different types of monks (chap. 1, *De generibus monachorum*), and explains the qualifying *monge* by appeal to Smaragdus's comment that, in apostolic times, there were, in essence, "many" types of monks, since all believers practiced a kind of life now to be found only in monasteries. I draw rather different conclusions from this part of the poem and the Latin

dencies but misses the poet's likely reason for adopting this method. His avoidance of detail—his “relentlessly abstract manner”<sup>35</sup>—does lend itself to the purposes of universal moralizing; but it is also a self-conscious technique designed to give a monastic audience's imagination free rein. Such an audience, keenly aware of its own particular rank (*had*), would naturally tend to blur the theoretical distinctions between itself and its heroic *foregenga* (533). The monks hearing *Guthlac A* would not themselves have been hermits, nor would their *cenobium* have looked anything like the hero's literal *ham on heolstrum* (82); yet the poet's manipulation of words and images facilitates and, moreover, actively encourages an imaginative leap from the one milieu to the other. Here again Conner has come very close to the mark:

[Guthlac's] strength is magnified by the distance in time between himself and his idealizing biographer. His hermit's existence is strange and unusual, but as the epic hero shows the qualities which his later admirers think great in themselves, so Guthlac shows the desire for spiritual strength which in the tenth century led to monastic reform.<sup>36</sup>

The relationship between Guthlac and a cenobitic audience is, however, more complex than that of an abstract model to his distant, degenerate imitators. Behind the poem's depiction of eremitism there lies a concrete, historical tension between two quite different notions of sanctity. When, in the prologue, the poet begins his survey of the various *hadas* of the saints, he first asserts that these all have in common a devotion to God's commandments:

Monge sindon geond middangeard  
 hadas under heofonum, þa þe in haligra  
 rim arisað. We þæs ryht magun  
 æt æghwylcum anra gehyran,  
 gif we halig bebodu healdan willað (30–34).

I interpret this passage simply as the logical working-out of the implications of “spiritual martyrdom” and the idea of that class of saints, such as Guthlac, termed *confessores*. The monasticism of the desert, which is closely linked to this notion, flourished only when the era of persecution had come to an end, and, with it, the possibility of martyrdom. If, by physi-

sources Conner cites; see below, p. 271 and n. 37; also pp. 290–91 and nn. 91–93.

<sup>35</sup> Calder, “*Guthlac A* and *Guthlac B*,” 71; cf. Roberts, “Sources,” 10: “for the poet Guthlac is almost an abstraction. . . .”

<sup>36</sup> Conner, “Contextual Study,” 166–67.

cal and spiritual torment, Guthlac earns the martyr's crown (472, 514), may not the cenobite, by obedience, chastity, and stability, merit the same reward as a hermit or confessor? The allusion to the "many degrees under heaven" is more than a universalizing device, touching, as it does, the very difficult issue of spiritual merit and the possibility of moral "equivalence" among the various *hadas*. The Benedictine monk's faithfulness to his own monastic calling (*propositum*) equals participation in the "haligra rim" (31b–32a) of confessors and martyrs; a singleness of purpose underlies all grades of the religious life. This much the poet states explicitly, and it is precisely on this point that the art of *Guthlac A* mirrors its doctrine. For a cenobitic audience, the language of the poem and the images it suggests would have fostered an imaginative participation in or "belonging to" (*gehyran æt* [33]) a more exalted *munuchad*, as they envisioned the saint's solitary life in terms borrowed from their own communal one.<sup>37</sup>

I would like to focus first not on the hero's general virtues (for among these it is often difficult to distinguish the monastic from the merely Christian), but on his settlement of the *beorg* and founding there of a "haligne ham" (149). Purely symbolic interpretations of the *beorg* have eclipsed some of the poem's most peculiar language, namely, that which describes Guthlac's dwelling and his function as a builder, settler, founder, etc. Critics may complain about the poem's lack of detail, but I am convinced that these kinds of words would have suggested concrete images to a monastic audience. The language of settling, building, and dwelling would not only resonate richly with Scripture (e.g., Pss 83:1, 126:1; Mt 5:14, 7:24 ff.) but would call to mind the origins, actual or mythical, of a monastic audience's own *mynsterlif*. The evidence does not, of course, allow us to claim that *Guthlac A* is a historical poem about the establishment of an abbey at Croyland, or anywhere else. It does not, however, seem implausible that a poet desirous of appropriating the saint for his own tradition would leave room for his audience's imagination to endow Guthlac's simple hermitage with a sense of the *cenobium*'s physical scale and permanence. As the distinction between Guthlac's dwelling and their own is blurred, so in effect is the distinction between the callings of *anachoresis* and the common life.

Felix offers only passing references to buildings on the *tumulus*. In the *Vita* the most prominent feature of the saint's abode is the dried-out

<sup>37</sup> The key phrase *gehyran æt* poses difficulties. Conner ("Source Studies," 391) translates: "We are truly able *to serve* any one of that number (of the saints) if we will keep the holy commandments" (italics mine); I follow Roberts's gloss of *gehyran æt* + dat. as "[to] belong to" (*Guthlac Poems*, 205; cf. German *gehören* + *zu* or *dat.*).

hollow; the detail that Guthlac constructs a small hut above is told only parenthetically, in an ablative absolute: "in cuius [sc. tumuli] latere velut cisterna inesse videbatur; in qua vir beatae memoriae Guthlac desuper inposito tugurio habitare coepit."<sup>38</sup> Interestingly, in the Old English prose version of Felix's *Vita*, the translator's instinct seems more akin to that of the *A*-poet, for he chooses to amplify the idea of the building rather than the pit underneath: "On þam seape ufan se eadiga wer Guðlac him hus 7 eardungstowe getimbrode."<sup>39</sup> This reference to a cave-like dwelling may reflect historical fact, but probably owes something to literary models as well. Antony shut himself up in a tomb to do battle with his demons.<sup>40</sup> Embarking on his career as a monk, Benedict himself first sought out a remote cave in which to live as a hermit.<sup>41</sup> Bede, in likely deference to the Antonian tradition, recounts that Cuthbert actually dug out the floor of his dwelling, making a grave-like pit in which to fast and pray.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, Bede's prose and verse *Lives* of Cuthbert also make explicit mention of buildings erected by the saint on the isle of Farne; in fact, Bede introduces his description with a remarkable metaphor, one in many ways analogous to the striking characterization of Guthlac as a builder and his retreat as a solid edifice:

<sup>38</sup> *Vita sancti Guthlaci* 28 (ed. Colgrave, 94). Felix's account makes clear that there was also an oratory ("ecclesia," chap. 47, p. 144) and a "casula" for guests (chap. 52, p. 164); elsewhere, Felix refers to several buildings on the island ("omnesque domos," chap. 50, p. 160).

<sup>39</sup> D. G. Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, EETS 300 (Oxford, 1992), 383; but note that the complete Old English version (London, British Library Cotton Vesp. D.xxi) omits "7 eardungstowe." On the possibility of the Vercelli epitome's relationship to *Guthlac A*, see Connor, "Contextual Study," 161; Jane Roberts, "An Inventory of Early Guthlac Materials," *Mediaeval Studies* 32 (1970): 202–3; É. Ó Carragáin, "How Did the Vercelli Collector Interpret *The Dream of the Rood*?" in *Studies in English Language and Early Literature in Honour of Paul Christophersen*, ed. P. M. Tilling, Occasional Papers in Linguistics and Language Teaching 8 (Coleraine, 1981), 63–104 at 68–70, 75–77.

<sup>40</sup> Athanasius, *Life of Antony* 8.1–2 (ed. G. J. M. Bartelink, *Athanase d'Alexandrie: Vie d'Antoine*, Sources Chrétiennes 400 [Paris, 1994], 156).

<sup>41</sup> Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 2.1.4: "in arctissimo specu se tradidit" (ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Grégoire le Grand: Dialogues*, vol. 2, Sources Chrétiennes 260 [Paris, 1979], 132). Bishop Wærferth's Old English version translates "þæt nearweste scræf" (ed. Hans Hecht, *Bischof Wærferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 5 [Leipzig and Hamburg, 1900–1907; rpt. Darmstadt, 1965], 98). Ælfric's adaptation of the same text reads "on anum scræfe" (ed. Malcolm Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, EETS, s.s., 5 [Oxford, 1979], 93, line 40; see also p. 109, line 577).

<sup>42</sup> Bede, *Vita sancti Cuthberti* 17 (ed. Colgrave, 216): "Nam intrinsecus uiuam cedendo rupem, multo illum fecit altiore, quatinus ad cohibendam oculorum siue cogitationum lasciuam, ad erigendam in superna desideria totam mentis intentionem, pius incola nil de sua mansione praeter coelum posset intueri."

Qui uidelicet miles Christi ut deuicta tyrannorum acie monarcha terrae quam adierat factus est, condidit ciuitatem suo aptam imperio, et domos in hac aequae ciuitati congruas erexit (Prose *Vita*, chap. 17).<sup>43</sup>

Ille serena tenens, pereunte tyrannide, regna  
Terrestri aetheriam sacer aggere condidit urbem  
Atque humiles celsis statuit sub moenibus aedes  
(Verse *Vita*, lines 396–98).<sup>44</sup>

Bede draws upon the poetic language of Scripture (e.g., Ps 121:3; Mt 7:24), suggesting all at once the heavenly Jerusalem, the earthly fortress of the *ecclesia militans*, Cuthbert's role as a "monarcha" by virtue of his spiritual authority, and his powerful influence as a patron and friend to all monks. While nothing in *Guthlac A* corresponds specifically to the image of the monastic *urbs*, the Old English verses share Bede's taste for poetic rather than verisimilar depiction. Guthlac's epithet *bytla* (148, 733)—hardly warranted by Felix's meager *tugurium*—has less to do with actual huts or oratories in the fenland than with the iconographic tradition of the saint as a holy founder or *aedificator*. The poet urges his audience to visualize the *beorg* as a *cenobium* in microcosm, rather than the literal *seað* or *scræf* familiar from the Antonian tradition.

Some particular examples of the *aedificatio* theme as expressed in the poet's language must now be cited. Many of the Old English words used to describe Guthlac's building and settling are quite common in both prose and poetry, so an exhaustive comparison with their uses in other poems will not be possible here. Moreover, because most of these words occur frequently, they may assume different meanings, even within the context of a single poem. When different, their meanings in *Guthlac A* often illuminate each other or mark significant variations on a consistent theme. In the preceding discussion, for example, we have seen how the term *had* grants the audience a similar kind of eisegetic liberty. This same quality distinguishes a group of very common words which, whether or not they suggest the act of building, all pertain somehow to the saint's dwelling on the *beorg*. The most common of these is *ham*, which is used three times of anchorites' dwellings: "Sume þa wuniað on westennum, / secað ond gesittað sylfra willum / hamas on heolstrum" (81–83); "se [Guthlac] þær

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 214/216. It has been argued that the terms *ciuitas* and *urbs* had distinct associations for Bede and other early Anglo-Saxon authors; see J. Campbell, "Bede's Words for Places," in *Names, Words, and Graves: Early Medieval Settlement*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (Leeds, 1979), 34–43.

<sup>44</sup> Werner Jaeger, ed., *Bedas metrische Vita sancti Cuthberti*, Palaestra 198 (Leipzig, 1935), 87.



haligne ham arærde" (149); " 'Ðu þæt gehatest þæt ðu ham on us / gegan wille, ðe eart godes yrmīng' " (271–72). In counterbalance to these instances of the *beorg* as Guthlac's terrestrial home, *ham* may also denote heaven (e.g., 10, 69, 98, 654, 796), again calling to our attention the poem's monastic contempt for the world.<sup>45</sup> Once *ham* is used with reference to the demons' homelessness (222), and once of hell (677). I will return to the cenobitic implications of *ham* in its various uses later; at present, suffice it to note the similarity of the collocation *aræran haligne ham* to the very common Old English expression for establishing or building a *cenobium*: *aræran mynsterlif / munuclif*.<sup>46</sup>

Similar is the poet's treatment of the plain term *hus*, which on one occasion signifies the saint's dwelling (" 'Ic me anum her eaðe getimbre / hus ond hleonað' " [250–51]), on another the heavenly abode of the saints (802), and on two others the *atol hus* of hell (562, 677). In the first instance "hus ond hleonað" is probably just a poetic doublet and not a reference to two separate buildings (cf. the Vercelli prose version's "hus 7 eardungstowe"). The erection of buildings consolidates Guthlac's divinely granted possession of the land, and adds insult to the devils' injury. While not of the same order as Bede's metaphor for Farne, the poet has chosen words that could describe all sorts of dwellings, from Felix's *tugurium* to something much grander. That he never once employs the usual term for a monastic cell, *cyte*—which is found in the Old English prose version—further suggests that the poet himself imagines Guthlac's dwelling to be something greater, and would have his audience do the same.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> John Bugge, "The Virgin Phoenix," *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976): 333–34.

<sup>46</sup> The collocation is a favorite of Ælfric; see, for example, his homily on St. Benedict: "þæt he mid his munecum on his lande him munuclif aræran sceolde" (ed. Godden, 101, lines 302–3); "arærað þæt mynster swa swa ic eow on swefne dihte" (ibid., lines 322–23); similarly, the homilies on St. Gregory (ibid., 73, line 32), St. Maurus (ed. Walter W. Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, vol. 1, EETS, o.s., 76 and 82 [Oxford, 1881 and 1885; rpt. as one vol., 1966], 154, lines 118, 127; p. 156, lines 145–46, 158), and St. Martin (ed. Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, vol. 2, EETS, o.s., 94 and 114 [Oxford, 1890 and 1900; rpt. as one vol., 1966], 232, line 205; p. 246, lines 424–25).

Furthermore, near one of these instances (St. Maurus, lines 119–21) the term *hamas* is used to describe monastic foundations under a bishop's personal care. There seems to be a similar usage in King Alfred's Laws, § 21; see D. Whitelock et al., eds., *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Oxford, 1981), 29–30 and 30 n. 1. See also the citations s.v. *mynsterham* in Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898).

<sup>47</sup> In prose *cyte* and *cote* are used only for buildings of the humbler sort; see Harry Jacobs, *Die Namen der profanen Wohn- und Wirtschaftsgebäude und Gebäudeteile im Altenglischen: Eine kulturgeschichtliche u. etymologische Untersuchung* (Diss., Kiel, 1911), 26, 75–77. In poetry *cyte* occurs only in the *Paris Psalter* (Ps 78:2).

The verb *getimbrian* denotes construction of every sort, and shows no particular association with the building of minsters. Still, the verb advances the theme of Guthlac as a holy *aedificator*, both literally and spiritually; the verb occurs again near the poem's end, where it describes the "building up" of divine grace in the Christian heart (769–71). The kindred noun *getimbru* appears twice and refers to the heavenly city (18, 584). Also, when Guthlac recalls his vision of the unworthy *mynstermenn*, he says to the demons,

ne ge þæt gepyldum    þicgan woldan,  
ac mec yrringa    up gelæddon,  
þæt ic of lyfte    londa getimbru  
geseon meahte (483a–486a).

While it is natural to compare this episode to Jesus' third temptation in the desert,<sup>48</sup> during the actual event (412–20) it is never implied that Guthlac, despite his lofty vantage point, was shown (as Jesus was) "all the kingdoms of the earth, and their glory," but only the corrupt monasteries:

Hy hine þa hofun    on þa hean lyft,  
sealdon him meahte    ofer monna cynn,  
þæt he fore eagum    eall sceawode  
under haligra    hyrda gewældum  
in mynsterum    monna gebæru (412–16).

Therefore when Guthlac later refers to all of the "londa getimbru" (485) he saw during this temptation, he probably means the monasteries and not "buildings" in general.

Turning to the words *bold* and *botl* we find that they, like *ham*, can denote either the hermit's dwelling or heaven. In prose *bold* and *botl* are weightier than the comparatively abstract *hus* or *getimbru* and may, without any qualifying adjective, denote a building of some size or importance.<sup>49</sup> *Bold* and *botl* almost certainly retain, and possibly even augment, their connotations of magnificence and *gravitas* in *Guthlac A*.<sup>50</sup> Twice

<sup>48</sup> Mt 4:8 ("Iterum assumpsit eum diabolus in montem excelsum valde: et ostendit ei omnia regna mundi, et gloriam eorum").

<sup>49</sup> See T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Supplement* (Oxford, 1921), s.v. *botl* (II); also *Dictionary of Old English: B*, ed. Ashley Crandell Amos et al. (Toronto, 1991), s.v. *botl*, *bold*, sense 2; cf. *gebytlū*, "complex of buildings"; Jacobs lists *botl* and *bold* among terms for "das vorzüglichste Gebäude der ae. hofanlage," i.e., the hall (*Die Namen*, 26).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *Christ and Satan* 138, 686; *Beowulf* 997 (of Heorot), 2196, 2326; *Christ* 742; *Fates of the Apostles* 117. I find no instances in Old English poetry where *bold/botl* are used of mean or insignificant structures; on the poetic meaning of *bold/botl*, see Campbell, "Bede's Words for Places," 48–49 n. 19.

these terms refer to heaven (84, 383), and twice to the saint's dwelling: "þæt him leofedan londes wynne, / bold on beorhge" (139a–140a); "He wæs on elne ond on eaðmedum, / bad on beorge, (wæs him botles neod)" (328–29). I disagree with Laurence Shook and others who, translating line 329b as "he wanted a dwelling," conclude that, despite previous hints to the contrary, Guthlac has not yet built anything.<sup>51</sup> Here the meaning of *neod* is probably "eagerness, strong desire," even "zeal," rather than "want" or "necessity" (OE *nēad*).<sup>52</sup> By this reading, Krapp and Dobbie's parentheses are unnecessary, for the b-verse—"he eagerly desired" or "longed for the/his dwelling"—simply elaborates how the saint "bad on beorge." Against Shook's broader reading, the image of the *botl* contributes just as much to these lines as that of the *beorg*. Here Guthlac's zeal for his *botl* finds literal expression and offers a clue to one of the poem's major themes, to be discussed below. Together with *bold* and *botl* I group the agent noun *bytla*, which occurs twice in *Guthlac A*, and once in *The Gifts of Men* (as *bylda*, 75a), but is otherwise unattested in Old English poetry.<sup>53</sup> The first use of this unusual epithet precedes the *halig ham* collocation already cited:

Wæs seo londes stow  
bimipen fore monnum, oþþæt meotud onwrað  
beorg on bearwe, þa se bytla cwom  
se þær haligne ham arærde (146b–149b).

A single use of this epithet would be striking enough, but it appears a second time at the very climax of the narrative, Guthlac's victorious return from the gates of hell: "Sigehreðig cwom / bytla to þam beorge" (732b–733a). Unlike the first instance, where the context of "rearing a holy home" naturally suggests the "builder"-word, here its use is quite unexpected, since *bytla* would not normally be paired with an adjectival compound like "exultant in victory" (unless, perhaps, the noun retains some

<sup>51</sup> Shook, "Burial Mound," 7: "This statement [i.e., lines 250–52], along with a later one: 'He remained on the barrow, he wanted a dwelling,' makes it fairly clear that Guthlac lived for some time in the *tumulus* itself before putting up any shelter." The translation "he wanted a dwelling" is ambiguous; Shook seems to take "neod" as "need" (OE *nēad*)—hence, "he wanted (i.e., lacked) a dwelling"; Roberts in the glossary to her edition also defines "neod" as "need" (*Guthlac Poems*, 210). Shook's translation, however, also admits the interpretation "he wanted (i.e., desired) a dwelling" (= OE *nēod*); see Bosworth and Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, s.v. *nīd* and *nēod*; also F. Holthausen, *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2d ed. (Heidelberg, 1963), s.v. *nīed*<sup>1</sup> and *nīed*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> See C. W. M. Grein, *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*, ed. J. J. Köhler (Heidelberg, 1912), s.v. *nēod*: "studium, desiderium, cupido."

<sup>53</sup> See the *Dictionary of Old English: B*, s.v. *bylda*, *bytla*.

etymological force of “the hammerer”). Possibly the poet, grasping for a word to alliterate with the ever-recurring *beorg*, recalled line 148 and used *bylta* accordingly, even though the word is an uneasy fit in the context of 733a. I am inclined, however, to view *bylta* as a conscious choice, since *bylta* and *beorg* are an unlikely formulaic pair, and also because there are many other words alliterating on *b-* that would better fit the passage’s celebration of saintly heroism (*brego*, *beorn*, *beadurinc*, etc.) or foreshadow the placid scene that follows (*bilewit*, *bealuleas*). Instead, Guthlac is, at his greatest moment, called a *bylta*, and several lines later his dwelling is loftily termed “sele niwe” (742). Historical sources usually equate the founding of Anglo-Saxon minsters and the erection of their buildings with the donation of land to sustain the *cenobium*.<sup>54</sup> The poem’s similar linkage of these ideas (e.g., *beorg* and *botl*, *sigewong* and *sele*) argues that the saint’s occupation of the land is inseparable from his erection of buildings there.<sup>55</sup> The roles of holy *fundator* and *aedificator* go hand in hand. Notably, Ælfric’s Latin Life of Æthelwold lists, among the great reformer’s many saintly virtues, that he was a “*magnus aedificator, et dum esset abbas et cum esset episcopus.*”<sup>56</sup>

Finally, the subject of *bold/botl* and their cognates also raises the possibility of deliberate wordplay in the lines “[Guthlac] wið mongum stod / ealdfeonda, elne gebylded” (474b–475b). The processes of *i*-umlaut and monophthongization of the verb’s original root (= adj. *beald*, hence \**bealdjan* > *bielðan* > *byldan*, “embolden”; cf. noun *bylðu*, “courage, fortitude”) accidentally produce a root that is homophonous with *bylða* (< *bold*, “building,” according to Bosworth-Toller).<sup>57</sup> The ambiguity of “gebylded” would allow a clever inversion of the symbolism, as Guthlac the builder becomes himself the “building” of faith or fortress of *ellen* (“virtue” or “valor”), not to mention the usual Christian image of the

<sup>54</sup> Foot, “What Was an Early Anglo-Saxon Monastery?” 49. God himself “onwrah” the site of Guthlac’s dwelling (line 147), and even provides an endowment of sorts to keep the saint fed and clothed (lines 321–22).

<sup>55</sup> Apparently the peculiar linkage of attributes (Guthlac *bylta* and Guthlac *cempa*) lived on in popular lore, to which the *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden (d. 1364) owes the detail: “[Guthlac] potestatem magnam super immundos spiritus accepit, adeo quod, sicut vulgus tradit, eos ædificia construere cogeret . . .” (quoted by Roberts, “Inventory,” 213).

<sup>56</sup> Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, eds., *Wulfstan of Winchester: The Life of St Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1991), 74 (Ælfric’s *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* is printed as Appendix A). See also the prefatory *Epistola specialis* to the *Narratio metrica de sancto Swithuno*, lines 31–64, in which Wulfstan of Winchester describes at length Æthelwold’s building projects at the Old Minster (ed. Alistair Campbell, *Frithegodī monachi Breuiloquium uitae beati Wilfredi et Wulfstani cantoris Narratio metrica de sancto Swithuno* [Zurich, 1950], 66–67).

<sup>57</sup> Bosworth and Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, s.v. *bylða*; also compare the headwords *byldan*<sup>1</sup> and *byldan*<sup>2</sup> in the *Dictionary of Old English: B*.

temple of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 3:16, 6:19). The poet later uses *getimbrian* metaphorically, to describe the workings of grace in man's heart (769a–771a).

Several other important words for Guthlac's dwelling are so general, their range of associations so broad (especially in poetry), that the degree of their contribution to the themes of building and settling cannot be determined with certainty. Here I include the very common *eðel* and its compounds; these thrice refer to heaven (67, 656, 801), thrice to Guthlac's former, worldly home (216, 277, 355), and in one important, transforming instance, to Guthlac's dwelling in the wilderness (" 'Her sceal min wesana / eorðlic eþel, nales eower leng' " [260b–261b]). Similarly vague are *eard* and its compounds, which by themselves seem to be neutral terms, capable of signifying heaven (656, 786, 791), or the earthly spot over which Guthlac and the demons do battle (55, 220, 256, 297, 351, 428, 755). *Setl*, on the other hand, is used only once of heaven (785); its remaining instances refer in one way or another to earthly "seats." That both Guthlac and the demons call the *beorg* a *setl* (244, 278, 383) argues for the term's essential neutrality, although elsewhere in Old English the simplex does occasionally denote the dwelling of a solitary.<sup>58</sup> Finally, the noun *wic* always refers to the fen dwellings (284, 298, 702); elsewhere in Old English this word can mean anything from a single homestead to an entire town. Occasionally the translator of the Old English Bede renders *monasterium* as *wic* but these instances are the exception rather than the rule.<sup>59</sup> In poetry the word occurs frequently and is used for everything from the

<sup>58</sup> Bosworth and Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, s.v. *setl* (II)

<sup>59</sup> E.g., Cuthbert's hermitage on Farne, "mansionem angustam" (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.28, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* [Oxford, 1969], 436), is translated "nearo wic 7 wunnesse" (ed. Thomas Miller, *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Part 1.2, EETS, o.s., 96 [London, 1891], 366, line 13). Similarly, when called to be bishop of Lindisfarne, Cuthbert "nequaquam suo monasterio posset erui" (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.28): "Hi hine nænige ðinga of his wicum and of his stowe to him gelapian mihton" (quoted in Bosworth and Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, s.v. *wic* [I]).

Note that Ælfric's homily on Cuthbert uses *mynster* (ed. Godden, 88, line 244) at this same point, reminding us that, although that word means *cenobium* or simply "church" in an overwhelming number of cases, a learned author could use *mynster* in its etymologically precise sense (= dwelling of a μοναχός). See Æthelwold's translation of the Rule, chap. 1 (as in London, British Library Cotton Faustina A.x—not from Benedict but from Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis*): "monasterium mæg beon gehaten anes muneces wunung, *cenobium* ne byð genemned buton manegra wunung" (ed. Schröer, *Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen*, 136); cf. Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.16.11 (ed. Christopher M. Lawson, CCL 113 [Turnhout, 1989], 77).

human heart (*Elene* 1037) to Grendel's home beneath the *mere* (*Beowulf* 1612).

In addition to the various words for the saint's dwelling, several other words throughout the poem would assume special significance for an audience immersed in monastic traditions. The formal expression *gesittan ancersetl* (Felix's "heremum habitare"), for example, may underlie the poet's use of the verb *gesittan* to describe Guthlac's occupation of the fens: "þa he ana gesæt / dygle stowe" (158b–159a); "Him wæs engel neah, / fæle freoðuweard, þam þe feara sum / mearclond gesæt" (172b–174a).<sup>60</sup> Guthlac's dwelling merits the legal designation *socn* ("refuge, sanctuary"; 716)<sup>61</sup> and, with it, the right of *frið* guaranteed by God and St. Bartholomew: "[Guthlac] þæt lond gode / fægre gefreopode" (151b–152a); " 'Ic me frið wille / æt gode gegyrnan' " (257b–258a). The privilege of *ciricgrið* occupies an important place in many Anglo-Saxon law codes, and one critic has pointed out that *gefreoðian* may, in *Guthlac A*, mean "endow with the status of a *frið*," as a technical equivalent for "dedicate" or "consecrate" a church or minster.<sup>62</sup> Figuratively, St. Guthlac's *frið* now transcends the locality of the *beorg*, and may be sought by all who, like the poet and his audience, foster his cult. Guthlac is not just a moral example for monks; he is actively their friend, protector, and patron. The poet calls him a *fore-genga* (a martial vanguard, but to a monastic audience perhaps "fore-runner"), and, in the same vein, *fruma* (= *princeps*, i.e., in the sense of both "head" and "founder, author"), and *hyrde* ("protector, patron," but also "pastor," even "abbot"). At one point the saint's words even invoke the metaphor of a cult's sprouting from the soil made fertile by a martyr's blood: " 'Ðeah min ban ond blod bu tu geweorpen / eorþan to eacan' " (380a–381a).<sup>63</sup> Such clues mark the poem's affiliation with the cult of Guthlac the hermit, the patron, and fellow monk.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Cf. the Vercelli prose version: "Sona on fruman þæs ðe he þæt ancersetl gesæt" (ed. Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, 383; cf. *Vita sancti Guthlaci* 28, ed. Colgrave, 94). Ælfric employs the same phrase for Cuthbert: "to ðam ancersetle. Ðær he ær gesæt" (ed. Godden, 90, lines 324–25). *Gesittan* + acc. object, however, is a very common collocation; one cannot claim with certainty that the poet has the more specific technical term *gesittan ancersetl* in mind.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *IV Athelstan*, § 6.2b–c (Whitelock et al., *Councils and Synods*, 57).

<sup>62</sup> Karl P. Wentersdorf, "Guthlac A: The Battle for the *Beorg*," *Neophilologus* 62 (1978): 142 n. 20.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. *Andreas*, lines 1446–49 (ed. George Philip Krapp, *The Vercelli Book*, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 2 [New York, 1932], 43):

þa on last beseah leoflic cempa  
æfter wordcwidum wuldorcyninges.  
Gesce he geblowene bearwas standan  
blædum gehrodene, swa he ær his blod aget.

<sup>64</sup> Cynthia Cornell argues for some further correspondences between the poem's structure and the monastic Office for Guthlac's feast; see "Sources of the Old English Guthlac Poems,"

As for non-cultic aspects of the poem's "monastic" language, I have already mentioned Thomas Hill's analysis of the temptation scenes according to the moral extremes of *idel wuldor* and *egsa*. I would only add to his remarks that another of Guthlac's temptations implies a larger, if less spiritual, threat to the peace of Anglo-Saxon monasteries. One of the first accusations the demons lay before Guthlac, and one which could just as easily be levied against cenobites, is that the monastic life amounts to an abandonment of one's familial obligations. The devils charge,

þæt his earfeþu eal gelumpe  
 modcearu mægum, gif he monna dream  
 of þam orlege eft ne wolde  
 sylfa gesecan, ond his sibbe ryht  
 mid moncynne maran cræfte  
 willum bewitigan, lætan wræce stille (194–99).

Jane Roberts would render "his sibbe ryht" as "his kinship dues," and believes the term may have something to do with inheritance rights.<sup>65</sup> The term can, however, be defined more precisely in light of an important provision in one of Æthelred the Unready's ecclesiastical codes:

And ne þearf ænig mynstermunuc ahwar mid rihte fæhðbote biddan ne  
 fæhðbote betan; he gæð of his mæglage þonne he gebihð to regollage.<sup>66</sup>

Exemption from the system of wergilds and sanctioned vengeance would have a dramatic impact on the Anglo-Saxon concept of duty to friends and family—one's "sibbe ryht" or *mæglagu*. Because Æthelred's law specifically addresses *mynstermunucas*, the poet's term "sibbe ryht" could suggest to monks this particular difficulty of the *fæhðbot*. Guthlac "in þa ærestan ældu gelufade / frecnessa fela" (109a–110a), so we may presume that he would have been enmeshed in such secular obligations, and that the exchange of *mæglagu* for *regollagu* represents an act of enormous trust and self-sacrifice. He places himself "eþelriehte feor" (216) not only spatially

48–52.

<sup>65</sup> Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, 136.

<sup>66</sup> *VIII Æthelred*, § 25 (Whitelock et al., *Councils and Synods*, 396, emphasis added); the editors' note indicates that the same provision appears in *I Cnut*, § 5.2d. See also Wulfstan's *Canons of Edgar*, § 68i (ed. Roger Fowler, EETS 266 [Oxford, 1972], 19), as well as the Rule itself, chap. 69.3 (ed. Hanslik, 175). This required severance of all family ties is based on Mt 19:27–29. In his homily for the feast of St. Paul's Conversion (25 January), Ælfric says of this pericope, "Des cwyde belimpð swyðe to munuchades mannum, ða ðe for heofenan rices myrhðe forlætað fæder, and moder, and flæsclice siblingas. Hi underfoð manega gastlice fæderas and gastlice gebroðru, forðan ðe ealle þæs hades menn, ðe regollice lybbað, beoð him to fæderum and to gebroðrum getealde" (ed. Benjamin Thorpe, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric*, vol. 1 [London, 1844], 398).

and socially, but legally as well. In effect, he has removed himself from the sphere of his clan's protection and placed his life under God's *wær* (e.g., 360, 746, 775). Conversely, under the *regollagu* Guthlac can meet the obligations of a loftier "sibbe ryht" through his continual prayers for all Christians, who are now his true family: "No he hine wið monna miltse gedælde, / ac gesynta bæd sawla gehwylcre" (331–32). By the poem's end, the narrow, earthly concept of legal duties to one's kin has been replaced by the mutual charity of the saints, who "broþorsibbe / georne bigongað" (804b–805a). By virtue of his "monna miltse" Guthlac, although a hermit, naturally exemplifies the kind of "broþorsibbe" to which Benedict's Rule attaches so much importance,<sup>67</sup> and which is the cardinal virtue of the common life.

In the preceding paragraphs I have tried to assemble evidence for *Guthlac A*'s reliance on certain ideas and images more resonant with cenobitic than with eremitic experience. It now remains to be shown how these details—many of them little more than shadings of language—would *in toto* have prompted a monastic audience to entertain the thought, "St. Guthlac was one of *us*." Summarily viewed, all of this piecemeal evidence converges at a single point: the medieval *cenobium*'s adherence to the Benedictine ideal of *stabilitas*. Thomas Hill's discussion of the temptation scenes alludes to this concept, but only in the psychological sense of even-temperedness or moral balance, not in the technical sense that attends a monk's formal profession. Among all the critics who have commented on the Guthlac legend's debt to the Antonian tradition, none seems to have noticed that the saint's most prominent virtue, his refusal to abandon the *beorg*, is not especially typical of eremitic monasticism. While the bullying of devils was something to be endured patiently, hermits nevertheless could and did move from place to place in search of ever more rigorous *ascesis*. Antony himself changed his abode several times during his long career.<sup>68</sup> When, with respect to Guthlac's tenacity, Fr. Shook makes the casual aside, "God surely would let him be saintly somewhere else,"<sup>69</sup> he misrepresents the stakes of the conflict. It is no simple matter of the demons' wanting their land back, but of the integrity of Guthlac's curiously Benedictine *propositum* to remain in that place until death. One of the Rule's modern commentators, Dom Cuthbert Butler,

<sup>67</sup> *Benedicti Regula* 72.3–8: "Hunc ergo zelum feruentissimo amore exerceant monachi, id est ut honore se inuicem praeueniant, infirmitates suas sibi corporum sibi morum patientissime tolerant, oboedientiam sibi certatim impendant; nullus, quod sibi utile iudicat, sequatur, sed quod magis alio; caritatem fraternitatis caste impendant" (ed. Hanslik, 178–79); cf. Ro 12:10–12.

<sup>68</sup> Kurtz, "From St. Antony to St. Guthlac," 106–7.

<sup>69</sup> Shook, "Burial Mound," 9.



calls *stabilitas* "St Benedict's most important and characteristic contribution to the course of Western monachism,"<sup>70</sup> and offers his own interpretive definition of the term:

It must, I believe, be held that by stability St Benedict intended that his monks should "persevere till death," not merely in a monastery, but in the monastery of their profession. In other words, I accept as St Benedict's mind what has been called "local stability" in its most rigid and narrow sense.<sup>71</sup>

Although *stabilitas* has been taken by some to mean only perseverance in one's monastic calling without particular regard for the place where that calling is practiced, most of the Rule's commentators, medieval and modern, have endorsed a more literal interpretation. "Local stability," strictly defined, explains Guthlac's relationship to the *beorg*; he can no more legitimately abandon the place than a monk in the Benedictine tradition can his monastery. It is in light of this theme, then, that verbs like *gesittan*, *bagan/gebuan* (102, 305), *bidan* (217, 236, 289, 329), and *(ge)wunian* (81, 360, 545, 715) here convey their strong sense of resolve and finality, and that otherwise vague terms for "house" or "building" can communicate an almost tangible solidity and permanence. Members of a monastic audience, finding not only the saint's "building"-precincts but also his devotion to *stabilitas* so familiar, could hardly fail to imagine themselves as Guthlac's imitators and spiritual heirs.

To return at last to the question with which this enquiry began, the ideal of "local stability" may well explain the lack of reference to Guthlac's novitiate at Repton. The saint's departure from his monastery, however well sanctioned by Antony's example, might have appeared to undermine the poet's otherwise consistent emphasis on *stabilitas*, which, ideally, means perseverance in the house of one's original profession. The poet sidesteps the difficulty by omitting all mention of Repton and, in effect, making the *beorg* the site of Guthlac's "profession." I have already quoted in full those lines (95–103) describing Guthlac's initial *anachoresis*. By these lines and the subsequent contest between the devil and God's angel (114b–136a) we are left with the impression that Guthlac's first conversion and his decision to become a hermit are simultaneous; in any event, the next section of the poem finds him at home in his "bold on beorhge" (140). The saint's first long speech (240b–261b) climaxes in what amounts to a profession of monastic stability: "Her sceal min wesam / eorðlic eðel,

<sup>70</sup> Cuthbert Butler, *Benedictine Monachism: Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule*, 2d ed. (London, 1924), 123.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 125–26.

nales eower leng' " (260b–261b). Unlike Modern English *shall*, the Old English auxiliary "sceal" in 260b denotes strong obligation as well as futurity: "Here *must* be my earthly homeland," etc.

The rest of the poem is devoted to the demons' attempts to force the abandonment of this vow. Their plight, too, is illuminated by the *stabilitas* theme. Readers of Old English poetry will not be surprised by the conventional labelling of Guthlac's adversaries as *wræcmaecgas* (231, 263, 558), *wuldre bescyrede* (145, 673), and the like. But in view of the poem's attention to stability, these "exile"-words deliver a more explicit message. A monk's *stabilitas*, however apparently onerous, is to Benedictine spirituality the greatest of blessings; in a world of death and flux, the monk's lifelong adherence to his monastery is man's closest approximation of the eternal security of heaven. In my earlier discussion of individual words in the poem it was noted how often terms for "dwelling" could be used of heaven, earth, and hell. Likewise Guthlac's stability on the *beorg* and the bliss of heaven it portends contrast sharply with the devils' eternal instability:

Ne motun hi on eorþan eardes brucan,  
ne hy lyft swefeð in leoma ræstum,  
ac hy hleolease hama þoliað (220–22).

They are "in *wræcsiðe*" (623), and the only permanent state they know is that of their own damnation. The use of the verb *gesælan* ("tie down, bind") for the devil's ensnaring of souls (347) seems a grotesque mockery of holy *stabilitas*: the saints willingly and joyfully pursue that ideal, while the damned experience it only in their perdition. Even getting their *beorg* back, then, would not provide the demons with the blessed *fundamentum* they so envy. In this regard they are like those faithless, inconstant monks who will not abide in their minster, but "wander from place to place" in violation of ecclesiastical discipline.<sup>72</sup> Although it would be overly inge-

<sup>72</sup> Synod of Hertford (A.D. 673), c. 4, in Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.5: "Ut ipsi monachi non migrent de loco ad locum, hoc est de monasterio ad monasterium, nisi per dimissionem proprii abbatis, sed in ea permaneant oboedientia quam tempore suae conuersionis promiserunt" (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 350 [trans., 351]).

Condemnations of wandering monks—Benedict's *gyrovagi*—are, of course, a commonplace throughout the Middle Ages. Statutes such as that from Hertford are a regular feature of both secular and ecclesiastical law codes; see Foot, "What Was an Early Anglo-Saxon Monastery?" 51. For a few representative examples from Anglo-Saxon sources, see the Council of Cloveshoe (A.D. 747), c. 29 (Arthur West Hadden and William Stubbs, eds., *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 3 [Oxford, 1871], 374–75); the "Constitutions" of Archbishop Oda (ca. 946), cap. 6 (Whitelock et al., *Councils and Synods*, 72); and *V Æthelred*, §§ 5–6 (ibid., 347–48).

nious to read *Guthlac A* as an allegorical struggle between virtuous *coenobitae* and wicked *gyrovagi* or *sarabaitae*, the significance of the demons' instability would not escape a Benedictine audience. To the evidence cited by Conner for attributing *Guthlac A* (and the fact of its preservation in the Exeter Book) to the sphere of "Benedictine" reforms we may add the poem's graphic juxtaposition of holy and hellish *stabilitas*. It is easy to see how Guthlac's seizure of the *beorg* and his building and defense of a new "eordlic eþel" (261) would have appealed to the imaginations of reformed monastic audiences during the later tenth century—the very decades which witnessed the expulsion of the clerks, the widespread refounding of old and building of new monasteries, and, at Edgar's death (in 975), a bitter reaction on the part of dispossessed clerks and lay potentates.<sup>73</sup> Conner's redating of the poem to the 960s, if correct, places the composition of the work strikingly close the date of the clerks' expulsion from Winchester's Old and New Minsters in 964. Whether or not the poem was actually composed at this time,<sup>74</sup> its esteem for the regular life in general and the exercise of *stabilitas* in particular would certainly have commended it to a sophisticated, pro-reform audience, who, on deeper reflection, might also appreciate its correspondence in certain details to events in their own day.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> The expulsion of the clerks was recognized even by near-contemporary observers as a watershed event; see the *Vitae* of Æthelwold by Ælfric, chaps. 13–14 and 16 (in Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester*, 75–76), and by Wulfstan of Winchester, chaps. 17–18 and 20 (ibid., 30/32, 36). The best summary of the tenth-century reform is still that of David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, 1963), 31–56. On the anti-monastic reaction, see D. J. V. Fisher, "The Anti-Monastic Reaction in the Reign of Edward the Martyr," *The Cambridge Historical Journal* 10 (1950–52): 254–70.

<sup>74</sup> For Conner's dating, see "Source Studies," 407–10; as well as the arguments in his *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, cited in n. 16 above. Although my own reading of the poem would accord well with Conner's revised estimate, it seems only fair to note a few of the long-held objections to so late a date. The limits of linguistic "tests" for the dating of Old English poetry are well known, and yield conflicting results when applied to *Guthlac A*. To many, the relatively large number of "uncontracted" forms has suggested an earlier date—probably before the tenth century. On the other hand, there are a number of "late" features, such as the alliteration of *hw*- and *w*-, as well as loan words of Scandinavian origin. Also unresolved is the issue of the poem's extensive parallels to other (mostly Cynewulfian) Old English verse. For an analysis of the pertinent linguistic evidence, see Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, 48–71; cf. Ashley Crandell Amos, *Linguistic Means of Determining the Dates of Old English Literary Texts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 48. Detailed tables of verbal correspondences between *Guthlac A* and *B* and other Old English poems are included in the appendices of Cornell's dissertation.

<sup>75</sup> In what may be an analogous case, Mechthild Gretsch sees a polemical motive behind Æthelwold's decision, in the earliest version of his Old English translation of the Rule, to replace Benedict's first chapter with material by Isidore (notable for its more extensive attacks on the *gyrovagi* and *sarabaitae*). Gretsch calls the parallel between Isidore's description of bad monks and Æthelwold's campaign against the clerks an obvious one; see "The Benedictine Rule in Old English: A Document of Bishop Æthelwold's Reform Politics," in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts*:

The best and last vindication of monastic stability accompanies the poem's concluding movements. Once Bartholomew has rescued Guthlac and banished his tormentors, we witness the transformation of the *beorg* into an earthly paradise (733b–748a). The threat to his *propositum* now over, “Guðlac moste / eadig ond onmod eardes brucan” (744b–745b). The vocabulary of *aedificatio* and faithful *stabilitas* characterizes Guthlac's life thereafter (words that advance these themes are italicized):

Nis þæt huru læsast    þæt seo lufu cyþeð,  
 þonne heo in monnes    mode *getimbreð*  
 gæstcunde gife,    swa he Guðlaces  
 dagas ond dæde    þurh his dom *ahof*.  
 Wæs se fruma *fæstlic*    feondum on ondan,  
*geseted* wið synnum    þær he siþþan lyt  
 wære gewonade,  
 ...  
 þoncade þeodne    þæs þe he in þrowingum  
*bidan* moste (769a–775a, 778a–779a).

The figurative language of the passage suggests that Guthlac *bytla* is himself the work of edifying grace—Guthlac *botl*, so to speak.<sup>76</sup> Here the poet makes explicit the truth that spiritual stability best proceeds from a foundation of physical or “local” stability. The accompanying transfiguration of the *beorg* is no abrupt turn; rather it signifies the culmination of a process that began with Guthlac's first conversion to the wilderness and “profession” there. As early as line 139 we read that the Holy Spirit instructed the saint so “þæt him leofedan londes wynne, / bold on beorhge” (139a–140a). Guthlac's adoption of *stabilitas* marks the beginning of the *beorg*'s gradual transformation; soon he calls it his “eðel” (261). Finally, after the saint's triumph over the various temptations, his *propositum* is vindicated, his stability established beyond further challenge. The keystone of “Guthlac *botl*” thus in place, the physical setting completes a corresponding metamorphosis into the “pleasant plain of victory” and “new hall” (742).

Because the *stabilitas* theme has not been recognized, some confusion has arisen over the meaning of this transformation. Without a proper

*Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Korhammer et al. (Cambridge, 1992), 154–55. Conner also argues that tenth-century reformers would have naturally associated Benedict's *sarabaitae* with the monks of unreformed houses (“Source Studies,” 395).

<sup>76</sup> This interpretation supports the reading of a pun in “elne gebyldeð” (475), discussed above.

understanding of what has been won in the fight against the demons, the lines that separate Bartholomew's dramatic intervention from the saint's inevitable journey to heaven seem like mere filler.<sup>77</sup> John Bugge, in his reading of the "monastic" elements in *The Phoenix* and both *Guthlac* poems, argues that all three depict a movement from *peregrinatio* on earth to the joys of paradise, which is the monk's true home.<sup>78</sup> This description is broadly accurate, but does not really accord with the particulars of *Guthlac A* inasmuch as the saint seems to get to paradise before getting to Paradise. After the final transformation of the *beorg*, the same words are used of Guthlac's retreat as are used of heaven itself: *ham*, *hus*, *bold*, *botl*, *getimbru*, *setl*, *eðel*, etc., as discussed earlier. Even the biblical echo in the poet's rapt, final line, "on lifgendra londes wynna" (818)—the heavenly setting with which the poem began—brings to a kind of fulfillment three earlier collocations for Guthlac's abode (or rather his use of it): soon after arriving there, "him leofedan londes wynne" (139); later the demons are anxious to see "hwæpre him þæs wonges wyn sweðrade" (352); and, after the first temptation, they say, "We þec in lyft gelæddun, ofugon þe londes wynna" (467). The scheme of *Guthlac A* is more complex than Bugge would allow, and for a single reason: life in the *cenobium* was to be viewed in all its aspects as an anticipation of heaven. Jean Leclercq, speaking of St. Odo's Cluny, explains:

It is for monks to go out of this sinful world, to be strangers to it, as it were outside it, *extra mundum fieri*, and to become, as far as is possible to human frailty, dwellers in paradise. The silence and peace of eternity must begin for them here and now; they must live as the angels, joining with them in the eternal praise of God. . . .<sup>79</sup>

By analogy, stability in the monastery of one's profession could be seen as an anticipation of celestial immutability, an escape from the transience of the world. The soul learns how to live in heaven before actually arriving there. These terms best explain *Guthlac A*'s attention to the "migration" of the soul in the prologue and epilogue, and the essential relevance of

<sup>77</sup> It is significant that the redactor of the Vercelli prose version could not see the point of Guthlac's return to the wilderness either. Instead, once the battles against the demons and the hell-door episode are over, the anonymous homilist simply has Bartholomew accompany the saint directly to heaven. See Roberts, "Inventory," 203.

<sup>78</sup> Bugge, "Virgin Phoenix," 333–34.

<sup>79</sup> Jean Leclercq (joint author), *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages*, vol. 2 of *A History of Christian Spirituality*, trans. Benedictines of Holme Eden Abbey (London and New York, 1968), 107.

that theme to the saint's life. The monastery should be to the world what heaven is to the monk; the devout ascend from *had* to *had*:

[Monasticism's] tendency was eschatological; it was looked on as the "noviceship of eternity": and a devotion to heaven, a longing for God, and a great love for that state where the soul is united with him for ever was one of its dominant traits. The perfect *coenobium* will be that Jerusalem, where under the rule of Christ the supreme Shepherd and Abbot of abbots, the monks will be reunited with the angels and the apostles and all who have renounced the world.<sup>80</sup>

The novice is to his monastery what the professed monk is to the heavenly *cenobium*—a parallel which, incidentally, accounts for the designation *yldra had* shared by both the monastic *perfecti* (500) and the angel who welcomes the soul (4).<sup>81</sup> The monastery-as-paradise motif explains the transformation of the *beorg* and the absolute importance of Guthlac's resuming his life there. In this paradise Guthlac must complete his remaining years as in the "novitiate for heaven." At the end of this time, he is permitted to join the ranks of the perfect, heavenly *cenobium*.

Given such an exalted understanding of the cenobitic life, the ideal of stability would require no further justification. Conversely, abandoning one's monastery amounts to something far graver than a simple disruption of the social and ecclesiastical order. To embark upon the life of perfection but then fail to persevere is far worse than never to have attempted it at all. Some of the most popular saints' lives contain episodes in which a monk tries to abandon his monastery and meets some terrible end.<sup>82</sup> In his Rule Benedict distinguishes between the terms *claustra monasterii egredi*, meaning "to leave the cloister" on necessary business for short periods of time and always with the abbot's permission, and *egredi de monasterio*, "to leave the monastery" illicitly.<sup>83</sup> When the demons cannot force Guthlac to

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 183.

<sup>81</sup> My interpretation of this term does not necessarily contradict the more literal one of Thomas D. Hill, "The Age of Man and the World in the Old English *Guthlac A*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 80 (1981): 13–21.

<sup>82</sup> E.g., Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 2.25.1: "Quidam . . . monachus mobilitati mentem dederat et permanere in monasterio nolebat" (ed. de Vogüé, 2:212). Wærferth says of the same monk that he was "unstaðolfæst" and "nolde gewunian on his mynstre" (ed. Hecht, 155). Ælfric translates "unstaðolfæst on his mynstre" (ed. Godden, 103, line 376).

<sup>83</sup> See Butler, *Benedictine Monachism*, 126. So serious is the offense, it merits a short chapter of its own in the Rule (chap. 29). Benedict instructs that the offender may be received back into the community up to the third offense, after which reentry shall be barred. For other references to *stabilitas* and *egressio* in the Rule, see chaps. 1.11; 4.78; 58.15, 17, 28; 60.9; 61.5. The term *claustra egredi* also passes into the reformers' *Regularis concordia*; see § 97 of the edition by Thomas Symons and Sigrid Spath in *Consuetudinum saeculi x/xi/xii monumenta non-Chuniacensis*, *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum* 7.3, ed. K. Hallinger (Siegburg, 1984), 140.

give up the *beorg* (the equivalent of *egressio de monasterio*) and thereby eject himself from heaven's novitiate, they drag him away by force. That both temptations take place away from the dwelling is significant.<sup>84</sup> Outside his monastery, the monk is wretched, an exile like other men, and easier prey for the devil. Monastic reasoning on this point bears closer scrutiny: earthly life is a *peregrinatio*, an exile from our true home; the monastic life, however, although exile in the eyes of the world, is man's closest approximation to heaven, and a state the abandonment of which means a second turning to exile. Contrary to human reason, it is not Guthlac's life on the *beorg* but rather his being forced to leave it which the poet calls an "exile": at hell's gate, Bartholomew commands that the demons "of þam wræcsiðe wuldres cempan / lædan limhalne" (688a–689a). Once back at his dwelling, Guthlac can enjoy the foretaste of and await the summons to everlasting stability. The migration of holy men's souls, far from violating *stabilitas*, brings that vow to its eternal fulfillment, as the epilogue confirms: "Him þæt ne hreoweð æfter hingonge, / ðonne hy hweorfað in þa halgan burg, / gongað gegnunga to Hierusalem" (811–13).<sup>85</sup> In the context of monastic stability, the metaphor of death as *egressio* (OE *hingong*) assumes a profound significance. For the righteous monk it implies a licit departure at the bidding of Christ, the heavenly Abbot. For the wicked, it means an *egressio* of the malign sort (*de monasterio*)—a dismissal from monastic paradise, heaven's novitiate, and, consequently, from their best hope of salvation.<sup>86</sup> Finally, the love of *stabilitas* and dread of wrongful *egressio* join the epilogue to the prologue, just as the theme of the soul's migration does. Even the meaning of the prologue's difficult hapax word *edergong* (11) becomes clearer in light of Benedictine stability. The glosses proposed for this word are many and ingenious; the favored suggestions seem to be the Bosworth-Toller *Supplement's* "a taking

<sup>84</sup> Line 432 for the first temptation; we can, from the context, posit a second instance somewhere in the missing folio (after fol. 37v).

<sup>85</sup> My interpretation of these lines respects Krapp and Dobbie's punctuation. It should be noted, however, that one might just as easily read a full stop at the end of line 811, in which case the relative "þæt" would refer loosely back to the verbs of 808b–810b, and "ne hreoweð" must be litotes: "[The fact] that they love fasts, etc. . . . will bring them no grief after death," i.e., it will bring them great rewards.

<sup>86</sup> The prospect of eternal *stabilitas* assumes an ominous ambiguity, for example, in *Christ* (1552b–1554b), where the foolish man takes no thought while alive as to "hwæper his gæst sie / earm þe eadig, þær he ece sceal / æfter hingonge hamfæst wesan" (ed. Krapp and Dobbie, *Exeter Book*, 46). In an interesting extension of the paradise motif, the monastery which anticipates heaven for the good monks may also anticipate hell for the bad and insincere. Like Milton's Satan, "ipsi sibi sunt infernus"; see John Morson, ed., "The *De cohabitatione fratrum* of Hugh of Barzelle," in *Analecta Monastica* 4, *Studia Anselmiana* 41 (Rome, 1957), 130–31.

refuge,” or Grein-Köhler’s *mendicatio* (by analogy with ON *húsgangr*).<sup>87</sup> In fact, the compound’s literal meaning—“an enclosure-going” or “hedge-/boundary-going”<sup>88</sup>—is best explained by an appeal to the themes of *stabilitas* and *egressio* attested elsewhere in the poem (Guthlac’s temptations and the epilogue), and the significance, both literal and symbolic, of the monastery enclosure (*vallum monasterii*). The word’s immediate context supports an interpretation along these lines:

Ðær næfre hreow cymeð,  
 edergong fore yrmþum,    ac þær biþ engla dream,  
 sib ond gesælignes,    ond sawla ræst (10b–12b).

Because it is qualified by “fore yrmþum” and stands in apposition to “hreow,” and all of these are in turn contrasted (“ac”) with heaven’s joys, the negative tenor of “edergong” is clear. I therefore propose the translation, “Never will grief come there, (illicit) departure because of afflictions, but there there will be the joy of angels, peace and happiness, and rest for souls.” More expansively rephrased, the sense of lines 10b–11a is as follows: “There will be no grief there, nor, once entered, any recrossing of the threshold on account of wretchedness.” In other words, the state of the blessed is permanent: no cares or temptations, not even envious devils can disrupt the stability of heaven; no saint or angel has any thought of *egressio* from the celestial *cenobium*.

In the preceding study I have argued that the cenobitic and particularly the Benedictine life may have colored the poet’s vocabulary and themes, and would almost certainly have influenced how the poem was read and understood in the tenth-century intellectual circles that produced the Exeter Book. Arguments based on the associative meanings or “colorings” of words in a dead language are necessarily tentative; so, too, are theories about the authorship and intended audience of *Guthlac A*. Still, the cumulative evidence of word-choices and emphases unsuited to the poem’s ostensible subject (the life of a hermit saint) fosters the suspicion that the poet has set out to do more than retell Guthlac’s story. While the poem

<sup>87</sup> Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, 126. Elsewhere (“*Guthlac A*: Sources,” 7) Roberts also allows the meaning “seeking of thresholds,” interpreted in the context of the poem’s psychopomp motif. Conner (“Source Studies,” 401) appears to have adopted Grein-Köhler’s gloss as “begging”; he translates, “Sorrow—begging out of its own misery—never comes there.”

<sup>88</sup> Cf. the formulaic “in under edoras” of the Old English *Genesis*, lines 2447 and 2489, where both immediate context and the Vulgate source (Gen 19:6, 10) strongly suggest Modern English “over the threshold.” The literal meaning of *eodor* (cf. ON *iaðarr/iqðarr*, OHG *etar*, OSax *edor*) seems to have been “the topmost, stabilizing rail of a fence”; on the history of the word and its meanings in *Genesis* and *Beowulf* (1037), see G. Neckel, “*Under Edoras*,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 41 (1916): 163–70.



displays some sermonizing impulses, the reductive label “homiletic” downplays some of *Guthlac A*’s more distinctive features. Structural and thematic ambiguities arise from the poet’s efforts to balance a cherished devotion to the saint on one hand, with a justification of the perhaps less glamorous cenobitic life on the other. The Benedictine tradition tended to admire hermits from a safe distance;<sup>89</sup> the tenth century, especially, did not really know what to do with this aspect of its own religious heritage:

The monastic life to the English reformers as to their foreign contemporaries was not primarily a state in which the individual with a “special vocation” might devote himself wholly to God and receive guidance from a master of the spiritual life. It was rather a perfection of the clerical life and a discipline for the many, by which individuals might find salvation and the Church as a whole receive strength, dignity and order.<sup>90</sup>

The notion that the solitary life, however admirable, ultimately derives its legitimacy from the common life is explicit in the Rule itself.<sup>91</sup> To follow the logic that leads to such a claim, we need only turn to Isidore’s description of the different kinds of monks—the same material, in fact, with which Æthelwold replaced Benedict’s first chapter (*De generibus monachorum*) in one Old English version of the Rule:

Pæt forme cyn is mynstermanna, þe gemænan life drohtniað on mynstre, gelice þam halgum, þe þam apostolum folgodon and ealle æhta becypton and þearfum todeldon and swa forð heora gemæne lif heoldon, þæt hy forðon þæt word ne cwædon, þæt hi agen ænig þing hæfdon. Puh þara apostola angin and þara, þe him folgodon, munuclif wurdon begunnene.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>89</sup> For a concrete example of this ambivalence, see the beginning of Ælfric’s *Letter to Sigefyrð* (ca. 1005–6) in which the abbot, himself the product of tenth-century reforming attitudes, respectfully but firmly responds to an unnamed anchorite’s heterodox teachings about priestly celibacy (in Bruno Assmann, ed., *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 3 [Kassel, 1889; rpt. Darmstadt, 1964], 13, lines 1–12).

<sup>90</sup> Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 44. A most striking example of this attitude may be found in Ardo’s *Vita* of Benedict of Aniane, in which the saint’s heroism does not lie in his early *anachoresis*, but rather in his later “conversion” to the cenobitic life for the sake of others: “ut multorum fieret documentum salutis, in amore prefati viri Benedicti regulæ accenditur, et veluti de singulari certamine novus atleta ad campum publice pugnaturus accessit” (ed. G. Waitz, *Vita Benedicti abbatis Anianensis et Indensis auctore Ardone*, MGH Scriptores 15.1 [Hannover, 1887], 202).

<sup>91</sup> Hermits are those “qui non conuersationis feruore nouicio, sed monasterii probatione diuturna, qui didicerunt contra diabolum multorum solacio iam docti pugnare et bene extructi fraterna ex acie ad singularem pugnam heremi securi iam sine consolatione alterius . . . pugnare sufficiunt” (*Benedicti Regula* 1.3–5, ed. Hanslik, 18–19).

<sup>92</sup> Schröer, *Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen*, 134; from the unique witness of London, British Library Cotton Faustina A.x, for which see also nn. 59 and 75 above and Isidore’s *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.16.2 (ed. Lawson, 74). The corresponding section of Benedict’s text must have seemed thin by comparison: “Primum [genus] coenouitarum, hoc est

To the prestige of a heritage rooted in the *vita apostolica*, one of the Rule's most influential Carolingian expositors would add the claim that cenobitism came first "not only in time, but in grace."<sup>93</sup> *Guthlac A* betrays something of this Benedictine prejudice. In the poem's accommodation of events and images from the saint's life to the trappings and attitudes of the cloister, we witness cenobitic monasticism's devotion to the *idea* of Guthlac the anchorite, while we also sense the defensiveness inherent in any justification of one state of life alongside, if not to the exclusion of, another. Guthlac's heroic battles and glorious victories are all, in a manner of speaking, the monastic audience's own, since in theory the anchorite's life is rooted in the *cenobium*. At the same time, the poem allows its audience, by an exercise of pious imagination, to see in Guthlac a good Benedictine like themselves, and so, perhaps to a much greater degree than has been acknowledged, anticipates the later iconographic development of the saint's cult after the refoundation of Croyland (ca. 971).<sup>94</sup>

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monasteriale, militans sub regula uel abbate" (*Benedicti Regula* 1.2, ed. Hanslik, 18).

<sup>93</sup> "... non modo tempore sed etiam gratia primum est"—the judgment of Smaragdus, Abbot of St. Mihiel, *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti* 1.1 (ed. A. Spannagel and P. Engelbert, *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum* 8 [Siegburg, 1974], 55).

<sup>94</sup> See Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, 10. I have in mind specifically the illustrations of the "Guthlac Roll" (British Library, Harley Roll Y 6), as well as the widely attested belief that the foundation of a major *cenobium*, Croyland Abbey, dates back to the saint's own lifetime.

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Roberta Frank of the Centre for Medieval Studies, Toronto, who kindly read an early draft of this study and offered a number of insightful and salutary criticisms.

PANDULF OF CAPUA'S *DE CALCULATIONE*:  
AN ILLUSTRATED ABACUS TREATISE AND  
SOME EVIDENCE FOR THE HINDU-ARABIC NUMERALS  
IN ELEVENTH-CENTURY SOUTH ITALY\*

*Craig A. Gibson and Francis Newton*

CODEX Vaticanus Ottobonianus latinus 1354 contains the unique copy of a short mathematical treatise, hitherto unpublished, whose contents are consistent with those of other early medieval works on the abacus. Its significant departures from the usual characteristics of the abacus treatise, however, clearly reveal the practicality and creativity of its author, whose identity and cultural context are established in this article. In addition, the treatise provides important evidence for a previously undocumented variety of Hindu-Arabic numerals;<sup>1</sup> the treatise also shows what is nowhere else attested so far, that at least one abacist was using three different shapes of counters in his calculations and teaching; and it

\* This paper had its beginning some twenty years ago, when Dr. Colette Jeudy of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris brought this text and the manuscript in which it appears to the attention of the senior collaborator (F. Newton), who had the opportunity to discuss the subject with Prof. Guy Beaujouan of the Institut des Hautes Études; more recently we have had the assistance of M. Michel Amandry, Directeur, Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and of Mme. Irène Aghion, Conservateur of the same; we wish to acknowledge the generous and *accueillant* spirit of the Parisian scholars. The paper could not have been completed without the further invaluable assistance of the following: Rev. Leonard Boyle, Prefect of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; Monsignor Paul Canart of the same library; Rev. Dom Faustino Avagliano, prior and archivist of Monte Cassino; Rev. Dom Gregorio De Francesco, librarian of Monte Cassino; Professor Hartmut Hoffmann of the University of Göttingen; Dr. Maria Mitscherling, Director of the Handschriftenabteilung, Staatsbibliothek, Gotha; Dr. Diane Anderson of St. John's College, Minnesota; Dr. Carol Lanham, Los Angeles; Dr. Robert Bergman, Director, Cleveland Museum of Art; Prof. Kent Rigsby of Duke University, who read several versions of this paper; the participants in *Manuscripta's* Nineteenth Saint Louis Conference on Manuscript Studies (Saint Louis University, 9–10 October 1992), at which the junior collaborator delivered an earlier version of this paper; Prof. Philip Gavitt, whose related paper at the same conference ("A Sixteenth-Century Textbook of Practical Mathematics: The Innocenti *Libro d'abbaco*") has proved helpful for comparison; Mr. Christopher Blackwell, who helped us with draftsmanship and formatting; and the two referees of this journal.

<sup>1</sup> The term "Hindu-Arabic" is not entirely satisfactory, but it is the only one that calls attention to both the origin and the transmission of the numerals, and it is the term used by the majority of scholars in this field.

furnishes the earliest known illustration—here published for the first time—of an abacist at work.<sup>2</sup>

The treatise that concerns us stands on fols. 54v–55v of the Ottoboni manuscript, in the same small Caroline hand as the rest of the codex. There is no mention of the addressee; the treatise begins directly by stating that its purpose is to explain the use of the abacus to beginners. The text then proceeds to a discussion of the forms and values of the Hindu-Arabic

<sup>2</sup> On Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 1354, see Diane Corinne Warne Anderson, "*Lexicon Prosodiacum Casinense-Ottobonianum*" (Diss., Duke Univ., 1986), 43–49 and 74–87; Paul F. Gehl, "Monastic Rhetoric and Grammar in the Age of Desiderius: The Works of Alberic of Montecassino" (Diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1976), esp. 206–10, and "Vat. Ottobonianus Lat. 1354: Apropos of Catalogue Notices and the History of Grammatical Pedagogy," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 8 (1978): 303–7; Elisabeth Pellegrin, *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane: I. Fonds Archivio San Pietro à Ottoboni* (Paris, 1975), esp. 524–29; Colette Jeudy, "La tradition manuscrite des *Partitiones* de Priscien et la version longue du commentaire de Rémi d'Auxerre," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 1 (1971): 128–29, and "Israël le grammairien et la tradition manuscrite du commentaire de Rémi d'Auxerre à l'*Ars minor* de Donat," *Studi medievali*, 3d ser., 18.2 (1977): 240; Marina Passalacqua, *I codici di Prisciano*, Sussidi eruditi 29 (Rome, 1978), 306–8, no. 641; B. Munk Olsen, "Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux antérieurs au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 9 (1979): 71–72, and *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles: II. Catalogue des manuscrits classiques latins copiés du IX<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Livius-Vitruvius. Florilèges—Essais de plume* (Paris, 1985), 68, 166, 210, 456, 557–58, 776–77, 871–72; G. L. Bursill-Hall, *A Census of Medieval Latin Grammatical Manuscripts* (Stuttgart, 1981), 249; Mario De Nonno, "Contributo alla tradizione di Prisciano in area beneventano-cassinense: il *Vallicell. C 9*," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 9 (1979): 123–39, and *La Grammatica dell'Anonymus Bobiensis (GL I 533–565 Keil)*, Sussidi eruditi 36 (Rome, 1982), 67–68; Simon Gavinelli, "Un manuale scolastico carolingio: il codice Bolognese 797," *Aevum* 59 (1985): 181–95, esp. 188–90; Marcus Buonocore, *Codices horatiani in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Vatican City, 1992), 84. A useful catalog of mathematical treatises found in Ottoboni manuscripts was made by John F. Daly, "Mathematics in the Codices Ottoboniani Latini," *Manuscripta* 8 (1964): 3–17, and completed by John F. Daly and Charles J. Ermatinger, "Mathematics in the Codices Ottoboniani Latini (concluded)," *Manuscripta* 9 (1965): 12–29. On the history of the abacus, see Karl Menninger, *Number Words and Number Symbols: A Cultural History of Numbers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 297–388; Werner Bergmann, *Innovationen im Quadrivium des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts: Studien zur Einführung von Astrolab und Abakus im lateinischen Mittelalter*, Sudhoffs Archiv, Beiheft 26 (Stuttgart, 1985), 57–65 and 175–215; and for the context of the study of arithmetic in the period, see Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1978), 139–87. David C. Lindberg, *The Beginnings of Western Science: The European Scientific Tradition in Philosophical, Religious, and Institutional Context, 600 B.C. to A.D. 1450* (Chicago, 1992), provides a recent general account of science in our period; see esp. 183–213. On Hindu-Arabic numerals and their introduction into Europe, see Menninger, *Number Words*, 391–445; David Eugene Smith and Louis Charles Karpinski, *The Hindu-Arabic Numerals* (Boston, 1911); G. F. Hill, *The Development of Arabic Numerals in Europe Exhibited in Sixty-Four Tables* (Oxford, 1915), esp. 28–31, 44–45; Richard Lemay, "The Hispanic Origin of Our Present Numeral Forms," *Viator* 8 (1977): 435–62 and plates following. In general on the historical and cultural background for this treatise, see Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927); and Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

numerals, the use of counters, important definitions, and the detailed description of sample multiplication and addition problems. On fol. 54v the forms of the Hindu-Arabic numerals are illustrated and labeled (figure 2), and at the end of the treatise is an illustration of a man doing something—to be discussed below—with these same numerals (plate 3).

Our treatment of this little mathematical work, which has never been discussed by scholars, begins with a description of the Ottoboni manuscript, continues with evidence for the connection of the manuscript with eleventh-century Monte Cassino, presents our identification of the author of the treatise (a Cassinese monk of that period), turns then to full discussion of the contents of the treatise, and its style, sources, and historical context, and proceeds finally to the physical equipment described in the treatise, its Hindu-Arabic numerals, and the illustration that accompanies the treatise in the manuscript. In an appendix we present an edition of the treatise and a translation.

#### THE MANUSCRIPT: VAT. OTTOB. LAT. 1354

Ottob. lat. 1354 is a small book clearly designed as a *livre d'étude*. It measures 180 × 100 (145 × 75 outer, 65 inner) mm. and is written in tiny letters in a single column with 52 lines to the page. There are 117 surviving leaves, in gatherings of eight with hair side out. The prickings are still visible. Ruling is on the hair side, many of the horizontal lines extending to the edge of the leaf. The parchment is yellowish. The ink is brown. There are stains at the beginning, and the ink is faded on many of the flesh sides; nevertheless, the preservation is good.

The hand is a neat Italian minuscule of very small module dating s. xi/xii. Both the half-uncial and uncial *d* are found. On fol. 13r is an example of the scribe's Greek. Being a schoolbook, the manuscript is filled with abbreviations, and since the subjects range over a number of different *artes*, technical abbreviations for the several disciplines are found. The common ones include, alongside traditional Italian *q* for *qui*, the more recently adopted *q̃* for *qua*, and other forms with suprascript letters such as *p̃* for *pri*, and *ḡ*, *ḥ*, and *ṭ* for *tra*, *tre*, and *tri*. The typically South Italian abbreviation *āu* for *autem* is found, but so are such alien importations as the 7-shaped stroke for *et* and *h* for *hoc*.

The modest initials are often in solid red. The capitals in many parts are touched with red, as are also the numerals in our text, and a yellow wash was applied to letters or words. Gold was ineptly smeared on a few initials beginning on fol. 34v. On fol. 16v is a chart of numerals in columns: car-

dinal, ordinal, etc. The chart is simply but attractively decorated, and colored with the red paint and yellow wash. Other charts are found, e.g., on fols. 62r–69v; one on fol. 67v includes arcading over the four columns. In the abacus treatise (fols. 54v–55v), the sets of Hindu-Arabic and Roman numerals and the brackets that surround them, again in red with yellow wash, are boldly drawn and dominate the page (figure 2). The illustration of a man holding an abacus, which follows the treatise—the only figure illustration in the entire book—is also very colorful. Our abacist wears a robe of ultramarine; the blue appears also in his *cathedra* and in the last numeral (four) to the right. The abacist has also a cloak in tan-yellow, a color also used in his hair and face, in the dots and edges of the *cathedra*, and inside the round numerals. Liver-colored reddish-grey is used on the abacist's face and left hand. The same red that is used elsewhere in the manuscript decorates the ends of the abacus board (plate 3).

#### THE MONTE CASSINO BACKGROUND FOR THE COLLECTION OF TEXTS IN OTTOB. LAT. 1354

As for many of the works that it includes, Ottob. lat. 1354 gives no author for our treatise. It has neither *incipit* nor *explicit*. Furthermore, so far nothing has been established regarding the book's provenance.<sup>3</sup> It is known, however, that a number of its texts are closely connected with southern Italy and that some of them originated at the abbey of Monte Cassino, some eighty miles south of where the volume lies today. Although there is no South Italian writing in the manuscript, and though there is no evidence that it ever was itself at that abbey, P. Gehl has pointed out, in an article whose weight is in inverse proportion to its length, that the treatise whose beginning is found on fol. 107v ("INCIPIUNT SCHEMATALOGA, ID EST FIGURAE ORATIONIS") is preserved in several South Italian manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> He also showed that the "Schemata loga" treatise was used by the celebrated *grammaticus* Alberic of Monte Cassino, whose literary activity

<sup>3</sup> The ex libris on fol. 1r is dated s. xiv (?) by Pellegrin, *Les manuscrits*, 529, and is transcribed by her.

<sup>4</sup> Gehl, "Vat. Ottobonianus Lat. 1354," 305 and nn. 1 and 2. The most famous manuscript that contains the text is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7530, from Monte Cassino, dated 779–97. See E. A. Loew [Lowe], *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2d ed. prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown, 2 vols. (Rome, 1980), 2:114–15; E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana* (Oxford, 1929), pl. 9; idem, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* 5 (Oxford, 1950), no. 569. It was Louis Holtz, "Le Parisinus latinus 7530, synthèse cassinienne des arts libéraux," *Studi medievali*, 3d ser., 16 (1975): 97–152, who showed (115) the presence of this text in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7530; see also his list of other manuscripts.

began by the 1060s and extended at least to ca. 1080 and probably later.<sup>5</sup> Another text in the volume that appears in a number of South Italian manuscripts, for example in Monte Cassino 218, is the poem (fol. 54r) on the virtues and vices, beginning "Non mihi sit ductrix inflata superbia quaesio."<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, the text on fols. 85r–90r, which has the heading "Incipit De longitudine et breuitate principalium sillabarum Alberici," has been identified by Fr. O. J. Blum as the work of that same Alberic.<sup>7</sup> An *incipit* for the third part of the same work ("Incipit Regula Alberici De longitudine et breuitate ultimarum sillabarum," fol. 89v) also gives Alberic's name. This identification has been accepted by E. Pellegrin in her careful description of the manuscript and also by Gehl.<sup>8</sup> In addition, on fols. 71r–84v stands the important *Lexicon Prosodiacum*, a handbook for learning the quantity of first syllables from examples of the poets, to which H. M. Willard first called attention in a study of the oldest manuscript, Monte Cassino 580.<sup>9</sup> Recently D. Anderson has demonstrated conclusively that the *Lexicon* was produced at Monte Cassino and should almost certainly be attributed to Alberic.<sup>10</sup> It was Gehl who first pointed out the broader connection of the Ottoboni manuscript to Monte Cassino, and he proved incontrovertibly that not just one but three further pieces following these texts are either Alberic's work or that of his circle; the *Lexicon Prosodiacum* is clearly a companion piece to Alberic's treatises.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The title *grammaticus*, in an abbreviated form, was given to him, no doubt by Leo Marsicanus himself, in the latter's calendar entry for his death in Vat. Borg. lat. 211, fol. 7v, on 9 July: "Albericus (gr) sacerdos et monachus"; see Hartmut Hoffmann, "Der Kalender des Leo Marsicanus," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 21 (1965): 113 and 129 with n. 10. On Alberic's life and work, see A. Lentini's article "Alberico," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1960), 643–45; and Herbert Bloch, "Monte Cassino's Teachers and Library in the High Middle Ages," in *La Scuola nell'occidente latino dell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 19 (Spoleto, 1972), 563–613, esp. 587–99. Identification of the works of Alberic is discussed in the remainder of this paragraph and on pp. 301–2 n. 25 below.

<sup>6</sup> Gehl, "Vat. Ottobonianus Lat. 1354," 305 n. 2. The verses are found in Monte Cassino 218, p. 126; it is not an accident that this manuscript contains *glossaria* and related works, as does Ottob. lat. 1354.

<sup>7</sup> Owen J. Blum, "Alberic of Monte Cassino and the Hymns and Rhythms Attributed to Saint Peter Damian," *Traditio* 12 (1956): 87–148, esp. 98 n. 43.

<sup>8</sup> See n. 2 above, and specifically Pellegrin, *Les manuscrits*, 528, and Gehl, "Vat. Ottobonianus Lat. 1354," 304–5.

<sup>9</sup> Henry M. Willard, "Codex Casinensis 580 T: *Lexicon Prosodiacum* saec. XI," in *Casiniensis*, 2 vols. (Monte Cassino, 1929), 1:297–304 and pl. 1. This Monte Cassino manuscript containing the *Lexicon*, in the opinion of the senior collaborator, belongs to the period 1065–85.

<sup>10</sup> See Anderson, "*Lexicon*," esp. 28 and 61–64. In a forthcoming work, Anderson will further explore the Cassinese origin of this *Lexicon* by showing how its compiler worked.

<sup>11</sup> The connection with Monte Cassino was first suggested by Gehl, "Monastic Rhetoric," 211–13. He has shown (*ibid.*, 209, 213, and "Vat. Ottobonianus Lat. 1354," 306–7) that the pieces on fols. 90v–91v, 91v–94v, and 94v–95r are compositional exercises in paraphrase, with a

In the present authors' opinion, the entire book, with its dominant emphasis on grammar and versification, seems to be related to the teaching and practice of composition at Monte Cassino in the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>12</sup> In spite of some surface irregularities that the codex presents, Gehl quite rightly stressed its unity: "The resulting impression is one of a personal collection. This collector was almost certainly a teacher of grammar with a metrical bent, for he includes many notes on syllable length and inflection, and some contemporary verse, as well as such standard authors on metrical matters as Bede and Servius."<sup>13</sup> Long study has given the present authors the same impression.

The codex is, with one trifling exception, the work of a single hand.<sup>14</sup> The contents as well show a striking unity, and the medieval reader probably saw even more unity than the modern reader is likely to see. While the subject of the collection is broadly grammatical, in an important way the focus is on verse composition. Metrics is fundamental, and the book opens with Priscian's *Partitiones duodecim versuum Aeneidos principalium*. It is clear that composition was being taught, as well as the grammatical rules themselves; the glossaries that are included instruct in definitions of unusual words and unusual forms, as well as constructions. In addition to Priscian on Virgil's metrics (fols. 1v–16r) and Bede, *De metrica arte* with the prologue of Remigius of Auxerre (fols. 57v–65v), the focus is revealed by texts interwoven with these, including the brief extracts (fol. 44v) beginning "Musa est dea carminis," the glossary of poetic terms (fols. 48r–49v) beginning "POETA vates vel versificator," and the much more significant texts on prosody, including Servius, *De finalibus* (fols. 56r–57v), the revolutionary new *Lexicon Prosodiacum* (fols. 71r–84v), and Alberic's treatise, *De longitudine et brevitate principalium sillabarum* (fols. 85r–90r). The collection clearly is designed for young students; one treatise (fols. 66r–70v) makes this plain by its title—incidentally a title that breathes the

section on synonymy, that have close parallels in Alberic's treatment of paraphrase in the so-called *Breviarium de dictamine*, often using the same words.

<sup>12</sup> In asserting this about the entire collection, we are following the opinion of Anderson, "*Lexicon*," 46.

<sup>13</sup> Gehl, "Vat. Ottobonianus Lat. 1354," 304.

<sup>14</sup> As Gehl says (*ibid.*), the writing presents "varying degrees of formality," sometimes cramped and sometimes freer; Anderson ("*Lexicon*," 84) concluded, however, and we would agree, that the same scribe wrote all the texts here, except for a few lines at the foot of fol. 16r, which are the work of a different but contemporary scribe. The divergences that strike the eye in the case of other passages cited by Gehl are due to later retracing (the top section of fol. 16v) or, especially, to the scribe's adoption of a different module (fols. 26v, 54r, 103v, and 112r–117v). This, of course, does not hold true of marginalia, which are often later, as the verses added on pages beginning in the right margin of fol. 17r.



very style of Alberic, though it has no attribution—"Liber compendiositatis et introductorium opus puerilitatis." Two texts that are not grammatical point in the same direction; on fols. 45r–46v the section by Martin of Braga (Ps.-Seneca), entitled "Libellus de III virtutibus prudentia fortitudine temperantia et iustitia qui intitulatur formula vitae honestae aeditus a quodam martino aepiscopo ad Mironem regem,"<sup>15</sup> and on fol. 54r the poem mentioned above on the virtues and vices, which is found in a number of South Italian manuscripts,<sup>16</sup> remind us that works on the virtues and vices formed part of the elementary reading in many medieval school-books.

One kind of evidence of the inner coherence and unity of the collection of texts in Ottob. lat. 1354 has not been commented on by scholars. A single piece of this evidence is mentioned as part of a heading in Pellegrin's description of the manuscript; at the end of the grammatical notes on fols. 50v–53v, the text concludes, "... hic et hec et hoc penus et hoc penum, hic et haec sexus, hic et hec et hoc specus, hic et hoc sal. FORMATIONES OBLIQUORUM CASUUM REQUIRANTUR RETRO."<sup>17</sup> The words in capitals (see plate 4) are in red, in the same hand and same red ink as all other headings; at the end of the text—affirming that *penus* may be masculine, feminine, or neuter (also *penum* neuter); that *sexus* may be masculine or feminine; that *specus* may be masculine, feminine, or neuter; and that *sal* may be either masculine or neuter—the reader is to understand that "THE WAYS TO FORM THE OBLIQUE CASES MAY BE LOOKED FOR ABOVE." This is, in other words, the equivalent of the modern "*vide supra*" or "see above," and recommends that the reader turn to the earlier treatment of the subject found in the glossaries; for example, the oblique form of *penus* on fol. 21r and that of *sal* on fol. 22r. The Pellegrin catalogue does not explain the meaning of this cross-reference; it also does not list two further notices of the same kind: on fol. 60r, middle, "REQ̄ IN SERV̄ H̄" ("LOOK UNDER SERVIUS HONORATUS"), and on fol. 60r, bottom, "Req̄ Retro in servii honorati regula" ("Look Back under the rule of Servius Honoratus"), referring to the sections of Servius, *De finalibus* on fol. 56r, middle of page, with the heading "De primis sillabis," and bottom of page, with the heading "De mediis sillabis." These insertions in red are the cross-references that a

<sup>15</sup> See *Martini episcopi Bracarenensis Opera omnia*, ed. Claude W. Barlow, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 12 (New Haven, 1950), 204–50. For the Life of Seneca found on fol. 46v, see Cesare Questa, "Accessus medioevali al *de moribus* dello Pseudo-Seneca," *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 2 (1960): 184–85.

<sup>16</sup> The poem is edited from Monte Cassino 218, p. 126, in *Bibliotheca casinensis*, vol. 4 (Monte Cassino, 1880), 201–2.

<sup>17</sup> See Pellegrin, *Les manuscrits*, 526.

scholar/teacher designed to remind himself and his pupils of earlier treatment of the questions in this collection. They furnish clear proof that the corpus of texts was a unity, a "personal collection."<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the reference system for easy use is reminiscent of the strikingly novel reference system employed by the scholar who devised the *Lexicon Prosodiacum*.<sup>19</sup> All the available evidence points to that scholar as being Alberic of Monte Cassino, and the implication is that this entire collection in Ottob. lat. 1354 was due to his devising as well, and, as Gehl has suggested, reflects the "novel, eclectic compositional pedagogy pioneered by Alberic and the literary flowering at Cassino."<sup>20</sup>

Within this body of texts, there are two small sections having to do with mathematics. Each comes at the end of a gathering. Fol. 16v, the last leaf of the second eight-leaf quire, contains at the top the delightfully decorated chart of "Numeri cardinales ordinales dispartitivi adverbiales ponderiales" that has been mentioned above. Below that the remainder of the page is filled in with brief texts likewise on numbers. The treatise on the abacus that particularly concerns us stands at the end of the seventh gathering, on fols. 54v–55v. The cutting-out of the first leaf of the third gathering, after fol. 16, threw the modern foliation out for the rest of the book; our treatise would originally have been on fols. 55v–56v, though, of course, numbering of each leaf was not practiced in books of this kind in twelfth-century Italy.<sup>21</sup> In one sense, the mathematical texts are alien to the theme of the volume, but in another sense they are not. Both texts seem to have been used as filler; the abacus text would perhaps not have been preserved for us if it had not fitted neatly into the space at the end of a gathering and if the compiler had not desired to start the next text—a very important one, Servius, *De finalibus*—at the beginning of a new gathering. Yet, in another sense, the mathematical work on the abacus is of a piece with the rest. Its author says expressly that it is designed for *parvuli*, and this fits in with the elementary teaching that is reflected throughout the codex. More significantly, our treatise follows immediately a text consisting of notes, beginning "Tonus est sonus vocis armoniace, id est vox a modulatu . . .," which is in keeping with the many texts in the volume that concern *vox* and *vocabulum*,<sup>22</sup> and treats the subject in relation to music and *toni*; and the opening paragraph of the abacus treatise cites

<sup>18</sup> The term is borrowed from Gehl, "Vat. Ottobonianus Lat. 1354," 304.

<sup>19</sup> For the ingenious and revolutionary new reference system in the *Lexicon Prosodiacum*, see the careful description in Anderson, "Lexicon," 19–20.

<sup>20</sup> Gehl, "Vat. Ottobonianus Lat. 1354," 307.

<sup>21</sup> Gehl, "Monastic Rhetoric," 206, mentions the cutting out of the leaf.

<sup>22</sup> For example, fol. 49v (Hieronymus), 50v (grammatica), 66v (grammatica), etc.

*musica* among the *artes* that use the abacus "as if it were an alphabet."<sup>23</sup> In other words, the manuscript's central focus is metrics, but the subject is treated in a context of the other *artes* as well. It is striking that the two mathematical pieces present the most interesting decoration to be found in the entire book, and our treatise the only figural decoration found in it—the abacist, painted predominantly in rich blue and ochre, which fills the space on the lower half of fol. 55v. The two mathematical elements probably lent themselves better to illustration than the other texts. In any case, the technical novelty of the abacus with its newly imported Hindu-Arabic numerals fitted admirably with the novel technical tools that Alberic's Monte Cassino was developing for students, such as the *Lexicon Prosodiacum*, found a few leaves further on.

THE AUTHOR: PANDULF OF CAPUA,  
MONK OF MONTE CASSINO

In the preceding discussion, it has been shown that the contents of Ottob. lat. 1354 point directly to late eleventh-century Monte Cassino.<sup>24</sup> We would suggest that our short mathematical treatise, embedded in the middle of this personal Cassinese collection, is the work of a Cassinese author as well. It is significant to note that the literary circle of the Monte Cassino of Alberic's day possessed a scholar with a strong interest in mathematics, at least of a practical variety. Among the writers of the Desiderian abbey to whom Peter the Deacon (ca. 1140) devoted brief biographical notices is Pandulf of Capua.<sup>25</sup> Peter describes his life and work in

<sup>23</sup> See the text edited and translated in the appendix below (sentence 2).

<sup>24</sup> This is the period that H. E. J. Cowdrey has called "The Golden Age of Montecassino," the title of his first chapter in *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, 1983), 1–45.

<sup>25</sup> Peter the Deacon is known for his forgeries in other works, but his biographies in *De viris illustribus* are an extraordinarily rich and reliable source for the literary production of his abbey. They are also a source that has been neglected. It was not, for example, until recently that Peter the Deacon's biography of the revolutionary translator/adaptor of Arabic medical works, Constantine the African, was edited in accordance with modern scholarly standards and the identification of the works of Constantine listed in it set forth; see Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), esp. 1:98–110, 127–34. Earlier, the brilliant identification of the works of Lawrence of Amalfi was made possible by this source; see Walther Holtzmann, "Laurentius von Amalfi, ein Lehrer Hildebrands," *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947): 207–36 (rpt. in Holtzmann's *Beiträge zur Reichs- und Papstgeschichte des hohen Mittelalters*, Bonner historische Forschungen 8 [Bonn, 1957], 9–33). Another work of Lawrence's was identified, with the help of Peter the Deacon's biography, by F. Newton, "A Newly-Discovered Poem on St. Maur by Lawrence of Amalfi," *Benedictina* 20 (1973): 91–107. We cite only one further example of discoveries based on this source; the dossier of works of Alberic of Monte Cassino has been greatly extended by studies of the late Don Anselmo Lentini, now conveniently gathered in *Medioevo letterario cassinese* (Monte Cassino, 1988), 45–203. See also the forthcoming study of

chapter 26 of the *De viris illustribus*:<sup>26</sup>

Pandulfus Capuanus presbiter in Casino sub Desiderio abbate monachus factus, divina secularique lidteratura eruditus, scripsit ad Petrum Salernitanum abbatem librum de calculatione; Versus de termino pasche Hebreorum; de cyclo solari ad concurrentes inveniendos; de cyclo lunari; de feria pasche Hebreorum invenienda; ad annos Domini inveniendos; qualiter sint inveniende indictiones; de luna cuiusque diei invenienda, absque embolismorum [hembolismorum *C*, *corr. C<sup>l</sup>*, *ut vid.*] contrarietate; quomodo fallunt qui se scire putant quot horis vel punctis luna in unaquaque nocte luceat; quibus modis cursus solis dividatur; quomodo efficiatur bissextus; Ad ferias calendarum inveniendas; qualiter vel unde regule ad ferias mensium inveniendas precedant; quomodo regula terminorum Hebreorum ex cursu solis inveniatur; ad feriam uniuscuiusque diei inveniendam; de quadtuor temporibus; In quibus [in quibus *C*, In quibus *C<sup>l</sup>*, *ut vid.*] datariis solstitia veraciter esse debent; ubi equinoctia veraciter credantur esse; quomodo adventum [*sic*] Domini sit inveniendus; ud [*sic*] lidtera ebdomadaram per totum annum memoriter inveniatur; quomodo Christus sit passus in tertio calendas Aprilis; quomodo anni ab origine mundi omnes falluntur [*sic*]; qualiter luna quintadecima non pertinet ad illum diem, quo facta fuit; de assumptione sancte Marie; de Agnete imperatrice. Fuit autem temporibus Michaelis et Alexii imperatorum.<sup>27</sup>

It is striking that Pandulf wrote a book on calculation, and the passage raises a question: could he be the author of our treatise? He was exactly a contemporary of Alberic, the author of other works in Ottob. lat. 1354. It is known that Petrus, also a native of Capua, to whom Pandulf dedicated the *De calculatione*, became abbot of St. Benedict's in Salerno between 1064 and 1067.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, in this same period Monte Cassino acquired or copied from an older exemplar two texts quoted in our treatise,

Charles Radding and F. Newton on the newly identified treatise of Alberic against the Eucharistic teachings of Berengar of Tours.

<sup>26</sup> Text as collated by the senior collaborator from the autograph, Monte Cassino 361 (here called *C*), p. 140, keeping original spelling but substituting modern punctuation; the edition in PL 173:1035–36 is not wholly reliable in details, such as Peter's preference for such spellings as "lidteratura" and elsewhere "Adto."

<sup>27</sup> "The presbyter Pandulf of Capua, who became a monk at Monte Cassino under Abbot Desiderius, learned in divine and secular literature, wrote to Abbot Peter of Salerno a book on calculation; verses on . . . [twenty-four other titles follow]. He lived at the time of the emperors Michael and Alexius."

<sup>28</sup> Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* 1:225. Peter the Deacon's notice of Pandulf's work "de Agnete imperatrice" points to the same period; the German empress visited Monte Cassino ca. 1072–73 and her death occurred in 1077 (see *ibid.* 1:135–36). Pandulf's poem on Agnes must have been written in those years.

the treatise of Heriger on the abacus, and the *De loquela digitorum* ascribed to Bede; they are found in a manuscript still at the abbey, Monte Cassino 189, most probably copied in the 1060s or 1070s.<sup>29</sup> This shows an interest in the subject of the abacus and related topics, and this seems likely to have been an interest sparked by Pandulf.<sup>30</sup>

The most significant pointer to the authorship of our treatise, however, is found in its writer's own words. At the end of the brief introduction he says of the art of computation, "Indeed, so useful is this knowledge, that our study of the *computus*, and arithmetic, and music, geometry also, and astronomy, use it as if it were an alphabet." Of the *artes* listed here, the one with which the author associates himself is the science of the *computus*, the first of the *artes* listed and specified as "our (*noster*) *computus*."<sup>31</sup> It was his preferred area of research and, presumably, writing. When one turns from this passage in the Ottoboni treatise to Peter the Deacon's text cited above, it is clear that Pandulf's dominant concern in his writing was the *computus*. The detailed list of topics on which he wrote—there are more than twenty titles regarding the *computus* that form the greatest part of it—inspired K. Strecker in his article on computistical *rhythmi* to exclaim, "Ein wirklich reichhaltiges Repertoire!"<sup>32</sup> Compositions on the *computus* formed the dominant part of Pandulf's writings. This fits exactly the statement of the author of our treatise concerning "*noster computus*."

<sup>29</sup> This is the date assigned by the senior author of this article. Monte Cassino 189 does not include the section of Heriger's work containing the passage quoted by Pandulf (see n. 8 in the text on p. 329 below). In fact, the material on the abacus in this part of Monte Cassino 189, pp. 137–144, is quite different from the "Ratio numerorum abaci secundum Herigerum" printed by Nicolaus Bubnov in *Gerberti Opera mathematica* (Berlin, 1899), 221–24; it lacks Heriger's beginning but has much more extensive text before and after the part that appears in Bubnov's edition. Clearly, Pandulf must have had more than one copy at his disposal. The whole is printed in *Bibliotheca casinensis*, vol. 4, in the section *Florilegium casinense*, pp. 219–23, of which p. 220, col. 2–p. 221, col. 1 ("Singularis quemcumque dividendo . . . multiplicatur particularitas") = pp. 222–23 of Bubnov's edition ("Singularis quemcumque . . . multiplicabitur particulatas"). The work of Bede, with illustrations, is on pp. 150–154 of Monte Cassino 189. On Heriger in general, see the bibliography in Robert Gary Babcock, *Heriger of Lobbes and the Freising Florilegium*, Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters 18 (Frankfurt am Main, 1984), 179 n. 172.

<sup>30</sup> Interestingly enough, Monte Cassino 189 also contains a text of Gerbert's *Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus* (pp. 132–137), but our author does not appear to have used it.

<sup>31</sup> Students of Medieval Latin will realize at once that "*noster computus*" does not mean "the book I have written on the *computus*," or "my copy of a *computus*." Instead, in the context of the list of *artes*, it clearly refers to the area in which the writer has specialized, "my own principal field of study, that of the *computus*." In general on the medieval study of the *computus*, see Arno Borst, *The Ordering of Time: From the Ancient Computus to the Modern Computer* (Cambridge, 1993), passim.

<sup>32</sup> Karl Strecker, "Zu den komputistischen Rhythmen," *Neues Archiv* 36 (1911): 334.

It should be added that Peter the Deacon obviously scoured the abbey library in composing the *De viris illustribus* and gathered every scrap of evidence for writings of its monks. His biographies include an amazing number of titles, and this rich mine of information has permitted scholars in recent decades to identify a sizable number of works of Cassinese writers that are still extant. Among all the works that he lists, however, there is only one author in the second half of the eleventh century whose work lay in the field of the *computus*. When therefore we consider (1) that the context of the abacus treatise in Ottob. lat. 1354 shows a strong presence of works from Monte Cassino, especially works associated with Alberic, and that furthermore the author of our treatise on computation identifies his principal interest as the study of the *computus*, while (2) Monte Cassino in the time of Alberic was noted for the presence of a monk who wrote extensively in verse on the *computus* and, in addition, wrote a prose work on calculation, it is a reasonable conclusion that Pandulf of Capua, the monk of Monte Cassino, is the author and that the treatise on calculation is our treatise on the abacus. Although our treatise has no reference to Abbot Peter, it may have originally contained a dedicatory preface or letter addressed to him, which is now missing; this is often the case with such medieval treatises.<sup>33</sup>

#### CONTENTS, STYLE, AND SOURCES OF THE TREATISE

This treatise, to which we shall hereafter refer as *De calculatione*,<sup>34</sup> is in many ways traditional. Pandulf uses standard definitions (e.g., of *digitus* and *articulus*) and draws from the “rule books”<sup>35</sup> of his predecessors, including Gerbert (ca. 980) and Heriger (ca. 990–1007), in order to illustrate the process of multiplication.<sup>36</sup> These latter two figures, espe-

<sup>33</sup> For example, until Dom Jean Mallet’s discovery, the preface to Alberic’s *Passio S. Cesarii* and the accompanying *apologia* and poem were unknown; see Jean Mallet and André Thibaut, *Les manuscrits en écriture bénéventaine de la Bibliothèque Capitulare de Bénévent*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1984), 246–47.

<sup>34</sup> The text will be cited as *De calc.*, followed by a sentence number referring to our edition and translation in the appendix below.

<sup>35</sup> This seems to us the best term for this kind of abacus tract, which contains lists of definitions and specific rules but little or no elaboration or practical application. The works of Gerbert and Heriger cited in the next note are the principal examples of the rule book.

<sup>36</sup> Many of the works of Pandulf’s predecessors and contemporaries (named below in this note) on the abacus, as well as the testimony on the life and works of Gerbert, are conveniently collected in Bubnov, *Gerberti Opera mathematica*; they will be cited hereafter as Bubnov, followed by their page numbers. Gerbert, born in France ca. 945/950 and educated in Spain and Italy, became pope as Sylvester II in 999; for his career, see Pierre Riché, *Gerbert d’Aurillac: Le pape de l’an mil* (Paris, 1987). Gerbert is often credited with having been the first in Europe to have taught the use of the Hindu-Arabic numerals. Gerbert’s medieval biographers say that he

cially Gerbert, are generally cited by medieval and modern authorities as the earliest scholars who taught the use of the abacus, although the terminology used in their works seems already standardized,<sup>37</sup> and there is no explanation (as we might expect from pioneers) of how the abacus works. As for Pandulf, his originality lies in the skillful presentation of the sample problem and its solution, in the introduction of differently shaped *caracteres* to aid the user, and in the promotion (and perhaps invention) of a unique variety of Hindu-Arabic numerals whose forms he explains with a simple mnemonic device. Pandulf did not preach to the converted: in his elaborate and repetitive exposition of the subject matter and in his use of a detailed, step-by-step example of multiplication, Pandulf's goal was clearly to create a calculation device and method that could be used even by small children (*parvuli*). Very little previous experience with mathematics is assumed or required. Pandulf's repetitive explanations are as well suited for independent study as they are for a teacher's lecture. As a step in the multiplication of fifty and twelve he instructs the reader:

Afterwards you will multiply *binarius* (two) by *quinarius* (five) in the following fashion: twice *quinarius* (five) is 10, for which you will take an *unitas*

also revived the almost forgotten study of the abacus (e.g., Bubnov 383.14–17). His *Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus* (Bubnov 1–22) dates from ca. 980; also in Bubnov is the *Fragmentum de norma rationis abaci* (Bubnov 23–24) and an eleventh- or twelfth-century treatise falsely ascribed to him, the *Regulae Gerberti de divisionibus* (Bubnov 291–93). The most detailed, recent treatment of the evidence concerning Gerbert, the abacus, and Hindu-Arabic numerals may be found in Bergmann, *Innovationen*, 176–213; see also Kurt Vogel, "Gerbert von Aurillac als Mathematiker," *Acta Historica Leopoldina* 16 (1985): 9–23; Smith and Karpinski, *Hindu-Arabic Numerals*, 110–18. As regards other abacists of the late tenth and eleventh centuries, Heriger's work (*Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus* [Bubnov 205–21] and *Ratio numerorum abaci* [Bubnov 221–25], both ca. 970–990), roughly contemporary with that of Gerbert, was a convenient reference work for abacus writers from which they could extract rules as needed. Bubnov's volume also includes other texts on the abacus: the relevant selection from Abbo of Fleury, which Bubnov has titled *Excerpta ex Abbonis scholastici Floriacensis in calculum Victorii commentario* (ca. 970–980) (Bubnov 197–204); Pseudo-Boethius's *Abacus in Boethii geometria subditicia* (s. xi) (Bubnov 155–61); and other miscellaneous, fragmentary, and mostly anonymous writings. Bernelinus's *Liber abaci* (s. xi) has been edited by A. Olleris, *Oeuvres de Gerbert* (Paris, 1867), 357–400. For Lawrence of Amalfi's treatise on the abacus, see Francis Newton, ed., *Laurentius Monachus Casinensis, Archiepiscopus Amalfitanus, Opera*, MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 7 (Weimar, 1973), 76–80; see also idem, "Lawrence of Amalfi's Mathematical Teaching," *Traditio* 21 (1965): 445–49; and idem, "Tibullus in Two Grammatical *Florilegia* of the Middle Ages," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 93 (1962): 253–86, esp. 277–80.

<sup>37</sup> As Bergmann and others have pointed out, Walther of Speyer uses these terms in his *Libellus Scholasticus* (begun in 981), in a passage in which he is ostensibly discussing his childhood education. See also Peter Vossen, ed., *Der Libellus Scolasticus des Walther von Speyer* (Berlin, 1962), 41, lines 169–79, and the commentary *ad loc.* on pp. 135–53.

(one) in your hands, and because *quinarius* (five) is the multiplier in the tens place—say the “tens place” rule, as has been said above—and because the article which you hold in your hand is of tens value, not in the next but in the farther one—i.e., in that *linea* which is beyond the next one from that one where the *binarius* (two) is, (the two) that the *quinarius* (five) is multiplying (for from that *linea* where the *binarius* [two] is, the tens is the next, the hundreds is the one after that)—there, therefore, put what you have in your hand (*De calc.* 36).

Compare the careful repetitions in the preceding passage with a selection from one of Pandulf's sources, Heriger's *Ratio numerorum abaci*:

Singularis quemcumque multiplicat in eodem, quem multiplicat, ponit digitum, in ulteriore articulum. Decenus quemcumque multiplicat, in secundo ab illo, quem multiplicat, ponit digitum, in ulteriore articulum.<sup>38</sup>

Most of Heriger's work consists of lists of rules. Gerbert's work on the abacus also possessed a largely rule-book format: “Si decenum per centenum millenum, digitis mille millia, articulis decies mille millia. Si singularem per centenum millenum, digitis centum millia, articulis mille millia.”<sup>39</sup> These rule books are written for experts. The reader of such works must already understand basic terminology associated with the abacus, the range of problems that the abacus can be used to solve, the place-value system, the use of counters, and (occasionally) the Hindu-Arabic numerals. Pandulf's treatise, by contrast, is for beginners. One may consult it for terminology and for detailed descriptions of two problems, one a practical multiplication problem (the conversion of *solidi* to *denarii*), the other a simple problem of addition. Pandulf's *De calculatione* is unique among early abacus treatises in the depth and propaedeutic presentation of its material.

We have stated that in many ways Pandulf's work on the abacus was not exceptional. He uses standard vocabulary (*caracter*, *linea*, *digitus*, *articulus*,

<sup>38</sup> Bubnov 221.20–24 (“A unit number places whatever it multiplies in the same column that it is multiplying, the article in the next one. A tens place number places whatever it is multiplying in the next column from that which it is multiplying, the article in the one after that”).

<sup>39</sup> Bubnov 11.2–7 (“If [you multiply] a number in the tens place by a number in the 100 thousands place, the digits [go] in the millions place and the articles in the ten millions place. If [you multiply] a unit number by a number in the 100 thousands place, the digits [go] in the 100 thousands place and the articles in the millions place”). The Latin is more laconic than an English translation can indicate and clearly, unlike Pandulf's formulations, is not intended for beginners. To avoid confusion, we use the term “unit number” to mean what would normally be expressed in English by the term “digit,” i.e., a whole number from 1 to 9, located in the ones place on an abacus. The medieval term *digitus* is defined in relation to the *articulus* and is not confined to the English meaning.



*singularis*), he draws on the work of his predecessors, and he was not the first scholar in the West to use the Hindu-Arabic numerals. However, certain aspects of his work demand further attention. Pandulf is one of the few early abacists who demonstrate in writing the practical application of the abacus. His predecessor Abbo of Fleury, in the late tenth century, had demonstrated the multiplication of sixty by sixty.<sup>40</sup> Pandulf's contemporaries (?), the late eleventh- or early twelfth-century commentators on Gerbert, explained how to multiply 368622 by 144252,<sup>41</sup> and in the early twelfth century, Garland of Besançon showed how to compute the total number of nails needed for a horse with six nails in each shoe and how to divide 120 pearls among three girls.<sup>42</sup>

Pandulf himself does not assume that the student is familiar with the concept of the place-value system. He continually emphasizes the relationships among the different columns, clearly showing his educational aims. By working through a sample problem on the abacus and by reading (or listening to) Pandulf's explanations of the relative positions of different columns, the student should gain both a theoretical and a practical knowledge of the workings of the abacus. A commentary on Gerbert illustrates this same concern to a lesser extent,<sup>43</sup> but we do not find this emphasis on the relative positions of the columns in any other early abacus tract except that of Lawrence of Amalfi, whose example of compound division specifies "sicuti cum novem milia dividuntur per septingentos et septuaginta, novenario quippe caractere qui dividendus est locato in linea quarta, septenarius unus in tertia et septenarius alter in linea ponitur secunda a singulari."<sup>44</sup>

The treatise of Lawrence, who became a monk at Monte Cassino in the early 1020s and afterwards was archbishop of his native Amalfi, was first published some twenty years ago. According to tradition, Lawrence was a student or follower of Gerbert and in turn teacher of another pope, the young Hildebrand who was afterwards Gregory VII.<sup>45</sup> His treatise, to which

<sup>40</sup> Bubnov 201.14–16.

<sup>41</sup> Bubnov 253–62 and 262 n. 33.

<sup>42</sup> P. Treutlein, ed., "Trattato di Gerlando 'De Abaco,'" *Bullettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche* 10 (1877): 598–99 and 600–602.

<sup>43</sup> Bubnov 258.8–9: "Nam centenus millenus sexto loco a prima unitate distans . . ." ("for a number in the hundred thousands place, being in the sixth position from the first, [i.e.] ones column . . .").

<sup>44</sup> Lawrence of Amalfi, *Opera*, ed. Newton, 77.2–6 ("Just as when 9000 is divided by 770, once the nine counter [which is the dividend] has been placed in the fourth column, a seven is placed in the third and another seven in the next line after the ones column").

<sup>45</sup> Beno, *Gesta Romanae Ecclesiae contra Hildebrandum* II, MGH Libelli de Lite 2 (Hannover, 1892), 376; see also Holtzmann, "Laurentius von Amalfi"; and Newton, introduction to Lawrence of Amalfi, *Opera*, 1–13.

the title *De divisione* has been given by the modern editor, may have been written early in Lawrence's career in one of the South Italian centers or later, in his exile years in Florence or Rome; he died in the latter city in 1049. The treatise, beginning "Est in abbaco simplex divisio; est et composita,"<sup>46</sup> has no prologue and no indication as to the audience for whom it was written. Its style is limpid and straightforward. Neither the abacus nor the type of counter is described; their existence and form are simply taken for granted. So is a certain familiarity with the basic working of the device. The terminology is completely consistent with that of Pandulf; the columns are called *lineae*, and each counter is called a *character*, the adjectives for each of the nine being *singularis*, *binarius*, *ternarius*, *quaternarius*, *quinarius*, *senarius*, *septenarius*, *octonarius*, and *novenarius*. (In the case of Lawrence's counters, however, we have no way of knowing whether he used Hindu-Arabic numerals.) There is no repetition or embroidering upon the subject; the treatment is practical and direct. In the third sentence a problem is adduced as an example of simple division, and the author works it through, step by step. Compound division likewise is illustrated by a problem of a single-number *dividendus* (as 9000) and a *divisor* of two numbers or more (as 770); this has been quoted above. Further on in the treatise,<sup>47</sup> Lawrence illustrates several cases with examples: the division of a number containing a blank column (*lineale spatium vacuum*), a *dividendus* consisting of two or more numbers (as 52,000), and a single-number *divisor* (as 40). There is no conclusion or summing-up.

In light of the fact that both Lawrence and Pandulf worked at Monte Cassino in the eleventh century and that the works of both authors share certain telling characteristics (which are absent from nearly all earlier works on the abacus), Pandulf undoubtedly had access to Lawrence's work on division. Since Lawrence discussed neither the appearance of the abacus and its counters nor the process of multiplication, it is possible that Pandulf designed his work on multiplication as a companion piece and supplement to that of Lawrence.<sup>48</sup>

#### PHYSICAL EQUIPMENT

The abacist's equipment includes an abacus board and a bag of counters. Pandulf describes his counters but has very little to say about the appear-

<sup>46</sup> Lawrence of Amalfi, *Opera*, ed. Newton, 76.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 77–79.

<sup>48</sup> Further evidence for this relationship will be adduced below in our discussion of Martianus Capella.

ance of his abacus board. When out of doors, the calculator could draw the columns of the abacus on the ground, in the ancient manner;<sup>49</sup> when teaching, any scrap of parchment might do. In Monte Cassino 189, a mathematical manuscript that Pandulf could perhaps have used,<sup>50</sup> p. 155, originally blank, is marked off in columns spanned by arcs which contain the letters M, C, X, and I, obviously Roman numeral labels for the columns of an abacus<sup>51</sup> (plate 1). There is a similarly marked page in a fragmentary manuscript in Gotha (Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Membr. I 153, C. 1, fol. 1v). Probably many other manuscripts contain such tables, as yet unreported.<sup>52</sup>

On the other hand, Pandulf devotes several sentences to the appearance and function of his unparalleled counters: "Meanwhile, to be able to distinguish more clearly, we have set up three triangular and three quadrangular counters (*tabulae*); the remaining three we have fitted out on circles" (*De calc.* 8). Pandulf goes on to say that the prospective abacist should have a bag (*sacculus*) containing at least ninety of these counters (*De calc.* 9). Now we know that the early medieval abacus (from the time of Gerbert until some time in the thirteenth century) used counters marked with Hindu-Arabic, Roman, or Greek numerals, and that one would represent a certain value on the abacus by placing these counters (*caracteres*) in the proper columns (*lineae* or *tabulae*).<sup>53</sup> Pandulf explains that a three counter takes on various values (3, 30, 300) depending on its position (*De calc.* 19). In Pandulf's day and as late as the twelfth century, an abacist would represent the number 87 by placing a counter marked with an eight in the tens column and a counter marked with a seven in the ones column. In the thirteenth century, however, abacists began to use unmarked, undifferentiated counters—this development is presumed to

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Persius, *Sat.* 1.131–32, where the poet lists among undesirable readers the man "qui abaco numeros et secto in pulvere metas / scit risisse vafer."

<sup>50</sup> Since the suggested date for Monte Cassino 189 is ca. 1060–80 (see above at n. 29), the manuscript could have been present in the library during Pandulf's working career at Monte Cassino.

<sup>51</sup> These columns and numerals are perhaps contemporary with the copying of the manuscript; in any case they are no later than the beginning of the twelfth century. No one seems to have noticed or commented on this page, but such charts are important for us, to help us visualize the activity of the medieval abacists.

<sup>52</sup> The authors would be grateful for information on other tables known to scholars or ones that may be discovered.

<sup>53</sup> The *locus classicus* is the description of Richer, a student of Gerbert, in his biography of Gerbert (ca. 996–998, acc. to Vogel, "Gerbert von Aurillac as Mathematiker," 11) (Bubnov 381.1–3): "Cujus longitudini in XXVII partibus diductae novem numero notas omnem numerum significantes disposuit" ("Along the length of this [sc. abacus], which was extended in 27 sections [= columns], [Gerbert] placed nine *notae* signifying every number").

have been contemporary with the development of the horizontally lined abacus,<sup>54</sup> using lines rather than columns—and to represent a given number by placing the correct number of counters on and between the proper lines. A later medieval abacist would then represent the number 87 by placing eight individual counters on the tens line, two individual counters on the ones line, and one counter in the space between these two lines (the interlinear spaces were used to express odd multiples of five).<sup>55</sup>

The text shows that Pandulf is using counters marked with the Hindu-Arabic numerals, which are given, with Latin names, in the third sentence of the treatise (*De calc.* 3). In general, Pandulf uses the word *tabulae*, interchangeably with the word *lineae*, to refer to columns, but in the passage quoted above the word *tabulae* must refer to the counters. This use of the word is, as far as we know, unique.<sup>56</sup> Although Pandulf's explanation is not fully developed, the present authors have concluded that he is describing a system in which the counters come in three shapes: triangles, rectangles, and circles. The formalized shapes of the Hindu-Arabic numerals in this treatise work well with this scheme: one, two, and three could easily be etched within the boundaries of triangular counters; four, five, and six are rectangular; and seven through nine have rather rounded shapes (figure 1).

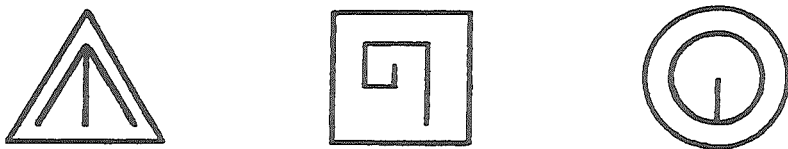


Figure 1: Pandulf's triangular counter for 3, rectangular one for 5, and round one for 9 (editors' reconstruction)

<sup>54</sup> Menninger, *Number Words*, 340.

<sup>55</sup> See Menninger, *Number Words*, 340–41, for a discussion of how calculations were performed on these two abaci.

<sup>56</sup> *Tabula* is sometimes used as a synonym for *linea*, column (Bubnov 288.2–3): “per omnem tabulam abaci omnes eadem superscribantur litterae M. C. D. S” (“Through every column of the abacus all the same letters are to be written above, M, C, D, S”). Alternatively the word *tabula* could mean the surface of the abacus board. Cf. the words of Bernelinus in Olleris, *Oeuvres de Gerbert*, 359: “per omnem abaci tabulam omnes eadem praescribantur litterae, id est C, D, M, S, hoc modo: C super centenum, D super denum, M super unitatem, sive ut monos designet, sive ut mille significet; cui supponatur S singulare significans” (“Through every column [or “through the whole surface”] of the abacus all the same letters are to be written above, i.e., C, D, M, S, in this way: C above the hundreds, D above the tens, M above the ones, either to signify ‘monos’ or to signify ‘mille’; for which an S, signifying ‘singular,’ is [sometimes] to be substituted”). The only other occurrence of the word *tabula* in Bubnov's volume refers to the entire abacus (Bubnov 285.9–10): “in geometricali tabula, id est in abaco” (“on a geometrical table, i.e., on an abacus”).

Unfortunately, Pandulf gives no explanation of how he intended to reconcile the use of marked counters with the use of shaped counters. It is possible that this method is experimental and that Pandulf, in an attempt to make the abacus more "user-friendly," has unnecessarily complicated it: if an abacist picks up a triangular counter, he must still examine the numeral inscribed on its surface to determine its value, and if he can recognize the numeral on a counter's surface, he has no need for counters of different shapes.

It is possible, however, that Pandulf's intentions here had nothing to do with making multiplication any easier. If the abacist has many counters in a bag, as Pandulf recommends, he would be more likely to select, for example, a two counter if he fished around in the bag for a triangle (a one in three chance) than if he tried to pick out a two counter from the contents of a bag in which all counters were shaped the same (a one in nine chance, assuming equal numbers of each counter).<sup>57</sup> This explanation of the function of the different shapes is perhaps supported by the mention of the *sacculus* itself; mention of the carrying bag is very rare in early abacus treatises, and its presence here may be related to this particular aspect.

Using counters marked with the Hindu-Arabic numerals presents certain problems for a beginner. Take for example the second problem in our treatise (the addition of six and eight):

And however many remain after the "tens business" [the calculations performed above with counters in the tens column, lit. "tens"], leave it so that there is a *senarius* (six) and an *octonarius* (eight). Let them be added together in the first: they make fourteen. Take away 10, for which place a one in the tens, which is the next from the ones *linea*, and leave a *quaternarius* (four). You will do likewise in all the *tabulae*. Therefore there is no inconsistency in multiplication (*De calc.* 49–52).

Is this operation in any way facilitated by the use of the early medieval abacus? How do you "take away ten" on Pandulf's abacus when you cannot see or touch it?<sup>58</sup> It is easy to perceive from this sample problem that the later medieval abacus with its unmarked counters was easier for the mathematical novice. The early medieval abacist must add six and eight in his head and then display the result on the abacus; the later medieval

<sup>57</sup> We owe to Christopher Blackwell this very interesting suggestion.

<sup>58</sup> This kind of conceptual difficulty is most likely responsible for the common sentiment that the rules governing calculation on the abacus "are scarcely understood by the sweating abacists" (e.g., Willelmus Malmesbiriensis, *De rebus gestis regum Anglorum*, ca. 1114–1123, in Bubnov 387.21–22: "regulas dedit quae a sudantibus abacistis vix intelliguntur"). Similar sentiments are expressed by Albericus Trium Fontium, *Chronicon*, ca. 1232–1252 (Bubnov 392.16–17).

abacist groups fourteen counters on the first line, removes ten of them, and replaces them with a single counter on the second line to achieve his answer. Change the problem to  $6987 + 424$ , and while the early medieval abacist struggles to “carry” numbers to the next column, the later medieval abacist rather easily groups and regroups unmarked counters among the lines and interlinear spaces. The later medieval abacist does not have to understand that one symbol plus another symbol equals a third symbol; he must know only that  $\bullet\bullet$  and  $\bullet\bullet$  make  $\bullet\bullet\bullet\bullet$ .

### THE HINDU-ARABIC NUMERALS

Another way in which our author shows his originality is by his emphasis on memorizing the forms of the numerals. Pandulf does not attribute his system of numerals to the Indians or Arabs, nor does he assign them Arabic names, as authors and illustrators of abacus tracts occasionally do;<sup>59</sup> rather, in *De calc.* 3, he gives the forms of the Hindu-Arabic numerals and assigns them the standard Latin names: *unitas*, *binarius*, *ternarius*, etc. (figure 2).

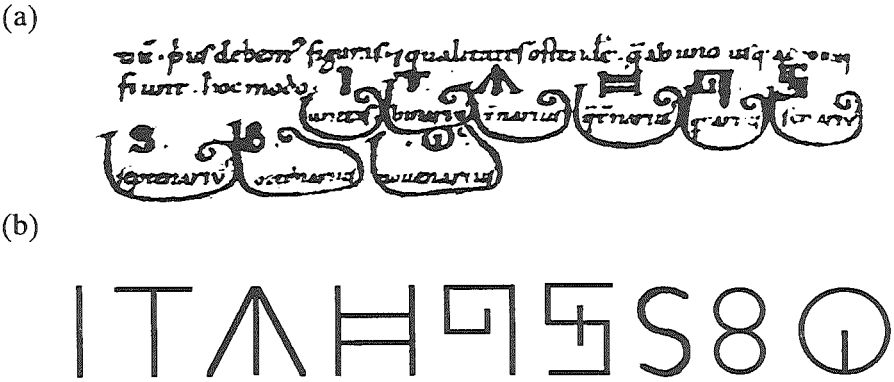


Figure 2: (a) the initial listing of the Hindu-Arabic numerals in Vat. Ottob. lat. 1354, fol. 54v; (b) the forms of these numerals without the decorative frames (editors' transcription).

<sup>59</sup> E.g., *karacteres indorum* (Bubnov XXXVIII), in London, British Library Royal 15.B.ix, fols. 77v–78v. (s. xii?). Garland (Treutlein, “Trattato di Gerlando ‘De Abaco,’” 595–607) uses words that in part reflect the Arabic names of the numerals: *igin*, *andras*, *ormis*, *arbas*, *quimas*, *calcus*, *zenis*, *temenias*, *celentis*. Garland’s numerals, like Pandulf’s, appear in a chart in the text (596), but unlike Pandulf’s they have also been incorporated extensively in the text of his treatise.

Pandulf does not provide any defense of this system of numerals, and this silence very strongly suggests that he does not consider the Hindu-Arabic numerals to be merely an alternative numerical system for use with the abacus: they are the only system worth mentioning. Incidentally, this omission would also seem to confirm our earlier statement that Pandulf is writing for an audience that is completely unfamiliar with both the Hindu-Arabic numerals and the abacus. If his audience already knew how to perform abacus calculations using counters marked with Roman numerals, we might expect Pandulf to adopt a more polemical stance, in an attempt to convince his readers that the Hindu-Arabic numerals were worth learning and were somehow preferable to other systems of numerals.

Pandulf then goes on to relate the shapes of the numerals to their values (*De calc.* 4–7): each of the first six numerals has a number of lines corresponding to its numerical value; the seven (*septenarius*) is indicated by a capital *S*; eight (*octonarius*) has the two *o*'s of *octo* stacked one on top of the other; and nine has a one inside a circle. Such explanations of the forms of the Hindu-Arabic numerals are very rare; this one is far more lucid than the only other example we have seen.<sup>60</sup> Despite the excellence of Pandulf's description, it should be noted that the numerals are incompletely and ineptly incorporated in the text: Pandulf falls back on the Roman numerals or the Latin names of the *caracteres* for most of the treatise, and some of the occurrences of the Hindu-Arabic numerals in the body of the work require emendation.

One can compare with the Ottoboni numerals some of the forms of the Hindu-Arabic numerals that appear in other Latin manuscripts; these latter have been reproduced by G. F. Hill.<sup>61</sup> The Ottoboni forms of the one, two, and eight appear fairly standard. The Ottoboni three corresponds roughly to the three in Hill, pp. 28–29, line 11. The closest parallels to the

<sup>60</sup> See the text and translation given by Menninger, *Number Words*, 438, which identifies the text only as derived from a fifteenth-century manuscript from Strasbourg. Garland (Treutlein, "Trattato di Gerlando 'De Abaco,'" 597) emphasizes the importance of memorizing the forms of the numerals but provides no help in doing so: "His caracteribus firmiter memorie commendatis et quasi oculis cordis subiacentibus ministeriis eorum, diuidere poteris et multiplicare quicquid tibi proponetur" (punctuation modified; "With these *caracteres* firmly committed to memory and their underlying functions [firmly committed] to the, so to speak, eyes of the heart, you will be able to divide and multiply whatever is put before you").

<sup>61</sup> Hill's book, *Development of Arabic Numerals*, is the only collection of its kind, but his charts must not be relied on. Hill wrote before the modern scientific study of many of these manuscripts by palaeographers. The documentation of all known occurrences of the Hindu-Arabic numerals would shed some much needed light on the introduction of these numerals into Europe and might prove useful in dating mathematical manuscripts and tracing the influence of different abacus teachers and schools.

Ottoboni nine are the forms of nine in Hill, pp. 28–29, lines 4, 9, and 13.<sup>62</sup> In the case of these numerals it is clear that the version in Ottob. lat. 1354 and other forms are related to common progenitors. On the other hand, in the case of Pandulf's four, five, six, and seven it is hard to see the relationship. Our five looks like the usual form of the six turned upside down,<sup>63</sup> or it could be seen as a more formalized five (perhaps under the influence of the form of the six), but the four and six in this treatise are completely unlike the forms found elsewhere. Pandulf's six may in fact be a formalized version of the Greek *stigma* (ς)—which was used to represent six in the Greek system of alphabetic notation—with an extra stroke added to make the form correspond to Pandulf's mnemonic device (*De calc.* 4); it would then be possible to conjecture that Pandulf's nine is a *theta*—used to represent nine in the Greek system—turned on its side.<sup>64</sup> There is a parallel for Pandulf's seven in a twelfth-century treatise whose author explains the form of the seven in the same way as does Pandulf: the *S* is simply the first letter of *septenarius*.<sup>65</sup> There is of course some room for variation in the forms of the numerals, but our treatise's forms show little affinity to the examples collected by Hill. Without documented parallels, we can only offer some plausible explanations for the source of these numerals.<sup>66</sup>

It is clear that this set of numerals should be classified as a form of Hindu-Arabic numerals, since some of them are similar to the forms attested elsewhere. How might we account for the differences? If we had more examples of early forms of the Hindu-Arabic numerals in Europe, we might find that different traditions of the numerals existed before the

<sup>62</sup> All these figures in Hill's chart have a rounded exterior with a stroke in the center.

<sup>63</sup> See Menninger, *Number Words*, 327: "The rotation, or different orientations, of the individual number symbols and *apices* may be due to the fact that the counters were customarily placed on the counting board in a particular manner in one monastery and differently in another." This explanation may account both for the rotated form of the five and for the appearance of the eight in the addition problem, where it is written on its side. See also Lemay, "Hispanic Origin," 453–54; Guy Beaujouan, "Étude paléographique sur la 'rotation' des chiffres et l'emploi des *apices* du X<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue d'histoire des sciences et de leurs applications* 1 (1947–48): 301–13; idem, "L'enseignement du 'quadrivium,'" in *La scuola nell'occidente latino dell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 19 (Spoleto, 1972), 654–56.

<sup>64</sup> For an explanation of the Greek system of alphabetic notation, see Menninger, *Number Words*, 270–74.

<sup>65</sup> Pedro Alfonso's *Algorismus*, manuscript C, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16208, written before 1163 (Lemay, "Hispanic Origin," 448 n. 52, 458–59, and 459 n. 90). In discussing this Lemay specifically cites only manuscript C.

<sup>66</sup> Menso Folkerts, "*Boethius*" *Geometrie II: Ein mathematisches Lehrbuch des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden, 1970), in the plates following the index, gives two shorter charts of the Hindu-Arabic numerals, chiefly from manuscripts of Boethius, and excellent photographs of the original manuscripts.



emergence of the standard forms known to the later Middle Ages. It is also possible that Pandulf himself invented some of the forms used in his treatise. Monte Cassino 189, which Pandulf may have known, contains the typical forms of the numerals at the top of p. 133, between the prologue and text of Gerbert's *Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus* (plate 2); these are very different from the forms used in our Ottoboni manuscript. Why did Pandulf or the scribe not copy the forms given in this Monte Cassino manuscript? As we have already seen, in his use of Heriger's treatise, *Ratio numerorum abaci*, Pandulf was no slavish imitator; he found Heriger useful as a source for a single rule,<sup>67</sup> but he apparently did not feel obligated to adopt Heriger's rule-book style or the versions of the numerals appearing in such books as Monte Cassino 189.

In the absence of exact parallels for the numerals in our treatise, we can speculate that Pandulf modified or replaced the regular forms of the numerals to make them easier to learn. It is observable that the numerals in our treatise appear more stylized than the typical forms. This stylization contributes to the effectiveness of Pandulf's mnemonic device for the numerals one through six. It is important to note that the same mnemonic device, which is based on the number of lines used in drawing the numerals, would not work with other varieties of Hindu-Arabic numerals. Even where other numerals are similar to the forms given in Pandulf's treatise, they are not normally treated with such geometric rigidity. This observation suggests a chicken-and-egg hypothesis, i.e., that Pandulf's desire for a mnemonic device actually preceded his set of numerals. Pandulf may have invented a clever system for memorizing a set of numerals and subsequently adapted forms to fit the system, drawing largely on some version of the Hindu-Arabic numerals. Perhaps the presence of the mnemonic device in Pandulf's treatise was meant also to guarantee that a scribe would faithfully transmit the original forms of the numerals. The forms in Ottob. lat. 1354 certainly fit Pandulf's verbal description of the three shapes of counters.

<sup>67</sup> See n. 29 above; the rule that Pandulf quotes (in *De calc.* 23) is presented in n. 8 below on p. 329. Heriger's work was frequently mined in this way; his works were more widely used than those of Gerbert "in providing a convenient source of standard definitions," according to Gillian R. Evans, "*Difficillima et Ardua*: Theory and Practice in Treatises on the Abacus, 950–1150," *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977): 31. Similar versions of this rule appear in the works of Garland (Treutlein, "Trattato di Gerlando 'De Abaco,'" 598: "Singularis arcus, quemcumque multiplicat in eodem pone digitum. in ulteriori articulum") and in the glosses on Gerbert's works (Bubnov 11.15–18). As noted above, Monte Cassino 189, though it contains Heriger's treatise, *Ratio numerorum abaci*, does not contain the one rule that Pandulf cites from this work.

Another possibility is that this variety of Hindu-Arabic numerals came to the West from a source outside the mainstream. In the opinion of the present authors, the effort to locate a single "culture-hero" responsible for the introduction of the Hindu-Arabic numerals to the West is misguided. Various candidates have been suggested: Gerbert, Boethius, the Nestorian priests of Syria, and the Moors.<sup>68</sup> It is more likely, however, that the Hindu-Arabic numerals made their way into Europe through multiple sowings, not all of which fell on good ground. In fact, the coming of these numerals to the Western schools was only a part of the broader flow of cultural influences from North Africa and the East.

Tenth- and eleventh-century Europe, and southern Italy in particular, had many opportunities for contact with the East. In the lifetime of Alberic and Pandulf, Constantine the African came to their region. He was the first to translate Arabic medical works into Latin, and tradition holds that he was connected with Salerno and Capua before settling at Monte Cassino.<sup>69</sup> It is certainly interesting that Pandulf and Abbot Peter were both from Capua, and that Peter was abbot of a monastic house in Salerno. In the same era architecture may have benefited from North African influence as well; K. Conant and H. M. Willard have argued that Amalfi already possessed the pointed arch in the eleventh century.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>68</sup> On Gerbert, see Smith and Karpinski, *Hindu-Arabic Numerals*, 110–18; on Boethius, see *ibid.*, 63–90, and Folkerts, "Boethius" *Geometrie II*, 83–94; on the Nestorian priests of Syria, see Solomon Gandz, "The Origin of the Ghubār Numerals, or the Arabian Abacus and the Articulii," *Isis* 16 (1931): 411; and on the Moors, see Smith and Karpinski, *Hindu-Arabic Numerals*, 63. Charles Burnett has called our attention to Bischoff's note on the presence of Hindu-Arabic numerals used for the signatures in Vat. Reg. lat. 1308, an eleventh-century manuscript copied in France by an Italian scribe; see Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge, 1990), 23 n. 27.

<sup>69</sup> For summaries, see Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* 1:98–110 and 127–34; Michael McVaugh, "Constantine the African," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 3 (New York, 1971), 393–95; V. von Falkenhausen, "Costantino Africano," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 30 (Rome, 1984), 320–24; and Herbert Bloch, "Constantine the African," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 3 (New York, 1983), 548. On the coming of Arabic medicine to the West in general, see Danielle Jacquart and Françoise Micheau, *La médecine arabe et l'occident médiéval*, Collection Islam-Occident 7 (Paris, 1990); and on Constantine and Monte Cassino specifically, see Francis Newton, "Constantine the African and Monte Cassino: New Elements and the Text of the *Isagoge*," in *Constantine the African and 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Mağūsī: The "Pantegni" and Related Texts*, ed. Charles Burnett and Danielle Jacquart (Leiden, 1994), 16–47.

<sup>70</sup> Kenneth John Conant and Henry M. Willard, "Early Examples of the Pointed Arch and Vault in Romanesque Architecture," *Viator* 2 (1971): 203–9. On this question, see Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* 1:125. See also Lynn White, Jr., *Medieval Religion and Technology: Collected Essays* (Berkeley, 1978), 232–33; Armand O. Citarella, "The Relations of Amalfi with the Arab World before the Crusades," *Speculum* 42 (1967): 299–312; *idem*, "Merchants, Markets and Merchandise in Southern Italy in the High Middle Ages," in *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: L'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 40 (Spoleto, 1993), 239–84; Henry M. Willard, *Abbot Desiderius and the*

In the light of these other Oriental influences, it is interesting that Pandulf himself indicates one other way in which his part of the world had contacts with the East, through a casual mention of the game of chess. His discussion of the physical equipment used by the abacist includes an interesting reference to this game; the abacist is to have a sizable number of the counters bearing the Hindu-Arabic *caracteres* for his "game" of computation:

It is a good idea for you to have in a little bag as many as ninety or more of these, as it were, "numbers," with which, when dice and chess have been put aside, you may play wisely on the abacus, and when these *caracteres* have been positioned on it, you will be able to signify every number (*De calc.* 9).

There appears to be an association in the author's mind between the physical pieces involved in dice, in chess, and in the studies of the abacus.

The game of chess, it is believed, came to the West from Islamic countries in the later tenth century. The Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris possesses what is regarded as the oldest extensive set of chess pieces used in medieval Europe. They come from the treasure of Saint-Denis; sixteen of them survive today.<sup>71</sup> The outsize pieces, some as large as 150 mm. in height, are made of ivory carved in intriguing designs and were formerly painted in colors and gold. Traditionally the set has been called "Charlemagne's," but it is clear that instead it dates from the end of the eleventh century. In addition, it is now understood that the pieces come from more than one original set, but all from the same area and same period. What is most important for this inquiry is that recent studies ascribe their production to a workshop of southern Italy, and specifically to the area of Salerno or Amalfi.<sup>72</sup> In view of the fact that Pandulf addressed his treatise to Petrus, abbot of St. Benedict in

*Ties between Montecassino and Amalfi in the Eleventh Century*, Miscellanea cassinese 37 (Monte Cassino, 1973). For the single state of Salerno we now have Huguette Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté lombarde de Salerne (IX<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècle): Pouvoir et société en Italie lombarde méridionale*, 2 vols., Collection de l'École française de Rome 152 (Rome, 1991).

<sup>71</sup> Thirty were known at the beginning of the sixteenth century, according to Michel Pastoureau, *L'Échiquier de Charlemagne, un jeu pour ne pas jouer* (Paris, 1990), 5.

<sup>72</sup> The closest parallels are to be found in the ivory *paliotto* from that period still preserved in the sacristy of the Cathedral of Salerno. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires du Moyen Age* (Fribourg [Suisse], 1978), calls this latter, "l'ensemble d'ivoires le plus important que nous connaissons pour l'Occident, avant le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle" (p. 122); see her discussion of the *paliotto* and the chess pieces (pp. 122–25, plates 180–83 and 185). Full publication of the *paliotto* is in Robert P. Bergman, *The Salerno Ivories: Ars Sacra from Medieval Amalfi* (Cambridge, Mass./London, 1980). See also the publications for the 1990 Exhibit at the Cabinet des Médailles, *Pièces d'Échecs*, with introductions by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and Michel Pastoureau (Paris, 1990); and the 1991 exhibit at the Louvre, *Le trésor de Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1991), esp. 140–41.

Salerno, one may assume that both author and recipient were familiar with this kind of finely crafted and luxurious product.<sup>73</sup> In fact, in this sentence the implication may well be, "when you have left behind the splendid ivory gaming pieces that you Salernitans create"; and the further possibility exists that the abacus pieces with their three shapes and inscribed exotic numerals were to be wrought in ivory also. G. R. Evans has called attention to the emphasis, found in a number of abacus treatises, on play; the students were to be led to enjoy the learning device as they would a game.<sup>74</sup> Our treatise reflects the same emphasis, but is more specific in mentioning dice and chess. Given the time and region of its origin, Pandulf's work is intended to appeal to the student by its analogy with the pursuits of aristocratic leisure attested by the contemporary chess pieces of South Italy. Was Pandulf perhaps aware of the fact that both the game of chess and the Hindu-Arabic numerals that he uses on his abacus counters were relatively recent importations from Islamic regions?<sup>75</sup> In any case, the coming of these numerals to the West should be considered in the wider context of East-West cultural influence.

#### THE ILLUSTRATION FOLLOWING THE TREATISE

A further contribution of this treatise to our knowledge of the history of mathematics is that it contains what may be the earliest known illustration of an abacist at work (plate 3). It is clear that the figure in the illustration is holding an object containing some of the Hindu-Arabic numerals; the question here lies in the interpretation of the activity in which he is engaged. We see two possibilities: the figure is performing calculations on the device described in the treatise; or, the figure is using a device that does not correspond to the one described in the treatise.

<sup>73</sup> The rich mercantile cities of the Gulf of Salerno certainly play an important rôle in the transmission of many cultural elements from the East.

<sup>74</sup> See Gillian R. Evans, "Duc Oculum: Aids to Understanding in Some Mediaeval Treatises on the Abacus," *Centaurus* 19 (1975): 255; Beaujouan, "L'enseignement," 644–50, discusses the game called *rithmomachia*; this game and its connection to medieval mathematics and education is discussed by Gillian R. Evans, "The *Rithmomachia*: A Mediaeval Mathematical Teaching Aid?" *Janus* 63 (1976): 257–71, esp. her conclusions on 270–71. It is interesting to note that the *rithmomachia* used game pieces of different shapes (square, pyramidal, triangular, circular) (*ibid.*, 264–65); Pandulf's interest in education and "playing" with the abacus may have influenced him to create abacus counters which resembled game pieces.

<sup>75</sup> Pastoureau, *L'Échiquier*, 31; Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires*, 122, sees "modèles musulmans" in the *paliotto* and its decoration; Bergman, *Salerno Ivories*, 79, however, sees only an indirect Islamic influence on its style. It is interesting that Bergman considers our chess pieces as closest to an ivory panel in Leningrad: they were "perhaps made in the same workshop" (135; and see fig. 162).

The first possibility, that the illustration depicts a man performing calculations on the abacus described in the treatise, presents certain problems. The artist does not actually reproduce the device required by a user of the treatise, i.e., a board divided into columns in which *caracteres* are placed. In addition, the numerals on this board are not contained within the geometrical shapes that the treatise prescribes (*De calc.* 8); that is to say, we might reasonably expect the seven to be bounded by a circle, the two by a triangle, etc. In other words, there is no indication that we are dealing with counters rather than with sketches of the numerals. Furthermore, the calculation abacus requires a longer vertical plane on which to place the counters; each successive line of the calculation, just as with modern multiplication or long division, proceeds from top to bottom. So, even though it might seem an attractive suggestion to imagine this illustration as representing, say, the multiplication of 72 and 3984, it would be impossible for our abacist to proceed without placing one number below the other and in the proper columns. This is true of both abacus calculations and later written calculations, and it would be anachronistic—keeping in mind that, for Pandulf, the Hindu-Arabic numerals are used exclusively with counters and are never mentioned as used in written calculations—to suppose that any of these numerals outside the context of its columns would mean anything to an eleventh-century reader. No one (including our illustrator) who had ever seen or used an abacus could think that the situation could be otherwise.

The objection may be raised at this point that the illustrator has been subjected to too rigorous a standard of technical accuracy. If, then, we grant our artist some leeway in the technical accuracy of his illustration,<sup>76</sup> the most generous interpretation would be that the long number represents the *result* of some calculation, that the numerals are enlarged and unbounded for emphasis, and that the abacus does not extend down vertically because that would prevent the artist from representing the abacist's lower body and *cathedra*. The absence of parallel illustrations exacerbates the uncertainty.

If this is an illustration of a man calculating or displaying the results of a calculation, what calculation is it? Assuming that the numerals have some

<sup>76</sup> Lynn White, Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford, 1962), includes two plates of illustrations from fifteenth-century technical treatises in which the devices shown have been "mechanically misunderstood": one (illustration 6, following p. 194) is described as "Giovanni da Fontana's sketch, c. 1420–49, of a cranked auger" (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. icon. 242, fol. 40v); the other (illustration 7), "Mariano di Jacopo Taccola's drawing, 1441–58, of a compound crank and connecting rod" (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 197, fol. 82v).

significance, what might it be? The abacist's garment seems to divide the numerals into two groups, and the sleeve may be concealing a numeral or numerals. Even if the sleeve is understood as a divider, we see no obvious mathematical relationship between the numerals on the left and those on the right.<sup>77</sup> If the number, whether taken as a whole or in parts and whether omitting the space behind the sleeve or supplying a missing number, has some mathematical, geometrical, astronomical, or numerological significance, it has eluded us. The numbers are not the solution to any problem contained in the text, and a survey of Pandulf's sources and the works of earlier abacists has produced no other problems that are likely candidates.<sup>78</sup>

One might suppose that the numerals displayed on the abacus are part of a problem that has been omitted from our copy of the treatise, but there is little textual evidence to support this. As this possibility might account for the somewhat rude transition from the end of the multiplication problem (fifty times twelve) to the sample addition of six and eight,<sup>79</sup> it is tempting to look for a lost problem involving the addition of six and eight,<sup>80</sup> but we would point out that the addition described in the text cannot be part of a longer multiplication or division problem. The addition of six and eight as part of a multiplication problem could conceivably occur in any column except the first, which is exactly the column in which Pandulf instructs the reader to do it ("in primo") (*De calc.* 50).<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, no addition occurs in division problems (only subtraction). It therefore seems best to construe the Latin that follows the multiplication problem as instructing the reader to put aside—even "put aside and forget about" (*dimitte* [*De calc.* 49])—the previous multiplication problem and to carry out the simple addition of six and eight. The most obvious reason for Pandulf

<sup>77</sup> The most significant pattern that we can see is 72, 39, 84, which are products of 12, 13, and 14 respectively. In this connection, it would be interesting to know whether the medieval student's knowledge of multiplication tables extended up through fourteen.

<sup>78</sup> Since Pandulf was interested in calendar calculations, it is possible that these numbers (in some grouping or other) have some significance in that field.

<sup>79</sup> The multiplication of fifty and twelve is concluded in *De calc.* 41. *De calc.* 42–48 contains some multiplication rules of more general application, and *De calc.* 49–52 explains the addition of six and eight.

<sup>80</sup> This possibility was suggested by the appearance of the numeral four—the number that would stand in the ones column after the addition of six and eight—at the far right of the illustrated abacus board.

<sup>81</sup> The doubtful reader is encouraged at this point to perform a simple multiplication (for instance, twelve times twelve) on paper; notice that it is impossible, at the addition stage, for two numerals to end up together in the first "column." The practice of shifting each successive row of products one "place" to the left is the modern manifestation of the medieval rules involving the placement of *digiti* and *articuli*.

to demonstrate this addition problem is that in the sample multiplication of fifty and twelve no numbers are "carried" to the next column, and Pandulf must have felt—quite rightly—that this principle was worth demonstrating. In fact, Pandulf's language suggests very strongly that this is the correct interpretation. Immediately following the addition problem cited above, Pandulf says, "... you will do likewise in all the *tabulae* [columns]. Therefore there is no inconsistency [lit. "variety"] in multiplication" (*De calc.* 51–52). In this treatise the future tense and imperative mood are equivalent; "facies" therefore instructs the reader to try the addition of six and eight in different columns, so that he can see for himself that the procedure *always* works.

The second possibility is that the illustration shows a man using a device that does not correspond to the one described in the treatise. The possibility that the "abacus" in the illustration is a sort of blackboard (another conceivable meaning of "abacus") was suggested to us by W. Bergmann's work on the early medieval abacus.<sup>82</sup> It should be noted at the outset that Bergmann himself does not discuss illustrations of *abaci*, but his work may be more widely applicable. To sum up his argument briefly, in Roman antiquity *abacus* referred to objects of widely different applications, from a display board for coins and other valuables to a calculation device to any of several architectural elements.<sup>83</sup> In late antiquity and the Middle Ages, the meaning of the term *abacus* evolved from the dust-covered visual aid used by geometers to the calculation device more familiar to us.<sup>84</sup> For the sake of clarity, we will refer to these two devices as the display abacus and the calculation abacus, respectively. In *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, Martianus Capella describes "... electissimae feminarum ... decentem quandam atque hyalini pulueris respersione coloratam uelut mensulam gesti-

<sup>82</sup> Along these same lines, an anonymous reader has suggested that the figure has drawn all nine figures on the board, has hidden three of them under his sleeve, and expects the students to identify the missing, hidden numerals, as if from a modern flash card. The seemingly random order of the six illustrated numerals, in addition to the fact that no numeral is repeated, would seem to support that hypothesis. However, the present authors are not convinced that the space covered by the sleeve would be sufficient for three of the Hindu-Arabic numerals.

<sup>83</sup> Sideboard or furniture item: see Cato, *Agr.* 10.4, 11.3; Cicero, *Verr.* 2.4.35, 2.4.57, *Tusc.* 5.61; Juvenal, *Sat.* 3.203–4; Livy 39.6.7; Pliny the Elder, *HN* 37.14, 37.18, 37.21; Varro, *Ling.* 9.46.4. The word *abacus* apparently refers to the calculating device in Apuleius, *Apol.* 16: "abaco et pulvisculo te dedisses." Pliny the Elder, *HN* 33.159, 35.3, and 35.32, uses the word to mean square panels, and Vitruvius, *De arch.* 3.5.5–7, 4.1.11–12, etc., uses it to mean the "thin flat slab usually square at top of column under architrave," according to the glossary of Frank Granger, *Vitruvius on Architecture*, 2 vols. (London, 1931–34), 1:1.

<sup>84</sup> Bergmann, *Innovationen*, 176–215; and Vossen, *Der Libellus Scolasticus*, 135–54.

tantes . . . ,”<sup>85</sup> and says that

illud quippe, quod gerulae detulerunt, abacus nuncupatur, res depingendis designandisque opportuna formis, quippe ibi uel lineares ductus uel circulares flexus uel triangulares arraduntur anfractus. hic totum potis est ambitum et circos formare mundi, elementorum facies ipsamque profunditatem adumbrare telluris; uidebis istic depingi, quicquid uerbis uisu non ualeas explicare. . . .<sup>86</sup>

Martianus Capella’s *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* was one of the most popular works among medieval scholars, and abacists were no exception.<sup>87</sup> Gerbert quotes him in a letter to a Brother Adam,<sup>88</sup> and the allegorical passage that follows Lawrence of Amalfi’s *De divisione* contains several allusions and quotations.<sup>89</sup> Given both Martianus’s popularity and Pandulf’s familiarity with Lawrence’s work, it is very likely that Martianus’s description of the different lines and shapes that can be drawn on the abacus (*lineares ductus*, *circulares flexus*, and *triangulares anfractus*) was the inspiration for Pandulf’s creation of *caracteres* in different geometrical shapes and that Pandulf was counting on the reader’s familiarity with Martianus Capella to facilitate acceptance of his scheme of triangular, rectangular, and circular counters.

Remigius of Auxerre (ca. 841–ca. 908) in his commentary on Martianus Capella corroborates Martianus’s description of the abacus: “Abacus tabula est geometricalis, super quam spargebatur pulvis vitreus sive glaucus, ibique cum radio virge formabantur figure geometrie.”<sup>90</sup> It is clear from

<sup>85</sup> Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii: de Geometria* 6.575, ed. Adolfus Dick (Leipzig, 1925; rpt. Stuttgart, 1978), 287 (“ . . . a very select group of women . . . carrying a certain beautiful, as it were, ‘little table,’ colored with a sprinkling of greenish dust . . .”).

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. 6.579, ed. Dick, 288 (“That object which the women porters brought in is called an abacus, a device suitable for drawing and delineating figures; there either straight lines or the curves of circles or the angles of triangles are habitually traced. This abacus can represent the entire circumference and the circles of the universe, sketch the shapes of the elements and the very depth of the earth; you will see that anything can be represented which you could not set forth in words for the viewing . . .”). The word “visu,” identified by Dick, *ad loc.*, simply as being in the dative case, is difficult to construe. William Harris Stahl, Richard Johnson, and E. L. Burge, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, vol. 2: *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury* (New York, 1977), 218, omit this word in their translation. Martianus Capella mentions or alludes to the abacus also at 6.706, 722, 724; 7.725.

<sup>87</sup> See Stahl, et al., *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, vol. 1: *The Quadrivium of Martianus Capella* (New York, 1971), 55–71.

<sup>88</sup> Bubnov 39.23–28.

<sup>89</sup> Lawrence of Amalfi, *Opera*, ed. Newton, 79–80 and notes.

<sup>90</sup> E. Narducci, “Comento di Remigio d’Auxerre all’Aritmetica di Marziano Capella,” *Bullettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche* 15 (1882): 572 [as cited in Bergmann 179 n. 33] (“The abacus is a geometrical board, on which glassy or green dust was sprinkled, and there geometrical figures were formed with a stick”). The use of the imperfect, which denotes continuous action in past time, implies that the display abacus was unknown to



these passages that ancient and medieval wisdom closely allied the abacus with the study of geometry. Martianus portrays Geometry and Arithmetic as sisters, and they both use the abacus (7.725). Boethius refers to something that may be similar to the abacus, a *mensa geometricalis*, and associates its use with the Greek geometers Archytas and Pythagoras.<sup>91</sup> The *radius*, the drawing stick used by geometers and mentioned above by Remigius, appears in several other abacus tracts and serves to demonstrate further the close medieval association of geometry and other *artes* with the abacus.<sup>92</sup> Ralph of Laon in the twelfth century enthusiastically elaborates on the uses of the abacus and mentions more *artes* than Pandulf; the range of uses attributed to it include both arithmetic and geometry:

Et quidem cum et ad arithmeticae speculationis investigandas rationes, et ad eos, qui musices modulationibus deserviunt numeros, necnon et ad ea, quae astrologorum sollerti industria de variis errantium siderum cursibus ac pari contra mundum nisu, licet annos suos pro disparium circulorum ratione admodum diverso fine concludant, reperta sunt insuper et ad Platonicas de anima sententias et ad omnes fere veterum lectiones, qui circa numeros subtilem adhibuere diligentiam, abacus valde necessarius inveniatur, maxime

Remigius in the ninth century and that he regarded it as an object from the past. On the other hand, one may contrast the words of the eleventh-century author Bernelinus in Olleris, *Oeuvres de Gerbert*, 359: "Abaci tabula, diligenter undique prius polita, ab geometris glauco pulvere solet velari, in qua describunt etiam geometricales figuras" ("The abacus, diligently polished before on all sides, is usually covered with greenish dust by the geometers, in which they also draw geometrical figures"). Bernelinus, in the eleventh century, uses the present tense to describe the activities of those who use the display abacus currently and on a regular basis (as indicated by "solet").

<sup>91</sup> Folkerts, "Boethius" *Geometrie II*, 135.379 and 139.447–53. This paragraph is also printed by Bubnov, p. 155, as part of his "Abacus in Boethii geometria subditiua." For a discussion of Boethius and the abacus, see Folkerts, "Boethius" *Geometrie II*, 83–94; Smith and Karpinski, *Hindu-Arabic Numerals*, 63–90. The abacus is also called a "mensa geometricalis" in the commentaries on Gerbert (Bubnov 250.7).

<sup>92</sup> Beaujouan, "Étude paléographique," 310–13, gives much of this evidence and concludes from it that all medieval references to the dust-covered (display) abacus are to be distrusted, as (he argues) they all ultimately derive from Martianus Capella 7.725. This may well be the case (Remigius speaks of it [n. 90 above] as though it was not used in his day), but the alternative should not be dismissed: many of the medieval sources may be dependent on Martianus Capella merely for the style and vocabulary of his description of the abacus. That is to say, proving that a description of the display abacus is based on that of Martianus Capella does not necessarily prove that the author had never actually seen or used a display abacus. Bergmann's discussion of the different kinds of *abaci* is a full treatment which takes into account sources not previously adduced, including Walther of Speyer, which is edited in Peter Vossen, *Der Libellus Scolasticus*, 41, lines 169–79, and Notker's commentary on Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae*, edited in Paul Piper, *Die Schriften Notkers und seiner Schule*, vol. 1 (Freiburg, 1882), 24. Further discussion of the *radius* would take us too far from our present line of inquiry and is not immediately relevant to our text or illustration.

tamen geometricae disciplinae formulis inveniendis sibi invicem coaptandis, quibus terrarum marisque spatia mirabili indagatione comprehendisse putantur, hujus tabulae usus accomodus et ab illius artis professoribus reperiuntur perhibetur.<sup>93</sup>

That the evolution of the meanings of *abacus* is very complicated may be seen in an abacus tract written in Bordeaux in 1310, the author of which must be aware of several uses for *abaci*; he explains that an abacus can be used for representing sexagesimal fractions, for performing Arabic calculations with whole numbers, and for displaying the coins of shopkeepers.<sup>94</sup> This example shows that there is no date to which we may assign the death of one meaning of the word *abacus* and the birth of a new meaning; the word, we would emphasize, always carried with it its semantic history. Therefore, if we consider the richness of the word *abacus* and its appearance as a dust-covered display board in the works of Pandulf's contemporaries and later medieval authors, it would not be unreasonable to conjecture that our illustration depicts a man using a "display" abacus rather than a calculation abacus. If we follow this line of reasoning, the illustration might then be considered as a generic representation of Mathematics and not specific to Pandulf's treatise or to the use of an actual calculation abacus. Other areas of study also have their respective "display" objects, the use of which bears little resemblance to reality, such as the personified Dialectic holding her traditional snake.<sup>95</sup>

Regardless of which interpretation is the correct one, the illustration in this mathematical treatise is the earliest known illustration of an abacist at

<sup>93</sup> Ralph of Laon (Radulphus Laudunensis), *Tractatus de abaco*, Bubnov 389.7–19 ("While the abacus has been discovered to be very necessary for investigating the laws of mathematical theory, and for those numbers that serve the rhythms of music, likewise also for those things which have been discovered by the devoted hard work of astrologers concerning the various courses of the planets and their equal thrust against the earth [although they determine with a completely different boundary their own 'years' in keeping with the system of their different orbits], and moreover for Platonic ideas about the soul and for almost all the texts of the ancients who applied precise care to the subject of numbers, the use of this board, however, is especially appropriate for discovering formulas in the field of geometry and relating them to each other, formulas by which the sizes of the earth and the sea are thought to have been discovered through marvelous research, and it is said to have been discovered by the professors of that art").

<sup>94</sup> Menso Folkerts, "Eine bisher unbekannte Abhandlung über das Rechenbrett aus dem beginnenden 14. Jahrhundert," *Historia Mathematica* 10 (1983): 435–47.

<sup>95</sup> See Martianus Capella 4.328. Much pictorial and descriptive evidence on the representation of Dialectic is collected in Jutta Tezmen-Siegel, *Die Darstellungen der septem artes liberales in der bildenden Kunst als Rezeption der Lehrplangeschichte* (Munich, 1985), passim. See also the bibliography of Stahl et al., *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts* 1:245–49.

work.<sup>96</sup> Both the personified Geometry and Arithmetic appear in later medieval manuscripts holding their *abaci*, often with some Hindu-Arabic numerals represented thereupon. If the person holding the abacus at the end of the treatise in Ottob. lat. 1354 is not a personified field of study—and there is no label here or internal evidence in the treatise to identify him as such—the perplexing illustration may represent a teacher testing his students on the forms of the Hindu-Arabic numerals, performing a calculation, or showing his students a board filled with the results of some calculation. It is not inconceivable that this seated figure is Pandulf himself, immortalized by a South Italian illustrator as one of those early, mostly forgotten, scholar/teachers who irrevocably altered the course of Western mathematics by their promotion of the Hindu-Arabic numerals.

### CONCLUSION

To sum up, the little abacus treatise in Ottob. lat. 1354 is unpretentious in its simplicity of style and contents. In large part it resembles other early works on the abacus, such as those of Gerbert and Heriger. Where it shows independence and originality, however, is above all in the author's practicality and the care he devotes to teaching the art of the abacus. The stated purpose is the instruction of "young children" (*parvuli*), and this is set forward "as simply as possible" (*quantum humiliter possumus* [*De calc.* 1]). This stands in strong contrast to the works of other masters, who seem to have written for scholars, or at least for advanced students. In this sense our treatise is unique. Also unique are some of the forms of the stylized Hindu-Arabic numerals used, the shapes of the counters, and the presence of an illustration—the oldest known to us—of an abacist at work.

In this connection, a very striking aspect of the treatise is the presence of graphic and vivid detail: the carrying bag that the student is to have, filled with ninety or more counters (*De calc.* 9); the counters' three distinctive shapes, triangular, rectangular, and round (*De calc.* 8); the careful noting of the lines and shapes of the numerals (*De calc.* 4–7); the other games—dice or chess—to be replaced by the abacus in the student's pursuits and interests (*De calc.* 9); the rule or *versiculus* that the student is to memorize (*De calc.* 23 f.) and is to say or chant as he applies it in individual operations (*De calc.* 36, referring to 24, and 38), and further reference

<sup>96</sup> For parallel illustrations and descriptions of illustrations of the abacus (calculation and display), see Tezmen-Siegel, *Die Darstellungen*, 99–100, 101, 122, 123, 124, 125, and illustrations 5, 13, 15, 22, and 37.

to oral reinforcement of the manual operations (*De calc.* 37); and a term, "to take a rule," apparently borrowed from the grammarians' pedagogical language (*De calc.* 27 and 43). These touches are not merely picturesque. They reveal the underlying goal of the teacher-author, and they seem to give us some rare insights into the working of at least one medieval school-room in its physical equipment,<sup>97</sup> in its activities, and in the terminology used.

Fortunately, the three-page treatise does not stand alone. Its context in Ottob. lat. 1354 shows close ties in a number of ways to Monte Cassino. The contents of this manuscript in several items point to a famous Cassinese teacher of the second half of the eleventh century, the *grammaticus* Alberic. These pointers, and a specific statement in the text (*De calc.* 2), permit the identification of the author of the abacus treatise as Pandulf of Capua, also a monk of Monte Cassino. This work, it has been argued here, is the treatise *De calculatione* which Pandulf addressed to Abbot Peter of Salerno, therefore in the years after 1064, the earliest possible date of Peter's appointment to the abbacy. Pandulf worked within the tradition of South Italian interest in the abacus that goes back at least to Archbishop Lawrence of Amalfi, a monk of Monte Cassino in the 1020s (died 1049). In fact, our treatise, principally concerned with multiplication on the abacus, can be seen as influenced by and intended as supplementary to Lawrence's work, which treated division on the same instrument. It is also noteworthy that the Hindu-Arabic numerals first appear at Monte Cassino in this period, the second half of the eleventh century, when the monastery was open to many cultural importations from the East.

The general character of Ottob. lat. 1354 is important for understanding the *De calculatione*: education is paramount. The entire manuscript, focusing above all on metrics, poetics, and grammar, has a strong pedagogical cast, noted by Gehl, and the title of at least one other work (fol. 66v: "Liber compendiositatis et introductorium opus puerilitatis") points in the direction of instruction for the young, which is Pandulf's stated purpose. The system of cross-references among texts in the volume also is reminiscent of the teacher/scholar. The introduction of new technical tools suitable for the learner is seen in the novel reference book invented at Monte Cassino, the *Lexicon Prosodiacum* (also in Ottob. lat. 1354). This educational focus is also present in the *De calculatione*. Pandulf may have invented an eclectic variety of Hindu-Arabic numerals, with one or two

<sup>97</sup> As regards physical equipment, an eleventh-century volume at Monte Cassino (Monte Cassino 189) preserves a page ruled in columns for units, tens, hundreds, and thousands, which very likely was used as a surface (abacus) for calculations with counters; see p. 309 above.

Greek numerals inserted, whose forms were designed to correspond to a simple mnemonic device (or vice versa); he also introduced a system of differently-shaped counters. Both of these innovations were clearly pedagogical in intent, one to help the young abacist learn the forms of the numerals, the other to assist him in working with the counters.

It is our conclusion that the nature of the mathematical treatise is in complete agreement with the nature of the book as a whole in which it stands. Both represent the school of Monte Cassino in its most flourishing moment, and what is predominant is the goal of teaching the *artes* to the young. Therefore, in viewing the illustration of the abacist—unique for its time—with which the treatise ends, it may be impossible to determine exactly what kind of activity is depicted with the board and the Hindu-Arabic numerals, but all the evidence points to its representing a pedagogical function. In this respect, the little miniature may be taken as summing up one essential cultural function of the center from which it came.

## APPENDIX

### Text and Translation of *De calculatione*

*Editors' note:* Paragraphing, punctuation, and the numbering of sentences in the text and translation are the editors'. In the notes to the text, the following sigla are used: *O*, the original scribe in Ottob. lat. 1354; *O*<sup>1</sup>, the original scribe correcting himself; and *O*<sup>2</sup>, the second hand. In the translation, editors' explanatory comments have been placed in square brackets. The treatise consists of an introduction (sentences 1–2), discussion of the *caracteres* (3–9), discussion of place value (10–22), some useful definitions (23–33), and sample multiplication and addition problems and rules (34–57).

### PANDULFI CAPUANI DE CALCULATIONE

(1) Quisquis computandi, quantum humana permittit infirmitas, plenam cupit habere notitiam, huic pagine sollicitus aptet industriam, quam, adiuvante eo qui omnia in mensura et numero constituit, quantum humiliter possumus explicabimus, si forsitan per Dei gratiam et parvuli capiant. (2) Adeo autem est utilis ista scientia, ut ea velut abecedario utatur noster compotus et arithmetica ac musica geometria quoque et astronomia.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> astronomia *O*.

(3) Ratio itaque et ius totius abaci in sola multiplicatione et divisione consistit, ad quod caracterum—id est signorum numeros significantium—prius debemus figuras et qualitates ostendere, quae ab uno usque ad novem fiunt hoc modo: [1] unitas, [2] binarius, [3] ternarius, [4] quaternarius, [5] quinquarius, [6] senarius, [7] septenarius, [8] octonarius, [9] novenarius. (4) Sex de istis tot significant numeros quot habent lineas. (5) Septenarius autem per primam sui nominis litteram monstratur. (6) Octonarius vero per primam et ultimam, id est *o* et *o*, nam octo per *o* incipit et per *o* finitur. (7) Novenarius autem in corona unitatem tenet, significans vel quid crescat ab octo vel quantum distet a perfectione denarii. (8) Interea, ut melius discernatur, tres triangulas et tres quadrangulas posuimus tabulas; reliquas tres aptavimus circulis. (9) De talibus etiam tamquam numeris usque nonaginta vel amplius convenit te habere in sacculo, quibus relictæ alea et scachis, sapienter ludere possis in abaco, cui adiunctis his caracteribus, omnem poteris significare numerum.

(10) Tabula vero ipsa abaci tali est modo depicta, ut ab uno usque ad pene infinitum, procedens una quaeque<sup>2</sup> ab altera, id est a secunda, a se per decem multiplicetur, a tertia per centum, a quarta per mille, et sic dehinc hoc modo: unus, decem, centum, mille, decem milia, centum milia, millemilia, decies millemilia, centies millemilia. (11) Nam sicut decies unus fit decem et centies unus fit centum et milies unus fit mille, sic et de alio quo libet tabulae numero manet eadem ratio. (12) Verbi gratia: decies centum fit mille atque tabula milleni a centeno altera est, id est secunda. (13) Ita quoque centies centum decem milia; milies centum centum milia fiunt, quae sunt a centeno tertia et quarta tabula.

(14) Non solum hoc sed et quocumque modo unitas multiplicetur ab aliquo, ita necesse erit et reliquis evenire, servata similitudine in tabularum dimensione. (15) Ut est: sicut unitas, quia prima est, a quocumque multiplicetur, in eodem<sup>3</sup> a quo multiplicatur ponitur, ita et decenus, quia secunda est tabula, in secundo ab eo qui multiplicatur sive quem multiplicat ponitur; ut decies unus fit decem, a deceno multiplicata<sup>4</sup> in eundem decenum pervenit. (16) Sin vero dicas, decies centum fiunt mille, quae est quarta<sup>5</sup> ab unitate tabula, et centies milies decem fiunt mille milia, quae est septima<sup>6</sup> ab unitate tabula, sicut centum milia ab unitate sexta est tabula, sic et in ceteris quicquid huiusmodi in una evenerit, hoc et in aliis evenire necesse est.

(17) Ponendo praeterea praedictos characteres per tabulas, quem volueris numerum poteris designare. (18) Sed in singulari, id est unitatis linea posita, singulariter—sicut eos dictum est significare—significant. (19) In aliis vero per se ipsos tabulae multiplicant numerum, ut ternarius in unitatis linea positus semel tres signifi-

<sup>2</sup> quoque *O*.

<sup>3</sup> ed *O*: eodem *O*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Sc. unitas.

<sup>5</sup> VI *O*.

<sup>6</sup> VI *O*.

cat, in deceno vero decies tres, in centeno quoque trecentos. (20) Sed quia facilius per oculos via est, per ordinem descriptionem faciamus, per quam < qui > libet<sup>7</sup> character, quacumque in tabula positus, quid significet et nosse poteris et decenter proferre. (21) Notandum sane quod, sicut characteres in unitatis linea simpliciter—ut dictum est—significant, ita unitatis character, in quacumque tabula positus, hoc simpliciter significat, quod ibidem est scriptum, nec augens nec minuens hoc modo: I, X, C, M,  $\bar{X}$ ,  $\bar{C}$ . (22) Sicut enim singulare dictum est < in > quem multiplicat ponere multiplicationem, decenum vero in secundo, ita quoque et centenum in tertio, et millenum in quarto, atque ita per ordinem de reliquis tabularum numeris dicimus.

(23) Unde, ante quam ulterius procedas, cave ut memoriae fixum teneas hunc versiculum: "singularis numerus quemcumque multiplicat, in eodem quem multiplicat pone digitum, in ulteriori articulum."<sup>8</sup> (24) Similiter decenus numerus quemcumque multiplicat, in secundo ab eo quem multiplicat pone digitum, et in ulteriori articulum; centenarius in tertio, millenus in quarto, decenus millenus in quinto, sic et reliqui. (25) Singularis numerus est quilibet character in unitatis linea positus, ut binarius vel ternarius quia solummodo duos aut tres significant. (26) Decenus vero erit—id est binarius—in secunda linea positus, quia bis decem unum viginti significat. (27) Sicut et deinceps: in quali tabula characteres ponuntur, talem assumunt et regulam.

(28) Inter multiplicatorem<sup>9</sup> praeterea et multiplicandum et multiplicationem differt; ut cum dicimus bis seni<sup>10</sup> fiunt duodecim, bis est multiplicator, at vero seni multiplicandus vel multiplicatus a priore binario. (29) Quod vero ab utroque procedit—id est duodecim—multiplicatio est, vel melius, digitum et articulum. (30) Digni vero sunt ab uno usque ad novem. (31) Articuli vero sunt decem viginti triginta et caetera usque ad centum, quod Baeda sanctissimus computator in *Numero manuum seu loquela digitorum* bene demonstrat. (32) Nam usque novem digitorum inflexionibus utitur; in reliquis vero articulos tangit, id est partes seu parva digitorum membra et coniunctiones; ut duodecim duo sunt digne, decem vero articuli. (33) Multiplicatio vero inter ipsos<sup>11</sup> characteres huiusmodi est; sicut quot unitates alter habuerit, totiens alterius numerus duplicetur; ut cum dicimus "bis seni," binos senarios adhibemus, at cum "ab uno" dicimus, semel sex unum solummodo senarium invenimus.

(34) Cum igitur aliquem numerum multiplicare volueris, multiplicatorem in superiori tabulae parte pones, ut cum dicis quinquaginta solidi quot sunt denarii, quinquaginta multiplicator est numerus, pro quo pones quinarium in deceni linea

<sup>7</sup> per quamlibet *O*; emendavimus.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Heriger, *Ratio numerorum abaci* (Bubnov 221.20–21): "Singularis quemcumque multiplicat in eodem, quem multiplicat, ponit digitum, in ulteriore articulum."

<sup>9</sup> multiplicarem *O*, corr. *O*<sup>1</sup>, ut vid.

<sup>10</sup> senieni (?) *O*, corr. *O*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> ipsas *O*.

ex superiori parte. (35) Solidus vero—id est duodecim—qui est multiplicandus, pones desubtus, pro quo binarium pones in singulari, unitatem in deceno. (36) Postea multiplicabis cum quinario binarium ita: bis quinarium fiunt decem, pro quo sumes unitatem in manibus, et quia multiplicator quinarium est in deceno—dic “decenus quemcumque,” ut superius dictum est<sup>12</sup>—et quia decenus articulus est quem manu tenes, non in secunda set in ulteriori—id est in ea linea quae est ultra secundam ab ea ubi est binarius, quem ille quinarium multiplicat, nam ab ea linea ubi est binarius, secunda est decenus, ulterior vero centenus—ibi itaque pone quod in manu tenes.

(37) Qui <a><sup>13</sup> vero duo sunt multiplicandi, alium quoque multiplicabis dicens pro uno “semel” ita: semel quinque quinque sunt. (38) Sumes itaque quinarium in manibus et pones eum, memorans praedictam regulam, quia quinque digitus est, in ea linea quae est tertia ab illa in qua multiplicandus consistit—id est in centeno—ubi prius unitatem posuisti. (39) Iunge quinque et unum; fiunt sex. (40) Tolle ergo eos et pone senarium; senarius<sup>14</sup> qui in centeno positus sexcentos facit. (41) Totidem igitur denarios quinquaginta habent solidi.

(42) Quod si plures fuissent multiplicatores et multiplicandi, omnes similiter multiplicandi cum omnibus multiplicatoribus multiplicarentur. (43) Servato itaque positionis ordine, nichil impedit a multiplicando regulam sumere; nam cum superius dixi bis quinque fiunt decem—si dicerem regulam—singularis quemcumque multiplicat, et ponerem in ulteriori a quinario, habens eum pro multiplicando. (44) Verso modo, in centeno similiter eveniret unitas. (45) Et plerumque melius est si ab illo sumas regulam qui propinquior est unitati, quia continet minorem numerum, utpote pone in eodem aut secundo aut tertio. (46) Simul quoque convenientius per eum qui minor est multiplicator, ut melius est dicere “bis septem” quam “septies bini.”<sup>15</sup> (47) Illud praeterea est notandum, quoniam non ab eodem debes computare lineas a quo sumis regulam, ut cum superius dixi “bis quinque,” a quinario regulam sumpsi, decenus quemcumque multiplicat; et a binario secundam et ulteriorem lineam computavi. (48) Item cum plures characteres in unam evererint tabulam, iunge eos simul et, quot denarios inveneris, tot unitates in tertia pone tabula.

(49) Et quot<sup>16</sup> remanserint post decenos, dimitte ut sit senarius<sup>17</sup> et octonarius<sup>18</sup>. (50) Sint in primo simul iuncti: fiunt quattuordecim. (51) Tolle decem, pro quo pone unum in deceno, quae est secunda a singulari linea, et quaternarium dimitte; similiter et in omnibus facies tabulis. (52) Nulla itaque de multiplicatione varietas

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *De calc.* 24.

<sup>13</sup> qui O.

<sup>14</sup> senarius] *post senarium indico-arabicum quinarium indico-arabicum scripsit O; omisimus.*

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Heriger, *Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus* (Bubnov 209.26–27): “Debent igitur minores per majores multiplicari, sicut contra majores per minores dividi.”

<sup>16</sup> quot *statim corr. ex ? O*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> senarius] *quaternarium indico-arabicum scripsit O.*

<sup>18</sup> octonarius] *octonarium indico-arabicum modo supino scripsit O.*



est. (53) In tantum ibi o<b>servandum<sup>19</sup> est, ut multiplicatorem aut multiplicandum seu unus seu plures fuerint, suprascriptis ut dictum est locis, constituas et articulos vel digitos qui ex horum multiplicatione provenerint. (54) Quota linea unus horum multiplicandus aut multiplicator a prima processerint, post totidem lineas ab altero computando transmittas ac<sup>20</sup> post superiorem<sup>21</sup> constituas. (55) Ita quidem ab eadem<sup>22</sup> digitorum vel articulorum positione non computes quem—quantum a prima linea differat—computasti, sed ab altero—id est articulo—quidem semper unam tabulam quam haec dicat regula pones. (56) Restat ut quot digiti vel articuli iuncti si plures sint dixerim,<sup>23</sup> illud sit multiplicationis summa. (57) Sed de multiplicatione nunc ista sufficiant.

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<sup>19</sup> oservandum *O*.

<sup>20</sup> ac suprascriptis locis *O*; supr. loc. *seclusimus*.

<sup>21</sup> superiori *O*.

<sup>22</sup> eodem *O*.

<sup>23</sup> dixerint *O*.

### PANDULF OF CAPUA'S *DE CALCULATIONE*

(1) Whoever desires to have a full knowledge of computing (as much as human weakness permits), let him earnestly direct his attention to this page and, with the aid of him who grounded all things in measure and number,<sup>1</sup> we will explain it in as simple a style as we can, (to see) if perhaps through the grace of God even children may understand. (2) Indeed, so useful is this knowledge, that our study of the *computus*, and arithmetic, and music, geometry also, and astronomy, use it as if it were an alphabet.

(3) First, the rule and law of the whole abacus consists solely in multiplication and division, for which purpose we should first indicate the shapes and values of the *caracteres*, i.e., of the things that signify numbers, which go from 1 to 9 as follows: [1] *unitas*, [2] *binarius*, [3] *ternarius*, [4] *quaternarius*, [5] *quinarius*, [6] *senarius*, [7] *septenarius*, [8] *octonarius*, [9] *novenarius*.<sup>2</sup> (4) Six of these signify the number they represent by how many lines they have. (5) Seven (*septenarius*) is indicated by the first letter of its name. (6) Eight (*octonarius*) is indicated by the first and last letters, i.e., *o* and *o*, since *octo* begins with *o* and ends with *o*. (7) Nine has a one in a crown, signifying either how much it is superior to eight or how far it is from the perfection of ten. (8) Meanwhile, to be able to distinguish more clearly,

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<sup>1</sup> This phraseology appears elsewhere of God and of matters subject to the law: cf. Sap 11:21 ("sed omnia mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti"); Gaius, *Inst.* 2.196.3–4 ("quae pondere, numero, mensura constant") and passim. Note that weight is omitted from Pandulf's formulation.

<sup>2</sup> See figure 2 above.

we have set up three triangular and three quadrangular *tabulae*; the remaining three we have fitted out on circles. (9) It is a good idea for you to have in a little bag as many as ninety or more of these, as it were, "numbers," with which, when dice and chess have been put aside, you may play wisely on the abacus, and when these *caracteres* have been positioned on it, you will be able to signify every number.

(10) An actual *tabula*<sup>3</sup> of the abacus is depicted in such a way that from one up to almost infinity, each individual *tabula* proceeding from the next—i.e., from the next from itself<sup>4</sup>—is multiplied by 10; from the third, by 100; from the fourth, by 1000; and so on, like this: 1, 10, 100, 1000, 10,000, 100,000, 1,000,000, 10,000,000, 100,000,000. (11) For just as 10 times 1 is ten, and 100 times 1 is 100, and 1000 times 1 is 1000, thus also from whatever number of the *tabula* you like, the pattern remains the same. (12) Here is an example: 10 times 100 is 1000, and the thousands *tabula* is the second, i.e., the next from the hundreds. (13) So also 100 times 100 is 10,000; 1000 times 100 is 100,000, which are the third and fourth *tabulae* from 100.

(14) Not only in this way but also in whatever way one is multiplied by something else, we must get the same result for the rest of the numbers, preserving the proportion between the "powers" of the *tabulae*. (15) For example: by whatever a unit—because it is first—is multiplied, you put it in the same by which it is multiplied, so also you put a number of tens value, because it is the second *tabula*, in the next from that which is multiplied or from which it multiplies; as 10 times 1 is 10, (one) multiplied by tens value ends up in the tens. (16) But if you were to say 10 times 100 is 1000, which is the fourth *tabula* from 1, and 100 times 1000 times 10 is 1,000,000 which is the seventh *tabula* from 1, just as 100,000 is the sixth *tabula* from 1, so also in the other cases, whatever happens in one case must also happen in the others.

(17) Moreover, by placing the aforementioned *caracteres* along the *tabulae*, you can represent any number you please. (18) But things placed in the "singular," i.e., the ones *linea*, signify "singularly," as it has been said that they (the *caracteres*) signify. (19) In other cases, the *tabulae* by these very (*caracteres*) multiply a number; for instance, *ternarius* (three), when placed in the ones *linea*, means 1 times 3; in the tens, 10 times 3; in the hundreds, 300. (20) But because there is a method that is easier on the eyes, let us make a description of it in order, by means of which, when any *character* is placed in whatever *tabula*, you might be able to know and properly to relate what it signifies. (21) You must note clearly that, just as *caracteres* (placed) in the ones *linea*—as has been said—signify "simply," so the *unitas* (one) *character*, when placed in whatever *tabula*, "simply" signifies this (value)—

<sup>3</sup> Here and throughout we see that *tabula* and *linea* are equivalent terms for "column"; in *De calc.* 8, however, the word *tabulae* must refer to the counters. See our discussion, pp. 309–10 above.

<sup>4</sup> Inclusive counting is used here and throughout.

which I have also said above—neither increasing nor decreasing in this way: 1, 10, 100, 1000, 10,000, 100,000. (22) For just as I have said that a unit puts its multiplication into that which it multiplies, we have said that the tens place puts its multiplication in the second, thus also the hundreds in the third and the thousands in the fourth, and so on in order with the remaining numbers of the *tabulae*.

(23) Wherefore, before you proceed further, take care to have and hold this little verse fixed in your memory: whatever a unit number is multiplying, put the “digit” in the same as what it is multiplying, the “article” in the next one.<sup>5</sup> (24) Likewise, whatever a tens place number is multiplying, put the “digit” in the next from that which it is multiplying, the “article” in the one after that; a hundreds in the third, a thousands in the fourth, a ten-thousands in the fifth, and so on with the rest. (25) The unit number is whatever *caracter* is placed in the ones *linea*; for example, the *binarius* (two) or the *ternarius* (three), because they signify merely twos or threes. (26) It, i.e., the *binarius* (two), will be of tens value, when placed in the next *linea*, because 2 times 10 signifies one unit of 20. In the same way also successively: in whatever *tabula* the *caracteres* are placed, they take on the appropriate “rule.”

(28) There is also a difference among the terms “multiplier” and “multiplicand” and “multiplication”; as when we say “2 times 6 is 12,” “2 times” is the multiplier, but 6 is the multiplicand or that which is multiplied by the first *binarius* (two). (29) But what proceeds from each of the two, i.e., the 12, is called “multiplication,” or better “digit and article.” (30) Digits are the numbers from one to nine. (31) Articles are the numbers 10, 20, 30, etc., up to 100, which Bede, the most holy computator, demonstrates well in *Counting on the Hands or Talking with the Fingers*. (32) For up to 9, he uses the bendings of fingers (*digiti*); in the rest he touches [sc. with his thumb] joints (*articuli*), i.e., the parts or tiny limbs and connections of fingers; as 12 is made with two fingers, but 10 is made with joints.<sup>6</sup> (33) Multiplication is like this with the actual *caracteres*: just as many units as the one has, so many times let the other's number be duplicated; as when we say “2 times 6,” we employ two *senarii* (sixes), but when we say “by one,” we find once 6 to be only *senarius* (six).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Heriger, *Ratio numerorum abaci* (Bubnov 221.20–21): “Singularis quemcumque multiplicat in eodem, quem multiplicat, ponit digitum, in ulteriore articulum.”

<sup>6</sup> “De loquela per gestum digitorum” is listed among the doubtful works of Bede in Charles W. Jones, *Beda's Pseudepigraphia: Scientific Writings Falsely Attributed to Bede* (Ithaca, 1939), 53–54. The treatise is preserved on the last leaves of Monte Cassino 189, a manuscript that could perhaps have been known to Pandulf. On finger-counting in general, see Menninger, *Number Words*, 201–20. The derivation of the mathematical terms *digitus* and *articulus* from the vocabulary of finger-counting is common in both medieval and modern sources, e.g., “Excerpta ex Abbonis scolastici Floriacensis in calculum Victorii commentario (c. 970–980),” in Bubnov 200–201; see also Menninger, *Number Words*, 205–6. For the relatively uncommon view that the terms digit and article have nothing to do with finger-counting, see Gandz, “Origin of the Ghubār Numerals,” 393–424.

(34) So, when you wish to multiply some number, you will place the multiplier on the upper part of the *tabula*, as when you say, "how many *denarii* are 50 *solidi*?" the multiplier 50 is the number for which you will place a *quinarius* (five) in the tens *linea* on the upper part. (35) You will put the *solidus*, i.e., 12, which is the multiplicand, below, for which you will put a *binarius* (two) in the ones, an *unitas* (one) in the tens. (36) Afterwards you will multiply *binarius* (two) by *quinarius* (five) in the following fashion: twice *quinarius* (five) is 10, for which you will take an *unitas* (one) in your hands, and because *quinarius* (five) is the multiplier in the tens place—say the "tens place" rule, as has been said above<sup>7</sup>—and because the article which you hold in your hand is of tens value, not in the next but in the farther one—i.e., in that *linea* which is beyond the next one from that one where the *binarius* (two) is, (the two) that the *quinarius* (five) is multiplying (for from that *linea* where the *binarius* [two] is, the tens is the next, the hundreds is the one after that)—there, therefore, put what you have in your hand.

(37) But because there are two multiplicands, you will also multiply the other number saying "once" for the 1<sup>8</sup> in the following fashion: once 5 is 5. (38) So you will take a *quinarius* (five) in your hands and you will place it, keeping in mind the aforementioned rule that 5 is a digit, in that *linea* which is the third from that one in which the multiplicand stands, i.e., in the hundreds, where you have first put the *unitas* (one).<sup>9</sup> (39) Add 5 and 1, which equals 6. (40) Then remove them and put down a *senarius* (six), which, when placed in the hundreds, makes 600. (41) Therefore 50 *solidi* have just so many *denarii*.

(42) But if there had been many multipliers and multiplicands, all the multiplicands likewise would be multiplied by all the multipliers. (43) Therefore, if you preserve the rules of placement, nothing keeps you from "taking a rule"<sup>10</sup> from the multiplicand; as when I said above, "twice 5 is 10," if I might state a rule, whatever the unit number produces by multiplication, I would also place this product in the next from the five, holding the five for a multiplicand.<sup>11</sup> (44) And *vice versa*, the one would likewise come out in the hundreds. (45) Generally it is better if you take a rule from that which is closer to the ones, because it holds the lesser number, and so, for example, place it in the same, or the next, or the third. (46) At the

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *De calc.* 24.

<sup>8</sup> The words *pro uno* are to be understood as *pro unitate*, the one counter that is in the tens column.

<sup>9</sup> We put the one in the hundreds *tabula* when we multiplied 2 and 50.

<sup>10</sup> Parallels for this expression are found in Servius, who would have been well known to the authors of the grammatical treatises found in Ottob. lat. 1354: Servius, *Comm. in Donatum*, in H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1864), 408.33: "ideo autem Latini voluerunt ab ablativo singulari regulas sumere"; 435.5–6: "illae autem regulae ab ablativo originem sumunt"; *De finalibus* 452.13–14: "quae sibi a genitivo suo regulam sumunt"; 454.1–2: "sic reliqui quoque casus regulam sumunt ex nomine." However, we have not encountered the expression "to take a rule" in other tracts on the abacus.

<sup>11</sup> This should not be taken as a general rule, because this five is really 50 (the author is still discussing the multiplication of 50 and 12).

same time the term "multiplier" is more appropriately expressed through that which is smaller, as it is better to say "twice 7" than "7 times 2." (47) You must furthermore note this, that you should not count *lineae* from where you take the rule,<sup>12</sup> as when I said above "twice 5," I took the rule from the *quinarius* (five), which<sup>13</sup> the tens place is multiplying, and from the *binarius* (two), I counted both the next *linea* and the one after that. (48) Likewise, when many *caracteres* end up in the same *tabula*, add them together and, however many *denarii*<sup>14</sup> you find, put that many units in the third *tabula*.

(49) And however many remain after the "tens business" [the calculations performed above with counters in the tens column, lit. "tens"], leave it so that there is a *senarius* (six)<sup>15</sup> and an *octonarius* (eight). (50) Let them be added together in the first: they make fourteen. (51) Take away 10, for which place a one in the tens, which is the next from the ones *linea*, and leave a *quaternarius* (four); you will do likewise in all the *tabulae*. (52) Therefore there is no inconsistency in multiplication. (53) This is to be observed to such an extent that you should determine the multiplier or the multiplicand, whether they be one or many, as was mentioned in the above passages, and the articles or digits which result from the multiplication of these. (54) By however many *lineae* the individual multiplicand or multiplier among these is distant from the first, you should count and move it that many *lineae* from the second, and you should place it afterwards in the higher one. (55) So you should not count what you have just counted—namely, how far it is from the first *linea*—by using the same placement of digits or articles; rather you will always locate the exact *tabula* that this rule identifies by counting from the second, i.e., the article.<sup>16</sup> (56) It remains for me to say that however many digits or articles are added, if there be many, let that be the result of the multiplication. (57) But now let these words suffice on multiplication.

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<sup>12</sup> This means that one should consider the position, and thus the value, of the multiplicand when trying to position the product correctly. E.g., our problem 2 times 5 is really 2 times 50, so the product will end up not in the tens *tabula*, but rather in the hundreds.

<sup>13</sup> Literally "whatever."

<sup>14</sup> This is still a reference to our sample problem (*denarii-solidi* conversion) and not a statement of a general mathematical truth.

<sup>15</sup> See the note in the Latin text above for the erroneous figure in the manuscript.

<sup>16</sup> Consider the following example: if you wanted to multiply 900 by two, you would put the multiplier 2 in the ones *tabula* and the multiplicand 9 in the hundreds. This rule is designed to help the user determine the farthest *tabula* to the left in which a *caracter* will appear. This rule states that in order to find this *tabula* you count inclusively the distance from the ones *tabula* to the *tabula* where the multiplicand is, i.e., the hundreds = three *tabulae*. Go to the second, or tens *tabula*. From the tens, count over inclusively three *tabulae* to the left. You will arrive at the thousands, where the product 1800 would "begin." Note, however, that this works only if the product of the two *caracteres* is greater than or equal to 10 (try 2 times 400, for example).

## SOME REMARKS ON THE MUCKLE TRANSLATION OF ABELARD'S ADVERSITIES

*Edward A. Synan and Édouard Jeauneau*

THE late J. T. Muckle, C.S.B., has made a substantial contribution to our understanding of the celebrated letters of Peter Abelard. This contribution has been especially valuable in the case of Abelard's *Historia calamitatum*, for this scholar has given us both an edition of the Latin text and a splendid translation of that text into English, the latter enhanced by Étienne Gilson's preface.<sup>1</sup> Our intention here is to provide, in the interest of precision and clarity, four "remarks" on that text and on its translation.

Although we have consulted on all four "remarks," the first two were raised originally by E. A. Synan and the last two by É. Jeauneau.

### REMARK I

One need not give the keys of the city to the Italian pun that makes every translator (*tradduttore*) a traitor (*traditore*) in conceding that no translation can avoid a certain clouding of an original's spirit, if not of its letter. This difficulty is particularly acute where, as here, the translation is of a text from a cultural and historical milieu other than our own. Just such a difficulty occurs in the Englishing of Peter Abelard's reference to his father's esteem for letters, despite his having opted in the end (unlike his son Peter) for a military career. Indeed, if Doctor Samuel Johnson, many centuries later, was right in saying, "Every man thinks meanly of himself for not having been a soldier,"<sup>2</sup> then we may suspect that Peter's words on this occasion may be a covert apology for his own choice in following an academic vocation rather than the profession of arms. In any event, it is the Muckle translation of Peter's language here that has suggested a first

<sup>1</sup> J. T. Muckle, "Abelard's Letter of Consolation to a Friend (*Historia Calamitatum*)," *Mediaeval Studies* 12 (1950): 163–213 [hereafter, ALC]; idem, *The Story of Abelard's Adversities: A Translation with Notes of the "Historia calamitatum,"* with a preface by Étienne Gilson, *Mediaeval Sources in Translation* 4 (Toronto, 1954, revised 1964) [hereafter, SAA, pagination of the 1964 edition]. The other letters edited by Muckle are in "The Personal Letters Between Abelard and Heloise: Introduction, Authenticity and Text," *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1953): 47–94.

<sup>2</sup> *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, 10 April 1778.

variant. The Latin (ALC, 175) is given as “Patrem autem habebam litteris aliquantulum imbutum antequam militari cingulo insigniretur,” words our editor-translator has rendered (SAA, 11) as “My father was a man who had acquired some literary knowledge before he donned the uniform of a soldier. . . .” The formula “donned the uniform of a soldier” must dismay military historians. Uniforms appeared gradually and, in the strict sense, not before the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, first in the livery of elite troops raised by nobility or royalty, then in formations of mercenaries, and finally for all soldiers.<sup>3</sup> In the Middle Ages, and specifically in the eleventh century, when Abelard’s father made the choice that Peter declined to follow, military uniform was unknown. The expression here translated is rather to be taken more literally as “given the insignia of the knightly belt,” the belt, at once utilitarian and ceremonial, from which the knight’s sword was suspended. Even today we have the English expression “belted knight,” as well as the more common “belted earl.”<sup>4</sup> Might Peter’s line not be more precisely translated as “I had a father who was imbued to some degree with letters before he was given the insignia of the knightly belt”?

#### REMARK II

In the course of his introductory lines on his own choice of letters in preference to arms (ALC, 175) Abelard indulges in classical references to the god of war and the goddess of wisdom: “. . . Martis curiae penitus abdicarem ut Minervae gremio educarer.” Here too the translation (SAA,

<sup>3</sup> Historians are at one in dating the gradual adoption of uniform from the fourteenth century forward until the definitive innovations by Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (1594–1632). This prestigious commander put his elite regiments in “a general colour for a dress detail” (see Bengt M. Holmquist and Birger Gripstad, *Swedish Weaponry since 1630* [Arlöv, 1982], 17); as for the “general colour,” blue, yellow, and green were chosen (Liliane and Fred Funcken, *Le costume et les armes des soldats de tous les temps*, 2 vols. [Tournai, 1966–67], esp. 1:124). In England, Edward III (1312–71) had his archers in white “jacks” with the red cross of St. George on breast and back (Cecil C. P. Lawson, *A History of the Uniforms of the British Army*, 3 vols. [London, 1940–61], 1:2); Henry VII (1457–1509) organized England’s first “permanent troops” and these were given “red livery coats” (ibid. 1:3); the Parliamentarians’ “New Model Army” of the English Civil War (1642–48) was uniformed, and this was continued under the restored monarchy of Charles II (1630–85) with a “thorough regularisation of military uniform” (ibid. 1:12). France is said to have lagged behind in the matter of uniform, “timidement introduit” (Funcken, *Le costume* 1:124); the uniform, “d’abord initiative de quelques riches colonels . . . se généralise progressivement. Rendu identique pour tous, il devient celui du roi” (Philippe Fouquet-Lapar, *Histoire de l’armée française* [Paris, 1986], 19).

<sup>4</sup> *The Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “belted,” explains the term “as describing the distinctive cincture of an earl or knight” with a reference to the entry for “belt,” 1b: “esp. one worn as a mark of rank or distinction.”

12), "... I renounced the field of Mars to be brought up at the knee of Minerva," clouds to a degree the two Olympian images. *Martis curia*, as it is used here, evokes a medieval court peopled by dukes, counts, knights, and squires, characteristically sworn to provide their overlords with military service in a feudal levy, or with a tax—"scutage," a "shield-price"—in its place. "Field of Mars," by contrast, evokes the military exercise-ground in the city of Rome, and to our ears it evokes especially Paris and her *Champ de Mars* with its Napoleonic associations. The other formula in this passage, *Minervae gremio educari*, is the familiar analogy between an adult's learning and an infant nursed on a mother's lap. The topos is biblical as well as classical (1 Corinthians 3:2, Hebrews 5:12–14, 1 Peter 2:2). By a coincidence it was used, and used of Abelard, by a "Goliardic" versifier; the anonymous author of the *Metamorphosis Golye episcopi* used this figure in lamenting the absence of Peter from the ranks of the learned medievals at the marriage of Eloquence and Learning, thanks to his persecution by St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the abbot's Cistercian henchmen:

Nupta querit ubi sit suus Palatinus,  
cuius totus extitit spiritus divinus,  
querit cur se subtrahat quasi peregrinus,  
quem ad sua ubera foverat et sinus.<sup>5</sup>

The *nupta* of this verse is Philologia; her marriage to Mercury echoes the ceremony in the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* of Martianus Capella, and her "Palatinus" is, of course, Peter Abelard, the man from Le Pallet in Brittany. What counts in Abelard's own phrase is the image of a mothering source of wisdom, Minerva herself. Would it not be closer to Abelard's intention if the phrase were translated as "My decision was to abandon completely the court of Mars in order that I might be educated on the lap of Minerva"?

### REMARK III

Farther on in the text (ALC, 197) this line occurs: "respondi Bedae auctoritatem, cuius scripta universae Latinorum frequentant ecclesiae, gratiorem mihi videri," words translated (SAA, 54) as "I replied that I preferred the authority of Bede whose writing all the Latin Churches held in es-

<sup>5</sup> R. B. C. Huygens, "Mitteilungen aus Handschriften: III. Die Metamorphose des Goliath," *Studi Medievali*, 3d ser., 3 (1962): 764–72, quotation on 771, lines 213–16. Huygens has edited the poem in London, British Library Harley 978, fols. 100va–102va, and Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale 710, fols. 122vb–124ra.



teem." What one could question here is less the translation than the Latin text itself: Muckle followed the traditionally accepted reading "gratiorem," but another is possible: "graviorem." Which of these ought to be accepted as authentic? The following editors have chosen "gratiorem": D'Amboise/Duchesne,<sup>6</sup> Richard Rawlinson,<sup>7</sup> J. C. Orellius,<sup>8</sup> Victor Cousin,<sup>9</sup> and J. Monfrin,<sup>10</sup> as did the first French translator, Jean de Meun (s. xiii): "je respondi que l'auctorité Bede me sembloit plus agreable."<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, it is hard to justify grammatically the phrase "gratiorem mihi videri," for a thing is ("est") or is not ("non est") more agreeable than another. The "videri" is superfluous here; who would say "This seems agreeable to me" and not "This is agreeable to me"? There are positive arguments in favor of "graviorem." In the apparatus of his edition Monfrin lists four manuscripts that have the reading "graviorem": Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 2544 (s. xiii ex./s. xiv in.); Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 872 (s. xiii ex./s. xiv in.); Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale 797 (s. xv<sup>1</sup>); and Oxford, Bodleian Library Add. C. 271 (s. xiv<sup>2</sup>).<sup>12</sup> In spite of his having accepted the reading "gratiorem," Octave Gréard translates "je répondis que l'autorité de Bède . . . me paraissait plus considérable,"<sup>13</sup> and in 1883 a German scholar, S. M. Deutsch, recommended "graviorem" as the preferable reading.<sup>14</sup> The adjective *gravis* (or *gravior*) is more appropriate to qualify an authority than is the adjective *gratus* (or *gratior*). The reason for preferring the authority of Bede to the authority of Hilduin is not—cannot be—for

<sup>6</sup> *Petri Abaelardi philosophi et theologi abbatis Ruyensis et Heloisae coniugis eius primae Paracletensis abbatissae Opera*, ed. F. d'Amboise (Paris, 1616), 26; PL 178:155A.

<sup>7</sup> *Petri Abaelardi abbatis Ruyensis et Heloisae abbatissae Paracletensis Epistolae a prioris editionis erroribus purgatae, et cum Cod. MS. collatae*, ed. R. Rawlinson (Oxford, 1728), 27.

<sup>8</sup> *Magistri Petri Abaelardi Epistola quae est Historia calamitatum suarum ad amicum scripta*, ed. Io. Caspar Orellius (Zurich, 1841), 18, line 20.

<sup>9</sup> *Petri Abaelardi Opera*, vol. 1, ed. Victor Cousin, with C. Jourdain and E. Despois (Paris, 1849; rpt. Hildesheim, 1970), 23.

<sup>10</sup> *Abelard, Historia calamitatum: Texte critique avec une introduction*, ed. J. Monfrin (Paris, 1959), 90, line 961.

<sup>11</sup> Jean de Meun, *Traduction de la première épître de Pierre Abélard (Historia calamitatum)*, ed. Charlotte Charrier (Paris, 1934), 131, lines 1122–23; *Le lettere di Abelardo ed Eloisa nella traduzione di Jean de Meun*, ed. Fabrizio Beggiato, vol. 1 (Modena, 1988), 48.

<sup>12</sup> Muckle uses these four manuscripts in his edition, but he does not mention the reading "graviorem" in the apparatus. The four manuscripts constitute a family in the stemmata of both editors (Muckle, p. 172; Monfrin, p. 58), but Monfrin's stemma is particularly noteworthy: it seems to suggest that a reading found in these four manuscripts alone could have been taken directly from the archetype (see also his comment on p. 59).

<sup>13</sup> Octave Gréard, *Lettres d'Abélard et d'Héloïse: Traduction nouvelle d'après le texte de Victor Cousin*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1875), 40–41. The translation of Gréard was reprinted in Marcel Jouhandeau, *Lettres d'Héloïse et d'Abélard. Lettres de la religieuse portugaise* (Paris, 1959), 50–51.

<sup>14</sup> S. M. Deutsch, *Peter Abälard, ein kritischer Theologe des zwölften Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1883), 473.

a serious historian or theologian that Bede's authority is "more agreeable" than Hilduin's, but rather that Bede weighs more, that the weight of Bede makes the scales go down in his favor. In other words, the choice between various authorities is determined, not by the taste of the theologians or historians who make the choice, but by an objective appreciation of the aforesaid authorities. In fact, the adjective *gravis* accompanies *auctoritas* very often in the works of Augustine, e.g., "gravis auctoritas" (*Ep.* 91.8; CSEL 34.2, p. 433, lines 13–14), "grauissima auctoritas" (*Ep.* 28.2.2 and *Ep.* 43.5.16; CSEL 34.1, p. 106, lines 1–2, and CSEL 34.2, p. 97, line 23), "gravi . . . auctoritate" (*De musica* 5.1; PL 32:1147), "auctoritate grauioribus" (*Enarr. in Ps.* 36, *sermo* 2.19; CCL 38, p. 360, lines 44–45), "grauioris auctoritatis oraculo" (*De ciuitate dei* 20.24; CCL 48, p. 744, lines 17–18), "grauis auctoritatis imperio" (*De utilitate credendi* 9.21; CSEL 25, p. 26, line 16), "grauissima auctoritate" (*Contra epistulam Manichaei quam uocant fundamenti* 14; CSEL 25, p. 211, line 24), "grauissimo auctoritatis pondere" (*Contra Faustum* 12.2; CSEL 25, p. 331, lines 2–3), "auctoritati grauiori" (*De trinitate* 1.6; CCL 50, p. 44, line 132), "auctoritate grauissima" (*De trinitate* 3.9; CCL 50, p. 149, line 84), "gravis et approbandae auctoritatis historia" (*De trinitate* 14.8; CCL 50A, p. 437, lines 48–49), "grauiorem auctoritatem" (*De baptismo* 2.3.4; CSEL 51, p. 178, lines 19–20), etc.

Abelard himself, in the prologue of his *Sic et non*, establishes the rule which the "theologian" must follow in order to make the right choice between divergent authorities: "illius magis teneatur sententia cuius antiquior aut potior extat auctoritas."<sup>15</sup> Again, it is not a question of taste or of subjective appreciation. In his discussion with the monks of Saint-Denis, Abelard follows exactly the principle stated in *Sic et non*: the authority of Bede is superior to the authority of Hilduin because this authority is both *antiquior* and *potior*. Bede was not only more ancient but also more universal than Hilduin (Bede was accepted by the whole Latin Church). In the context of such a discussion it would be meaningless for Abelard to say that the authority of Bede "seems more agreeable." It is, however, possible to say that the authority of Bede seems (*videri*) to weigh more than the authority of Hilduin. In fact Abelard uses elsewhere the verb *videri* as a copula between the noun *auctoritas* and the adjective *gravis*: "grauissima uidetur auctoritas."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Blanche B. Boyer and Richard McKeon, *Peter Abailard, Sic et Non: A Critical Edition* (Chicago, 1976), 97, lines 193–94 (PL 178:1345A). The rule invoked here by Abelard had been formulated first by Isidore of Seville, *Ep.* 4.13 (PL 83:901D–902A).

<sup>16</sup> Peter Abelard, *Theologia "Summi Boni"* 3.37, ed. E. M. Buytaert and C. J. Mews, CCM 13 (Turnhout, 1987), 173, line 461; *Theologia Christiana* 4.45, ed. E. M. Buytaert, CCM 12

## REMARK IV

A fourth remark concerns the translation of “graviter mihi comminatus est, et se ad regem cum festinatione missurum dixit ut de me vindictam sumeret” (ALC, 198) as “[He] gravely threatened me saying that he would despatch me with haste to the king that he might wreak vengeance upon me” (SAA, 55). This translation implies that Abelard had written “et se ad regem cum festinatione missurum <me> dixit.” Professor Muckle’s was not the only translation to have done so; see, for instance, the translation by C. K. Scott Moncrieff, “he threatened me severely and said that he would send me immediately before the King,”<sup>17</sup> the one by Henry Adams Bellows, “. . . declaring that he would straightway send me to the king,”<sup>18</sup> and the one by Antonio Crocco, “L’abate . . . disse che mi avrebbe deferito d’urgenza al giudizio del Re.”<sup>19</sup> The greater part of modern translations are in agreement on this point: the abbot of Saint-Denis had declared that Abelard was to be sent immediately to the king.<sup>20</sup>

It is surprising that this translation could have been accepted so easily and with such unanimity. In fact, it is unlikely that the abbot of Saint-Denis intended to send Abelard to the king without so much as informing the king of that visit. In an elementary school a teacher might threaten an undisciplined pupil with sending him to the principal or to the director of the school; one did not deal thus with a brash theologian and a king of France. It is true that in the first half of the twelfth century the kingdom of France was of modest dimensions and that, within the kingdom, the abbey of Saint-Denis held an important place. But the king of France was not the principal of a school to whom one might send without warning a naughty pupil!

One must realize that *mittere ad*, without an expressed object, means “to send a letter,” “to despatch a messenger”; in the words of a standard Latin-English Dictionary, that of Lewis and Short, *mittere ad* is the equiva-

(Turnhout, 1969), 285, lines 670–71.

<sup>17</sup> C. K. Scott Moncrieff, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise Now First Translated from the Latin* (London, 1925), 25.

<sup>18</sup> *The Story of My Misfortunes: The Autobiography of Peter Abélard*, trans. Henry Adams Bellows, intro. by Ralph Adams Cram (Glencoe, Ill., 1958), 48–49.

<sup>19</sup> Antonio Crocco, *Abelardo, Historia calamitatum: Studio critico e traduzione italiana* (Naples, 1969), 91.

<sup>20</sup> An allusion to the inappropriateness of this translation may be found in Édouard Jeuneau, “Pierre Abélard à Saint-Denis,” in *Abélard en son temps: Actes du colloque international organisé à l’occasion du 9e centenaire de la naissance de Pierre Abélard (14–19 mai 1979)* (Paris, 1981), 166 n. 2.

lent of “to send word, announce, tell, report any thing to any one.” Hence, the abbot declared that he was going to send a message to the king without delay in order to inform him of the theses Abelard was defending, theses that were prejudicial to the royal abbey. There was no question (at least, not at that moment) of sending Abelard himself to the king. Once more, the bulk of the translations, that by Professor Muckle included, are flawed at this spot. A German translator, however, seems to have understood the Latin text: “[Der Abt] erklärte, er werde den Fall sofort dem König vorlegen” (“[the abbot] declared that he would immediately present the case to the king”).<sup>21</sup> What follows in the text supports this interpretation. If the abbot of Saint-Denis had declared that he would send Abelard himself to the king, one can hardly understand what Abelard then added: “Et me *interim* bene observari precepit donec me regi traderet” (ALC, 98). How could the monks of Saint-Denis keep an eye on Abelard at Saint-Denis if the abbot had already had him escorted to the king? In that case there could have been no *interim*, no “meanwhile.” If the abbot had sent a message to the king, however, it would have been appropriate while waiting for the royal response, *interim*, to keep an eye on (*observare*) Abelard lest he run off.

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\* \*

Our remarks on the “letter” of Professor Muckle’s work are submitted respectfully and in the spirit of academic rigor that he fostered among us.

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<sup>21</sup> Ebehard Brost, *Abaelard: Die Leidensgeschichte und der Briefwechsel mit Heloisa*, 2d ed. (Heidelberg, 1954), 51.

A BOOK OF THE SCHISMATIC POPE  
BENEDICT XIII (†1423)?  
CLUES TO THE OWNERSHIP OF  
A COLLECTION OF *CORAM PAPA* SERMONS

*Blake Beattie*

IT is often noted that a book sheds light on two minds, the one which conceived it and, in part, the one which consumes it. When studying the transmission of ideas, identifying readers of books can be as important as identifying the writers.<sup>1</sup> But the task of discovering owners and readers of books can taunt scholars with riddles that may be solved only by common sense and a bit of luck. Most books still escaped recording even after library catalogues and inventories—themselves often sparing of detail—became more common after the thirteenth century, and sources such as wills seldom treat books in enough depth to be helpful.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, the pursuit of owners often ends in a *cul-de-sac* of possibilities. It is nevertheless useful to explore some of the possibilities which may explain the geographical movement of books—and thus, perhaps, of ideas—in the Middle Ages. If determining ownership can provide insights into the historical personalities and interests of readers as well as writers, then the task is worth doing, even when we can offer only reasonable conjecture in the place of outright proof.

Such is the case with an important manuscript preserved in the cathedral library of Valencia. Valencia, Biblioteca de la catedral 215 (olim 258) is a paper codex of IV + 281 folios, 285 × 213 mm., in two columns of thirty-seven lines, written in a clear, elegant, court hand of the late four-

<sup>1</sup> See Pearl Kibre, "The Intellectual Interests Reflected in Libraries of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 7 (1946): 257–97; and, more briefly, J. N. Hillgarth, *Readers and Books in Majorca, 1229–1550*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1991), 1:vii. This article comes as a result of research conducted for the edition and publication of the sermons of Valencia, Biblioteca de la catedral 215, in *Corpus Christianorum – Continuatio mediaevalis*.

<sup>2</sup> See Kate Harris, "Patrons, Buyers and Owners: The Evidence for Ownership and the Role of Book Owners in Book Production and the Book Trade," in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), 163–65. For an example of the limitations of wills, see n. 40 below.

teenth century.<sup>3</sup> Fols. 224r–281r contain a long Marian treatise, *Ave stella matutina*. At the bottom of fol. 281rb is written,

Finito libro sit laux [sic] et gloria Christo. Qui scripsit Guillelmus cum Domino sit benedictus. Saunagetus,

revealing the name of a scribe who cannot be identified further. The bulk of the manuscript, fols. 1r–223r, consists of thirty-three sermons, many of which were given at Avignon by fourteenth-century prelates. Indeed, since the manuscript contains the only collection of *coram papa* sermons known to survive from Avignon, it offers a unique opportunity to explore the stylistic and thematic conventions of the Avignonese papal *capella*.<sup>4</sup>

The sermons of Valencia 215 reveal a diversity of homiletic expertise which reflects the experiences and skills of the preachers. The thematic sermons of the cardinals—lawyers with minimal homiletic training—are more basic in style, structure, and sources than those of the bishops and mendicant prelates, who form skillful, learned arguments based on a

<sup>3</sup> Elías Olmos y Canalda, *Catálogo descriptivo: Códices de la catedral de Valencia*, 2d ed. (Valencia, 1943), 159; Thomas Kaeppli, “Predigten am päpstlichen Hof von Avignon,” *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 19 (1949): 388 (dating the manuscript in the early fifteenth century); a copy (perhaps the original), whose incipits were recorded by Étienne Baluze, was formerly housed at Cluny but is now lost. See also Johann Baptist Schneyer, *Geschichte der katholischen Predigt* (Freiburg, 1969), 171.

<sup>4</sup> The sermons are listed in Kaeppli, “Predigten am päpstlichen Hof,” 389–93. The following preachers are included:

- 1) \* Cardinal Pierre de Préz (d. 1361), fols. 1ra–5vb
- 2) \* Pierre de Palme, O.P., Provincial of France (d. 1343), fols. 6ra–14va
- 3) \* Cardinal Pierre Bertrand (d. 1348), fols. 22ra–28rb
- 4) \* Cardinal Élie Talleyrand de Périgord (d. 1364), fols. 35va–41ra
- 5) William of Alnwick, O.F.M., bishop of Giovinazzo (d. 1333), fols. 55va–63ra
- 6) \* Cardinal Imbert du Puy (d. 1348), fols. 90ra–92va
- 7) \* Joan de Clarano, O.Carm., bishop of Terralba (d. 1356), fols. 93ra–104vb
- 8) \* Bernat Oliver, O.E.S.A., bishop of Barcelona (d. 1348), fols. 105ra–113rb
- 9) \* Angelo Cerretani, bishop of Grosseto (d. 1349), fols. 123va–131va
- 10) Hugues de Vaucemain, O.P., Master-General (d. 1341), fols. 167ra–176vb
- 11) \* Cardinal Gui de Boulogne (d. 1373), fols. 177ra–184ra
- 12) \* Luca Mannelli, O.P., bishop of Zituni (d. 1362), fols. 184va–194vb
- 13) \* Gonzálo de Aguilar, bishop of Sigüenza (d. 1353), fols. 195ra–202va
- 14) Pierre Roger, O.S.B. (Clement VI, d. 1352), fols. 213va–220rb
- 15) St. Augustine (d. 430), fols. 203ra–204va

Those who preached *coram papa* in the papal chapel at Avignon are marked with an asterisk (\*). William of Alnwick preached in the Franciscan convent at Avignon; Pierre de Palme and Hugues de Vaucemain preached in Pierre de Préz’s house; Pierre Roger preached in Paris in the 1320s. One of the eighteen anonymous sermons has been identified as a sermon (preached *coram papa* at Avignon) by Bernat Oliver, and two as sermons (delivered in Paris in the 1320s) by Pierre Roger (Kaeppli, “Predigten am päpstlichen Hof,” 390, 392–93); Bernat Oliver and Pierre Roger are the only preachers represented more than once in the collection.

broad, often quite eclectic, range of sources. Even if their sermons are bound by certain conventions, the greater facility of the bishops and mendicants with the *ars* is far more apparent than that of, say, Cardinal Gui de Boulogne, who simply amasses and unites vast quotations (sometimes spanning several folios) from Gregory I and Bernard of Clairvaux.

The uneven quality of the sermons suggests that sustained homiletic excellence was not the prime determinant for the collection. In the Valencia manuscript, the status of the preachers, prelates, and ecclesiastical princes—or the distinctive curial forum where the sermons were delivered—would seem greater factors for the collection than the sermons themselves. By identifying the owner of the manuscript, we might gain insight into the motives for the sermons' collection and define the features which gave the sermons a collective value for their reader. It might also explain how a collection of Avignonese curial sermons ended up in Valencia, and not in a papal library or one nearer to Avignon.

There are three places to which the manuscript has a clear connection. The first is Avignon, as evinced by the collection's curial context. This suggests strongly that the owner of the manuscript was a curialist, or somehow connected with the Avignonese curia. Two other places associated with the manuscript, Valencia and Daroca, suggest that the owner was an Iberian, likely from one of the territories under the crown of Aragon. This may be confirmed by the observation that the sermon collection, with four sermons by three Spanish prelates, bears an inordinately "Iberian" stamp, at least by Avignonese standards.<sup>5</sup> The evidence of the manuscript's final resting place in Valencia may indicate that its owner was from that city, spent a good deal of time there or nearby, or, more likely, ended his days there, leaving the manuscript behind. Finally, a flyleaf recording a plenary indulgence of Eugenius IV (1431–47) to all penitents helping to repair the church of Santa Maria, Daroca, links the manuscript to that important Aragonese town in the province of Zaragoza.<sup>6</sup> Just as it is possible that the facts of conquest, invasion, or random migration may have brought the manuscript to Valencia, it is possible that the indulgence was arbitrarily inserted. But certainly, unless it signifies some association with Daroca on the part of the book's owner or his family, the indulgence's inclusion is

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 348–49 below. The preachers were Bernat Oliver, Joan de Clarano, and Gonzálo de Aguilar.

<sup>6</sup> See Valencia 215, fol. IVr: "Indulgencia subscripta est abstracta de bulla concessa ecclesie ciuitatis Derochae a domino nostro Eugenio, acta et scripta in hac forma. . . ." Already in 1366 Urban V observed that Santa Maria had been destroyed in local conflicts (*Urbain V [1362–1370], Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, ed. M.-H. Laurent et al., 12 vols. [Paris and Rome, 1954–89], 5:129, no. 16575).

curious; Daroca is nowhere near Valencia and had no clear connections to the Avignonese curia.

With ties to Valencia and Daroca as clues to the identity of the manuscript's owner, we can dismiss the collection's three Iberian preachers as candidates. Bernat Oliver was born at Valencia, was prior of the Augustinians and taught there, but he ended his career as bishop of Huesca (1337–45), Barcelona (1345–46), and Tortosa (1346–48).<sup>7</sup> Joan de Clarano studied and taught at Montpellier, lived in the Carmelite houses at Perpignan and Narbonne, and ended his days as bishop of Terralba, Sardinia (1332–56).<sup>8</sup> Gonzálo de Aguilar, a Castilian curialist and royal agent, had nothing to do with Valencia: a scholar at Paris in the 1330s, he occupied the sees of Cuenca (1341–42), Sigüenza (1342–48), Compostela (1348–51), and Toledo (1351–53).<sup>9</sup> None of the three was connected to Daroca; at any rate, the manuscript was probably not produced until after all three men had died.

Our geographic criteria limit the list of candidates for ownership at the Avignonese curia, where Iberians formed but a tiny minority. Of 2,224 known curialists between 1309 and 1376, only fifty (2%) were Iberian, thirty-six of which were of unspecified origin.<sup>10</sup> Not one Valencian curialist is known before the Schism. Only four, active under Urban V (1362–70) and Gregory XI (1370–78), came from the province of Zaragoza, but none from Daroca.<sup>11</sup> During the Avignonese period (including the Avignonese line of the Great Schism, 1389–1417), only thirteen of 183 cardinals were

<sup>7</sup> See A. Lambert, "Bernard Oliver," *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* 8 (Paris, 1935), cols. 756–59; Heinrich Denifle and Émil Chatelain, *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889–97), 2:418–23, no. 975; 453, no. 995.

<sup>8</sup> B. M. Xiberta, *De scriptoribus scholasticis saeculi XIV ex ordine Carmelitarum* (Louvain, 1931), 28, correcting *Bibliotheca carmelitana, notis criticis et dissertationibus illustrata, cura et labore unius e Carmelitis provinciae Turoniae collecta*, 2 vols. (Orléans, 1752; rpt. Rome, 1927), 1:825–26, no. 173. Joan's sermon has been edited by Marc Dykmans, "Jean XXII, et les Carmes: La controverse de la vision," *Carmelus* 17 (1970): 151–92.

<sup>9</sup> Georges Daumet, *Étude sur l'alliance de la France et de la Castille au XIV<sup>e</sup> et au XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 118 (Paris, 1898), 10–16; 20; 140–46, nos. 12–13; Esther González Crespo, *Colección documental de Alfonso XI: Diplomas reales conservados en el Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Clero; Pergaminos* (Madrid, 1985), 508–9, no. 303; 512, no. 304; 548–49, no. 320; 583–84, no. 334; 590–91, no. 335; Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium* 2:411, no. 964; 665.

<sup>10</sup> See the demographic study in Bernard Guillemain, *La cour pontificale d'Avignon (1309–1376): Étude d'une société* (Paris, 1962), 277–496. Only thirteen of those of unknown origin came after the time of Clement VI (in whose chapel many sermons of the manuscript were preached, and thus after whose pontificate the manuscript's owner had to live); *ibid.*, 468.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 468.



Iberians.<sup>12</sup> Most can be ruled out as possible owners of the manuscript on chronological grounds or because they had no ties to Valencia or Daroca. This is true of the Castilians Pedro Gómez (1327–48), Pedro Gómez de Barroso (1371–74), Gutiérrez Gómez (1381–91), and Alfonso de Carrillo (1408–34), and of Martín de Salva (1390–1403) and his nephew, Miguel (1404–6), of Navarre.<sup>13</sup> Fernando Pérez de Calvillo (1397–1404), Bérengar de Anglesola (1397–1408), and Joan de Murillo (1408–20) were Aragonese or Catalan, but had ties to neither Valencia nor Daroca: Fernando, a bishop of Tarazona, died in Provence; Bérengar, bishop of Gerona, at Perpignan. Only Carrillo and Murillo were alive when Benedict XIII fled to Peñíscola, near Valencia, in 1415, but neither died in the region: Carrillo, formerly bishop of Osma, died at Basel; Murillo, a monk of Monte Aragon who defected to Martin V (1417–31) at the Council of Constance, died at Rome.<sup>14</sup>

Several cardinals merit at least a second look as possible owners of the manuscript. Jaume of Aragon (1346–96), cousin of King Pere IV, not only was bishop of Valencia prior to his elevation by Clement VII (1378–94) but died and was buried there.<sup>15</sup> Geofre Boyl (1397–1400), a royal Aragonese proctor raised to the purple by Benedict XIII, came from a prominent Darocan family.<sup>16</sup> The great Gil Álvarez de Albornoz (1350–67), legate to the Papal States and founder of the Spanish College at Bologna, is also worthy of consideration.<sup>17</sup> The Castilian Albornoz had no association with

<sup>12</sup> Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, 2d ed., vol. 1 (Regensburg, 1913), 14–30. One hundred and thirty-four cardinals were created between 1305 and 1378, forty-nine during the contested pontificates of Clement VII and Benedict XIII.

<sup>13</sup> For the Gómez cardinals, see Étienne Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium, hoc est historia pontificum Romanorum qui in Gallia sederunt*, ed. G. Mollat, 4 vols. (Paris, 1914–22), 2:267–68, 580–81, 812–13. Pedro I held benefices in Daroca, including the church of Santa Maria (*Jean XXII [1316–1334], Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, ed. G. Mollat et al., 16 vols. [Paris, 1904–47], 7:331, no. 41877 [11 July 1328]), but died too early to have owned the manuscript. Martín and Miguel de Salva, both natives and former bishops of Pamplona, died at Salon and Nice respectively (Baluze/Mollat, *Vitae paparum* 2:890–96); Alfonso, a former bishop of Osma, died at Basle (Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica* 1:30).

<sup>14</sup> Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica* 1:29–30. It is possible but unlikely that Cardinal Joan de Murillo was related to (and still less likely, to be identified with) the Juan Morell who held benefices in Daroca in the 1360s (see n. 23 below).

<sup>15</sup> Baluze/Mollat, *Vitae paparum* 2:879–84.

<sup>16</sup> The Boyl presence in Daroca dates back to at least 1325, when a Miguel Boyl is named in a royal document concerning the town (Toribio del Campillo, *Documentos históricos de Daroca y su comunidad* [Zaragoza, 1915], 114, no. 278).

<sup>17</sup> See Juan Beneyto Pérez, *El Cardenal Albornoz. Canciller de Castilla y caudillo de Italia* (Madrid, 1950); for his legation (1353–57) and reconstitution of the Papal States, see Paolo Colli, *Il cardinale Albornoz, lo Stato della Chiesa, le "Constitutiones Aegidianae" (1353–1357)*, *Studia Albornotiana* 32 (Bologna, 1977).

Valencia, but his family had properties and interests in Daroca by the 1350s.<sup>18</sup> It may be significant that he and Gonzálo de Aguilar not only served together as counsellors to King Alfonso IV of Castile but were also personal friends.<sup>19</sup>

The strongest case by far, however, is to be made for Pedro de Luna (Benedict XIII, 1394–1417). Cardinal from 1375, successor to Clement VII in the Avignonese line of the Great Schism, Benedict embodied the tragic obstinacy of this most destructive period in papal history. Elected for his professed willingness to reconcile the divided obediences, he proved anything but conciliatory. Long after his expulsion from Avignon and his rejection by the kings who had once supported him, he defied his own deposition (1417) and the election of Martin V (1417–31) at the Council of Constance, anathematizing the rest of the world from his fortress at Peñíscola before his death, alone but unrepentant and unbowed, in 1423.<sup>20</sup>

We can point to bare geographical connections which might tie Jaume of Aragon and Geofre Boyl to the Valencia manuscript, but their careers, like those of many cardinals of the Schism, are insufficiently documented to permit citation of further evidence linking them to the manuscript. Even with Alborno, only ties with Daroca and friendship with one of the manuscript's preachers suggest the possibility of ownership. The evidence supporting a claim for Benedict XIII, on the other hand, emerges as far more than a series of coincidences. An Aragonese, he was provost of the church of Valencia before his elevation,<sup>21</sup> and Peñíscola was a Valencian fortress, just 120 kilometers up the coast from the city itself. As a cardinal,

<sup>18</sup> In 1357 Pere IV bought the towns of Aladrén, Luco, Paniza, and Alcañiz from Daroca and granted them to the cardinal's brother, Alvaro, but gave the commune of Daroca the chance to recover them if it so desired (Campillo, *Documentos históricos*, 153, no. 382; 154, no. 383). The family was prominent in the local church: Gil received a secular priory on the death of García Álvarez Alborno in June 1363 and held the archdeaconry (*Urbain V, Lettres communes* 1:257, no. 2488; 2:241, no. 6625). After his death two of his *familiares* were provided with his Daroca benefices: his valet, Pascasio, received the priory (*ibid.* 6:90, no. 19068 [24 September 1367]; 6:351, no. 20359); his chaplain, Eudes de Chastres, canon of Daroca, received the archdeaconry (*ibid.* 7:54, no. 21056; 27 March 1368). See also n. 39 below.

<sup>19</sup> Daumet, *Étude sur l'alliance*, 20; in 1350 they negotiated the marriage of Blanche of Bourbon to Pedro I of Castile (*Clément VI [1342–1352], Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France*, ed. E. Déprez et al., 3 vols. [Paris, 1901–59], 3:136, no. 4765). Alborno was an executor on the commission which despoiled Gonzálo's goods after his death intestate (Daniel Williman, *The Right of Spoil and the Popes of Avignon, 1316–1415*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 78.6 [Philadelphia, 1988], 140, no. 516); in his will, Alborno restored to the church of Toledo two jewelled pontifical rings which Gonzálo, his predecessor as archbishop there, had lent him to use for life (Beneyto Pérez, *El Cardenal Alborno*, 338).

<sup>20</sup> See Sebastian Puig y Puig, *Pedro de Luna* (Madrid, 1920); and, more recently, Alec Glasfurd, *The Antipope (Peter de Luna, 1342–1423): A Study in Obstinacy* (London, 1965).

<sup>21</sup> An anonymous *Vita Gregorii XI* attests this (Baluze/Mollat, *Vitae paparum* 1:423).

Benedict preached before Carlos III of Navarre and the Estates at Carlos's formal declaration for Clement VII (6 February 1390); the vernacular sermon reveals thematic and structural similarities to the Latin texts of the Valencia manuscript, possibly (but by no means definitely) suggesting influence by them.<sup>22</sup> And Benedict's connection to Daroca is undeniable: he was born at Illueca, less than forty kilometers northwest of the town, to an ancient Aragonese noble clan established in Daroca itself.<sup>23</sup>

Moreover, a catalogue of Benedict's library at Peñíscola lists among his forty-four sermon collections at least three manuscripts which could be Valencia 215, depending on how it was categorized.<sup>24</sup> We may see the

<sup>22</sup> All five cardinals of the Valencia manuscript were lawyers, four of whom cite canon law often in their sermons (the exception is Gui de Boulogne); the Montpellier-educated Pedro does likewise (H. Lapeyre, "Un sermon de Pedro de Luna," *Bulletin Hispanique* 49 [1947]: 38–46; 50 [1948]: 129–46, esp. 133–36, 139, 144–45); the structure of his protheme, using homiletic rhyme schemes and ending with the *Ave Maria* favored by Avignonese preachers, is much like that of Gonzálo de Aguilar (ibid., 129–31; cf. Valencia 215, fol. 195ra–va). Pedro's lofty views on papal power (Lapeyre, "Un sermon" [1948], 132–35) are similar to those of Luca Mannelli and an anonymous sermon on St. Peter's Throne (Valencia 215, fols. 186vb ff.; fols. 79ra–84vb); admittedly, these reflect a very common view at Avignon.

<sup>23</sup> The Luna presence began in the early 1200s with Pedro Martínez de Luna (Francisco de Moxó y Montoliu, *La casa de Luna [1276–1348]: Factor político y lazos de sangre en la ascensión de un linaje Aragonés*, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, 2d ser., 24 [Münster, 1990], 63); it grew in the 1280s, when the royal proctor Lope Ferrench de Luna was made warden of the castle (ibid., 102, 126; Campillo, *Documentos históricos*, 57, no. 72; 58, no. 77; 58–59, nos. 78–79; 61, no. 89; 70, no. 116; 74, no. 126; 360, nos. 58–59; 361, no. 61; 368, no. 90; 379, no. 124; 380, no. 129). Ramón Jiménez de Luna, Arnau de Luna, and Artal de Luna served as royal agents in Daroca in the late 1200s and early 1300s (ibid., 70, no. 115; 374–75, no. 109; Moxó y Montoliu, *La casa de Luna*, 362–63, no. 67). In 1321 Artal de Luna, Fernando López de Luna, and Pedro Martín de Luna were among the local nobles invited by Jaume II to attend the royal *cortes* at Daroca (Campillo, *Documentos históricos*, 430–31, no. 299). In 1321 Archbishop Ximéno de Luna of Tarragona defended Daroca in its dispute with Jaume II and the *infante* Alfonso (Moxó y Montoliu, *La casa de Luna*, 466–67, no. 214). The conflict which arose in August 1330 between Cardinal Pedro Gómez and Archbishop Pedro López de Luna of Zaragoza over Gómez's beneficial rights and revenues in Daroca would seem to concern perceived violations of the Luna *iuspatronatus* there (ibid., 479, no. 233; 516, no. 281). Juan Morell, *familiaris* of Archbishop Lope Ferran de Luna of Zaragoza, held the parish of Santa Maria, Daroca, as a benefice in the 1360s (*Urbain V, Lettres communes* 5:129, no. 16575).

<sup>24</sup> For Benedict's homiletic books, see Maurice Faucon, *La librairie des papes d'Avignon: Sa formation, sa composition, ses catalogues (1316–1420)* (Paris, 1886–87), 2:113–16, nos. 562–606; some minor errors in Faucon's edition are corrected by Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñíscola pendant le Grand Schisme d'occident et sa dispersion*, 2 vols., Collection de l'École Française de Rome 141 (Rome, 1991), 1:339–40. Six of the forty-four volumes were preaching aids; the other thirty-eight were collections, thirteen of which were curial: three were collections of sermons by Clement VI, one by Clement IV, three by Innocent VI, one by Calixtus II, three were *coram papa* collections, one was a collection by Cardinal Peter Damian, and one was a collection *pro statu cardinalium*. A fine discussion of the Peñíscola library is found in Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque* 1:69–87.

Valencia manuscript at Peñíscola in a book of *sermones facti coram papa in papiro*, which Benedict had owned since he was a cardinal.<sup>25</sup> The uncertainty is compounded by the frequent movement of the papal library after 1408, when Benedict, abandoned by Charles VI of France, fled first to Perpignan and later, after the German king Sigismund's vain attempt to persuade him to abdicate, to Peñíscola (1415), taking the bulk of his library with him.<sup>26</sup> The book in the Peñíscola catalogue is probably, but not certainly, to be identified with one of two *coram papa* sermon collections found in inventories of Benedict's portable library (1405–8) and of books taken from Avignon in 1409;<sup>27</sup> in 1429 Cardinal Pierre de Foix (1414–64), legate of Martin V, took Peñíscola from Benedict's successor, Clement VIII (1423–29), and inventoried the library there, describing two manuscripts in very similar terms.<sup>28</sup> Imprecise descriptions make it hard to know which book is to be identified with which: the only inventory of the Peñíscola library which clearly distinguishes the two manuscripts was that ordered by Clement VIII in 1423, after Benedict's death. It provides second-folio incipits and explicits for most of the books in the library, and on this basis, it is clear that the Valencia manuscript was not among the library's *coram papa* collections in 1423.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, while the *coram papa* collections of the other inventories can *likely* be identified with the two so well described in that of 1423, it is less clear that they *must* be, especially since neither of these manuscripts can be traced to a modern library; their whereabouts, or even whether or not they survive, remain a mystery. Loose descriptions, the library's kinetic history between 1408 and 1429,

<sup>25</sup> Faucon, *La librairie* 2:114, no. 586. Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin have attempted to trace the manuscript's history, but they have not been able to do so with precision; it is only vaguely described in the inventories of Benedict's portable library (1405–8) and of books for transport from Avignon to Peñíscola (1409); see Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque* 1:175, no. 158; 282, no. 82; 297, no. 9. A similarly described book was catalogued in Benedict's *bibliotheca minor* at Peñíscola; see Annelise Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3, Storia e Letteratura: Raccolta di Studi e testi 138 (Rome, 1977), 27, no. 157. The number Gr. 1604, by which Maier denotes the collection (*ibid.*, 15–16 n. 52; rendered more precisely Lun 1604 by Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque* 1:xxxiii), shows that Benedict owned it at the time of his cardinalate.

<sup>26</sup> Benedict brought 1090 pieces with him, leaving 648 behind at Avignon (see the chart in Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque*, after 1:xxxiv).

<sup>27</sup> See *ibid.* 1:175, no. 158; 273, no. 54; 282, no. 82; 297, no. 9.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 2:731, no. 395 (“*Sermones facti coram papa corperti [sic] de coreo viridi*”) and no. 397 (“*Sermones facti coram papa coperti de viridi*”). For the legation of Pierre de Foix, see *ibid.* 1:xvi, xx, 49–50.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 1:603, nos. 1287, 1289.

and the fact that books continued to move in and out of it throughout the period preclude certainty in this case.<sup>30</sup>

It is probable, however, that the manuscript was not regarded as a *coram papa* collection at all. Eleven of the thirty-three sermons were indeed preached *coram papa* at Avignon (only ten make this clear in their rubrics), but another seven were not (including one by St. Augustine, certainly not given anywhere near papal Avignon); fifteen others give no indication whatsoever as to where they were preached or who preached them. With less than a third of its sermons identified as having actually been preached *coram papa*, the Valencia manuscript would more likely be described as *sermones diversi*.<sup>31</sup> In this light, it is interesting that two books of *sermones diversi* found in the inventory of 1412–15 are so vaguely described as to be wholly untraceable;<sup>32</sup> they could be identified with any of a number of sermon collections, described at various stages of the library's history in no less general terms. The Valencia manuscript could be any one of them.<sup>33</sup>

It is also important to note that the Peñíscola library was drastically reduced at the time of Pierre de Foix's inventory. At times between 1413 and 1423 it contained as many as 2300 volumes, but only 561 in 1429.<sup>34</sup> Some of the books were claimed by heirs of Benedict XIII or Clement VIII;<sup>35</sup> yet no book matching the description of Valencia 215 is to be found in the inventories made of the libraries of Pero Sánchez Muñoz (1483) and his son Gaspar (1530), Clement VIII's kinsmen and heirs to his collection.<sup>36</sup> It has been observed that at least 200 of the volumes lost between 1423 and

<sup>30</sup> Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin admit that a clear identification of Peñíscola no. 586 (in Faucon, *La librairie* 2:114) with any of the others is not possible (see, e.g., *La bibliothèque* 1:175, no. 158; 1:273, no. 54; 2:731, nos. 395, 397), yet they consistently identify it with no. 1287 or no. 1289 in the 1423 inventory. For the difficulty in tracing the book's progress, see *ibid.*, Fiche 6 [11(Pa)].

<sup>31</sup> See n. 4 above.

<sup>32</sup> Faucon, *La librairie* 1:115, no. 592 ("Item diversi sermones diversorum in papiro") and no. 596 ("Item sermones diversi").

<sup>33</sup> See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque* 1:175, nos. 155, 157, 165, 166 (portable library, 1405–8; none can be traced through subsequent collections); 1:273, nos. 53, 57, 66 (transport inventory, 1409); 2:729, no. 356, and 2:731, no. 394 (Peñíscola, 1429). See also *ibid.*, Fiches, loc. cit.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* 1:49–50.

<sup>35</sup> Faucon, *La librairie* 1:60–61.

<sup>36</sup> Jacques Monfrin, "La Bibliothèque Sánchez Muñoz et les inventaires de la Bibliothèque Pontificale à Peñíscola," in *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*, 4 vols. (Verona, 1964), 3:229–69, esp. 240–48. There is little correspondence between the inventory of 1429 and that of the Sánchez Muñoz library, which was far more than simply the remnants which escaped Pierre de Foix; many pieces were added after the death of Benedict XIII.

1429 found their way to Valencia, where they were sold.<sup>37</sup> Some of these found their way into the new cathedral library there—a library virtually founded, significantly enough, by none other than the Avignonese antipopes Benedict XIII and Clement VIII.<sup>38</sup>

All of these points suggest strongly that the manuscript may well have belonged to the antipope Benedict XIII. They do not, by the way, preclude the possibility that Albornoz had owned it at one time. A relative of Albornoz, Pedro de Luna began his career as *auditor causarum* in the household of his Castilian kinsman;<sup>39</sup> it is not impossible that Benedict, a bibliophile after Albornoz's heart, received the book as a legacy after Albornoz's death.<sup>40</sup>

However he may have obtained the book, it is likely enough that Benedict owned it in the early 1400s. This raises an interesting question: did the collection, and Benedict's library in general, have political or ecclesiological value in the last years of Benedict's "pontificate"? Prior to his flight from Avignon, Benedict gave a great deal of thought as to which of his books would accompany him; the Peñíscola library was a quite consciously and carefully conceived collection.<sup>41</sup> Pressured to abdicate, challenged by Roman (Gregory XII) and Pisan (John XXIII) claimants to the papal throne,

<sup>37</sup> Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *Le bibliothèque* 1:49–50.

<sup>38</sup> See Hillgarth, *Readers and Books in Majorca* 1:29–30. Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin have been able to identify twenty-six books from the Peñíscola library which did in fact wind up in the cathedral library of Valencia (*La bibliothèque* 2:946–48).

<sup>39</sup> *Urbain V, Lettres communes* 1:116, no. 1587 (8 November 1362); erroneously named *Petrus Lupi de Luna* in the letter (his father's name was Juan), he is surely the man who became Benedict XIII: a canon and provost of Valencia (*ibid.* 1:214, no. 2189; 366, no. 3296 [6 April 1363]; 1:528, no. 4727 [17 November 1362]), described as a *legum doctor* (*ibid.*) or *baccalarius in decr.* who studied at Montpellier in the early 1360s (*ibid.* 5:327, no. 17615 [13 February 1366]). Albornoz's mother, Teresa, was daughter of Pedro Martínez de Luna, which explains Albornoz's interests in Daroca in the 1360s; her brother, Juan, was Benedict XIII's grandfather. See Salvador de Moxó, "Los Albornoz: La elevación de un linaje y su expansión dominical en el siglo XIV," in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, vol. 1, Studia Albornotiana 9 (Bologna, 1972), 17–80, esp. 30–31, 34–35, 53; Alberto Boscolo, "Documenti aragonesi sulla famiglia Álvarez d'Albornoz," *ibid.*, 81–89, esp. 84–85; see the genealogies in Moxó, "Los Albornoz," 79; Moxó y Montoliu, *La casa de Luna*, tabla V.

<sup>40</sup> Pedro de Luna is not named in Albornoz's will (Beneyto Pérez, *El Cardenal Albornoz*, 333–46), which mentions only legacies to institutional libraries: Albornoz left a bible and a copy of St. Thomas's commentaries on Luke and John to the chapter of Cuenca, from which he had held the books for life (338); an unspecified number of books which he held from the archdiocese of Toledo were to be returned, but those which he held from the late Archbishop Ximénez de Luna were to go to the churches of Taragona and Zaragoza (339); his books on law were left to the Spanish College in Bologna (344).

<sup>41</sup> See Jullien de Pommerol and Monfrin, *La bibliothèque* 1:67–69. Nearly 650 pieces were left behind at Avignon, where they later formed the core of the library which Pierre de Foix assembled during his long tenure as vicar-general and cardinal-legate there (*ibid.* 1:50–53).

Benedict might have taken comfort in a collection which he had owned since he was created cardinal by a canonically elected pope, and which affirmed the liturgical traditions of the Avignon papacy. Certainly, Benedict had an interest in Avignonese preachers and preaching: he owned three collections of sermons by Pierre Roger (Clement VI), reckoned the premier orator of his day.<sup>42</sup> Many works in Benedict's Peñíscola library treat papal history and court life. His forty-eight historical works included nine papal histories; six were general chronicles and two were chronicles of Innocent III.<sup>43</sup> More importantly, Benedict owned a "cronica romanorum pontificum a Benedicto XII<sup>o</sup> usque Clementem papam VIII<sup>um</sup> [*sic*]," a history of the Avignon popes from 1334 to 1394, linking the unquestionably canonical popes from Benedict XII to Gregory XI with Benedict XIII's predecessor, Cardinal Robert of Geneva (it was, of course, Robert's uncanonical election as Clement VII that began the Great Schism).<sup>44</sup> Nine other books were treatises on papal primacy and ecclesiastical power.<sup>45</sup> While hardly odd for a papal library, these works, like Benedict's many collections of curial and pontifical sermons, may have helped to assure Benedict of his rightful place in the apostolic succession. More than simply the prized possession of a bibliophile who could not stand to leave it behind on his flight, Benedict's library might also, at least to its owner, have offered a textually documented vindication of a beleaguered Avignonese tradition which included the preaching of cardinals and other prelates in the papal chapel.

In our search for the manuscript's owner, we can, then, ascribe both opportunity and motive to Benedict XIII. If we cannot be certain that he owned it, it is at the very least possible; considering Benedict's undeniable association with the places connected to the manuscript, his interest in pontifical and curial preaching, and the fact that his library at Peñíscola contained several volumes whose descriptions accommodate that of Valencia 215 and cannot be securely traced subsequently, "probable" may be a better word. At any rate, Benedict's ownership would explain much about the manuscript's history and ultimate deposit in the cathedral library of Valencia. Perhaps we can ask for no more: when we search for the

<sup>42</sup> See n. 24 above. For Clement's preaching, see G. Mollat, "L'oeuvre oratoire de Clément VI," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 3 (1928): 239–74; Philibert Schmitz, "Les sermons et discours de Clément VI, O.S.B.," *Revue bénédictine* 41 (1929): 15–34.

<sup>43</sup> Faucon, *La librairie* 2:144–46.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 2:145, no. 1003. Certainly, the legitimacy of Clement's pontificate was an important issue to Benedict: it was the central theme of the sermon he preached in Navarre in February 1390 (see Lapeyre, "Un sermon" [1948], 131–40).

<sup>45</sup> Faucon, *La librairie* 2:149–50, nos. 1072, 1076–83.

owners of medieval books, educated guesses are often all that we can reasonably expect.

*University of Louisville.*





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